

BRISTOL

PAST AND PRESENT

BY

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VOL. I.—CIVIL HISTORY

BRISTOL

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BRISTOL

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A BIT OF OLD BRISTOL: SHOWING REDCLIFF CHURCH.

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PREFACE.

BRISTOL: PAST AND PRESENT has been written to supply a want in our local literature. All previous histories of Bristol are out of print, and a demand has arisen for one that should be written in a style adapted to the age, and in the light which time and recent discoveries have thrown upon the past.

The field has been well ploughed by Barrett, Seyer, Evans, Corry and Evans, Heath, Chilcott, and Pryce, who in varied styles, and each with more or less of excellence, have left their views on record. We have not scrupled to cull freely from their pages (Seyer's great work being our most reliable authority), but whilst we thus acknowledge their merits, we have striven to avoid their faults. We have endeavoured to guide the pen with an impartial hand, to freshen the book with little known but dependable facts, and to enshrine within its pages many a picturesque bit of the city. Errors there may be, but we hope they will not be found to be serious in character or large in number.

Our aim has been to trace the origin and growth of Bristol as an integral portion of a mighty nation, in whose onward progress she has often led the van, and to whose greatness she has materially contributed; and our readers will find in the following pages abundant proof that the development of a maritime port, from an insignificant beginning into the proud position which for centuries Bristol held as the second commercial city in the kingdom, cannot be dissevered from the national history.

We acknowledge with pleasure the assistance which in various ways we have received from a large number of our fellow-citizens and others; nor are the thanks less hearty which we tender to those whose offers we have been unable to utilise. We are unable to place upon record the names of all those who have helped us, but there are some whose services have been so constant and so generous that it would be ungrateful on our part to leave our readers ignorant of their kindness. To H. C. COOTE, Esq., F.S.A., London, A. S. ELLIS, Esq., London and Bristol, J. A. COOKE, Esq., F.S.A., Berkeley, Canon NORRIS, of Bristol, the late JAMES KNIGHT, Worcester, for their careful reading of proofs, corrections, and supply of new material, and to J. D. WESTON, Esq., (Mayor of Bristol whilst these sheets pass through the press), J. B. C. BURROUGHS, Esq., C. POOLEY, Esq., C. T. JEFFERIES, Esq., Col. KINGTON, and the Society of Antiquaries, for the loan of drawings, blocks and engravings, our special thanks are due.

TO THE

REV. GEORGE WEARE BRAIKENRIDGE,

M.A., F.S.A. SCOT.,

Of Win Ash House, Brislington, and Claremont, Clevedon,

WHO, BEING THE POSSESSOR OF THE LARGEST AND MOST VALUABLE COLLECTION OF

RARE BOOKS, DRAWINGS, ENGRAVINGS, AND ANTIQUES

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GATHERED THROUGH MANY YEARS BY HIS FATHER,

HAS GIVEN UNRESERVED ACCESS TO THE SAME FOR THE USE OF THIS WORK,

AND BY SO DOING HAS EXCEEDINGLY ENRICHED ITS PAGES

AND INCREASED ITS VALUE,

This Volume is respectfully Dedicated

AS A SLIGHT APPRECIATION OF SO GENEROUS AN ACT

BY HIS OBLIGED FRIEND,

J. F. NICHOLLS, F.S.A.

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CIVIL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE PREHISTORIC ERA.

1. *Introductory.* 2. *Camps, Hut-circles and Pit-dwellings.* 3. *Long Barrows.* 4. *Round Barrows.* 5. *The Kelts.* 6. *The Belgæ and their origin.* 7. *They invade Britain,* 8. *and build the Wansdyke.* 9. *Keltic and Belgic Camps.* 10. *Early Traditions of the origin of Bristol.* 11. *Inferences deducible from them.* 12. *Earliest Names.* 13. *Seyer's conclusions from Traditions and Histories.* 14. *Clifton Camp.* 15. *Burgh Walls Camp;* 16. *Its singular construction.* 17. *Stoke Leigh Camp.* 18. *Pit-dwellings on Durdham down.* 19. *Difficulty in identifying and assigning the Camps.* 20. *Blaize Castle.* 21. *Knole Camp.* 22. *Berry Hill (Moorend).* 23. *Oldbury Camp.* 24. *North Stoke Camp.* 25. *Portbury, Cadbury and Dolberry Camps.* 26. *Worle Hill: its loose stone Ramparts, Slingers' Platforms, and numerous Pit-dwellings.* 27. *Curious discoveries when excavated.* 28. *Maes Knoll.* 29. *Why these Camps were raised.* 30. *Amalgamation of races.* 31. *Influence of Commercial Intercourse.* 32. *Druidism.* 33. *Its supposed Temple at Stanton Drew.* 34. *Conjectural uses of the Megaliths.* 35. *Bristol, origin of its name. Saxon.* 36. *Possible Chaldean derivation.* 37. *Arguments which have been adduced for its antiquity.*

THE prehistoric records of the neighbourhood of Bristol are neither few nor insignificant.

Many able writers have made its archæology their study, their researches have been continuous and skilful, much knowledge has been acquired, and new theories have supplanted ancient opinions.

Ethnology, philology, and the study of castrametation have each thrown light into the misty past; tradition has been analysed, and earliest references in history have been noted by these diligent students.

We approach the subject with diffidence; never was the adage "Many men, many minds" more applicable than in this domain of science, in which no man knows sufficient to warrant his being dogmatic.

Our business will be to narrate ascertained results, to collate inferences, to attempt to put together the parts of the curious prehistoric puzzle, rather than to enter into detail, or to pronounce emphatically. We may theorize occasionally, but having brought forward the known facts and prevalent ideas we shall leave our readers to draw their own conclusions.

Further than this no writer on the prehistoric ages can go with safety.

Comparisons of the forms of the camps, the earthworks and tumuli; the shapes and sizes of the skulls, the positions of the skeletons, the weapons, utensils, ornaments, that have been discovered; the names that cling to the locality, time-worn traditions and scanty references in early writings, are the only materials available with which to rehabilitate peoples whose

existence has been almost obliterated by the trailing foot of time.

The study need not be a wearisome one; our aim will be to make it clear, brief, pleasant and profitable.

We pass by the paleolithic man and his rough unpolished implements of flint, whom modern scientific research assigns to the interglacial or preglacial period, and begin with the supposed Turanian or Euskarian race.

2. On the belt of hills that surrounds the valley of the Avon, remote from the activities of commerce, and on ground too rocky for the ploughshare, may be seen partially effaced groups of the hut-circles and pit-dwellings of the aboriginal inhabitants of the district, together with not a few tumuli and many of their fortifications.



Gorge of the Avon, with Pit-dwellings on Downs.

The camps, in the area of which the ancient dwellings are as a rule most abundant, are situated on the hills, in spots where they are the most difficult of access, every gorge bristles with ravelins, and each winding ravine that leads up to the summit is guarded like a covert way with pits for the archers, that have low ramparts thrown up towards the valley, together with platforms levelled in the hillside for slingers.

From the large number of these pits for archers, &c., and from the suitable selection of their positions, we naturally infer that the people who constructed them were numerous and tolerably skilled in defensive warfare.

Two of these elevated plateaus are within the parliamentary bounds of the city of Bristol—Clifton down, which is 230 acres in extent, and Durdham down, which consists of 212 acres. These huts and pit-dwellings were not continuously tenanted, but were reserved for homes of refuge during times of trouble. The hut-circles are mere stones and marks on the surface. The pit-dwellings, however, are recognised by depressions in the soil, like the mouth of a well that has been filled in. The Mandan Indians to this day construct their habitations in a similar manner. A hole generally circular in form and a few feet in depth is dug, the earth thrown out is heaped in form of a low wall around its edge, poles and branches are laid reaching from the wall to a common centre so as to form a flattened dome roof, on these reeds, hides, earth and flat stones are placed; this platform from daily use soon becomes coherent and waterproof. Access to the interior is by an opening low down in the side.

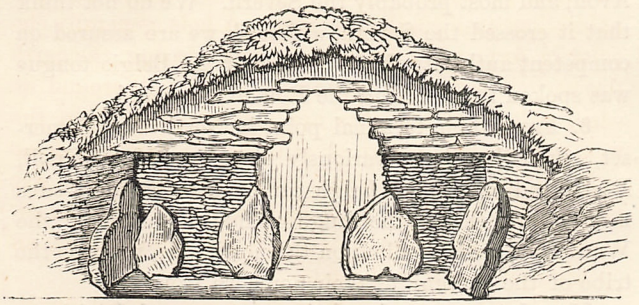
Such were the earliest dwellings of which we have existent and recognisable remains. The more usual abodes were frail, temporary huts, easily constructed, as readily removed, or with little scruple abandoned; leaving as faint a trace in the lapse of ages as do the movable tents of the Bedaween or the kraals of the Zulu. For these aborigines were a nomadic race, who shepherded their flocks in the pastures of the valleys, herded swine amid the fallen mast of the forests, followed the chase in the hanging woods on the hillsides, or waded in the marshes and snared wild fowl and beaver for food; and, we should add, speared fish in the tidal Avon, for although Dio Nicæus tells us "they never tasted fish although they had innumerable multitudes of them in their rivers,"[1] the statement seems to us to be incredible.

It would be only when tribal difficulties arose, when the beacon fires blazed an alarm and the shout of the invader was heard, that collecting their scattered herds they would drive them hastily to the hills and seek shelter in their terrene abodes within the ramparts of the camp. These temporary refuges were most of them without water, and hence incapable of standing a siege.

3. Those curious mounds of sepulture known as the long-chambered barrows are now generally supposed to be relics of these aborigines. They are of great length (80 to 120 feet), double horned at one end, and divided

[1] Xiphilin ex Dione Nicæo in Sever. Henry, cap. vii., 291.

in the interior into cells by flat slabs set on edge, or low walls of loose stone. In these mounds seldom more than two persons apparently were interred; the skeletons are usually found in a sitting or lying in a cramped position, the knees pressed to the chin and the hand up to the mouth.



Transverse section of Long Barrow at Stoney Littleton.

No trace of metal is found (except where the tumulus has been used by a later race), but weapons of stone, implements of bone and flint, bones of swine and oxen, and food vessels of rude pottery have been discovered.

From the absence of cereals it is conjectured that the people who built these sepulchres did not cultivate the soil, but were probably addicted to anthropophagism, cleft skulls and half-charred human bones being often found in these tombs.

Owing to the great length of the cranium these men are termed by ethnologists the Dolichocephalic race, and are thought to have been of Iberian origin. They were short in stature, with boat-shaped skulls and small straight features, low in the intellectual scale, tenacious of life, as is proved by the ossification of what would now be deemed fatal fractures in some of the crania.

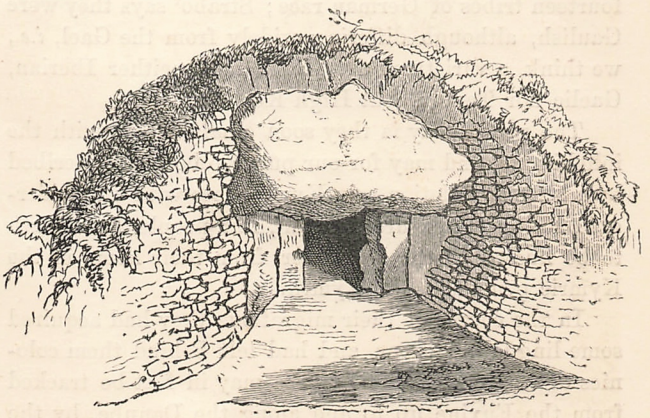
They evidently believed in a future state, for they did not burn their dead, but provided for them cells of much the same character as the huts they had lived in. Then with often a sacrificed slave in the antechamber to wait upon them, and food for the unknown journey, they left them to their repose. They were certainly an aristocratic people; these immense tumuli prove that the many laboured for the few, and that the privileges of rank were upheld even in death.

These Dolichocephalic men (of whom the Basques are, it is supposed, a remnant) were followed in process of time, apparently conquered, and either absorbed or exterminated, by other races, chiefly Brachycephalic, *i.e.*, men with subquadrate skulls, of somewhat loftier stature and more powerful frame.

4. With this people we ascend in the social scale; their warriors were armed with kelts and swords of bronze, their food vessels and drinking cups of pottery were rudely but prettily ornamented, they had coloured glass beads for personal adornment, and we find in their barrows remains of wheat, of woven baskets, ring money, and other proofs of a higher level in civilization.

Their sepulchral barrows are round and far more numerous than those of their predecessors. They possibly represent two races of men, and are certainly spread over lengthened periods of time, inasmuch as at the first their dead were buried in a similar manner to those of their predecessors, but in later ages we find skeletons partially cremated, and later still many urns containing nothing but burnt human ashes.

Their camps were of a somewhat different shape to those of their precursors, but they often utilized those which the others had left, as well as their terrene homes, which they increased largely in number.



Entrance to Uley Barrow, Gloucestershire.

5. Now the share the first of these races, the Dolichocephalic, had in our ancestral pedigree is remote and shadowy, yet eminent ethnologists contend that the race has its representatives amongst us, especially in South Wales. But the round-headed men were the Kelts, who came originally from the Continent, the precise date being unknown. The Veneti described these men to Cæsar as "an aboriginal people upon whom some of their nation had a century or so before that date intruded themselves, and in whose seats they had gradually fixed their abodes; as being peculiarly rude and barbarous in their social habits, going almost destitute of clothing, painting and tattooing their bodies with blue woad; having a regular community of women, living chiefly on milk and flesh, disliking manual labour, averse even to the toil of fishing, dwelling apart, or congregating in hovels which had a wooden stockade around them and were screened by woods, morasses and mountains, but possessing nothing worthy the name of a city."[1]

[1] Cæs. B. G., v., 12—21; and Dion., lxxvi., 12.

Their language is undetermined; probably it was some form of Erse or Gaelic, the most ancient names in Wales and England being Gaelic. Equally undefined is the period in which they enjoyed apparently undisturbed possession of the island, until invaded by the Belgæ.

6. Now who were these Belgæ? The most probable theory is this, that they were a people driven from the shores of the Euxine by the Scythians, seven centuries before the Christian era, who travelled in a north-westerly direction, crossed the Danube, and about B.C. 400 reached Denmark; in the third century B.C. they made a further migration across and down the Rhine, and were so delighted with the fruitfulness of the land between that river and the Seine that they settled there in large numbers. Cæsar[1] describes them as twelve or fourteen tribes of German race; Strabo[2] says they were Gaulish, although differing widely from the Gael, *i.e.*, we think, a variety of the Keltic race, neither Iberian, Gaelic nor Teuton, but High Kelt.

The probability is they soon amalgamated with the inhabitants, and may for our purpose be best described by a later appellation as a Kymric race with a considerable Keltic admixture. A tall, fair people, henceforth to be known as the Belgæ, or, from their home in the Kymric peninsula, the Kymrii.

In the course of their migrations they had acquired some lingual additions, and had left behind them colonies of their race; their course may in fact be tracked from the Euxine up to and along the Danube, by the names of the localities and the rivers, &c.[3]

7. An eminent French authority terms them "a vagabond race, always seeking for a better country and better conditions." They soon, as we have seen, crossed the Channel. Cæsar says, "The interior part of Britain is inhabited by those who are reported to have been originally formed in the island itself; the maritime parts by those who crossed over from Belgium, for the sake of plunder and warfare; most of whom are called in Britain by the names of the states (in Gaul) from whence they came; and after carrying on war with the natives they remained there and began to cultivate the land." He further describes the parts known to him as "containing an infinite number of inhabitants."

Ptolemy (A.D. 120) describes Britain by its nations, amongst whom he specifies the Belgæ, naming as their chief towns Venta Belgarum (Winchester), Ischalis (Ilchester), and *Udala Therma* or *Aquæ Solis* (Bath). Marcianus (A.D. 250) says "the number of nations in Britain was thirty-three."

The wave of Belgic invasion rolled on from the shores of Hampshire and Dorset until it reached the Avon, and most probably the Severn. We do not think that it crossed the Severn, although we are assured on competent authority that a dialect of the Belgic tongue was spoken there during the Roman invasion.[1]

8. From their terminal point in North-west Somerset, which has been variously placed as Maes Knoll, Portishead and Stoke Leigh camp, these invaders *circa* B.C. 250 threw up the huge rampart known as the Wansdyke, with its ditch on the north side, towards the tribe of the Dobuni, as their northern frontier.

[In a later age under their great general Divitiacus they crossed the Thames and conquered Essex, and portions of Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire.][2]

Dr. Stukeley derives the name of this mighty bulwark (the Wansdyke) from "guahanu," an ancient Keltic-British word denoting a line of demarcation. Others, as is well known, derive it from Woden the Saxon Mercury (Wodensdyke). This is possible, but, if so, it must have been a second appellation, arising out of a similarity of sound, for that the structure is pre-Roman is proved by the fact that in several places that people utilized portions of it as a road, and it would seem that in a subsequent era it was heightened and made the boundary between the West Saxon and the Mercian kingdoms. Two separate sections which have been cut through it show by the soil and the chalk the height of the original agger and its subsequent elevation.

This great boundary line is, Sir Richard Hoare says, "singularly irregular in its course; it does not continue its track along the strongest ridge of the hill, but often descends into the valleys, and on the open downs where no obstacle impeded its taking a straight direction it frequently makes the most unaccountable angles; but in one respect it is invariable, viz., in having the ditch to the north and the bank to the south, which proves from what quarter the attack of the enemy was to be expected."

9. Bower Walls and Stoke Leigh, Maes Knoll, Stanton Bury, English Combe and Hampton down are Belgic camps, constructed to watch over and to strengthen this mighty barrier. On the chalk downs of Wiltshire, also in Berkshire, near Andover, and Savernake forest, the Wansdyke still retains its original form and has diminished but little, we should imagine,

[1] Cæs. B. G., i., 1. [2] Strabo, iv., 3.

[3] Dr. Margoliouth in the Journal of the British Arch. Assoc., vol. xxxv., part 2, pp. 169—173, contends that the word Kymri is of Hebrew origin. Kymary omri, "idolatrous priests robed in black vestments." Hence Taliesin sings, "My love has been declared in Hebrew in the Hebraic tongue."

[1] Dr. D. Davies. [2] Collinson, Hist. Somerset.

in size. The camps on Blaize, Clifton down, North Stoke, &c., &c., show that the natives north of the Avon were upon the alert, and had strengthened their defences; whilst down in the west, sheltering amidst the tors of Dartmoor and the bleak uplands of Exmoor, they remained long unconquered. The Severn was an effective barrier westward, and we admit the probability that the Cotswolds were for centuries strongholds for those Kelts who would not readily fraternize with the Belgæ.

Some historians consider that the strife was carried on until late in the sixth century, and the Cotswold hills, with the neighbouring cities, remained Keltic until then. The chief ground for their argument is that Ptolemy says that in A.D. 120 Bath was a Belgic town, and yet, say they, we find that 457 years later it was British. Ceawlin, the West Saxon, in A.D. 577, at the battle of Dyrham, killed, those historians inform us, three British princes and took the cities of Bath, Cirencester and Gloucester. The question is, what is here meant by British? Does not the name simply mean the amalgamated race left behind in the country by the Romans? Llywarch Hen in his elegy on the death of Kendelan, one of the princes slain, affirms that the Lloegrians assisted the Saxons in that battle. Mr. Coote, whose opinion is entitled to the highest consideration, identifies the Lloegrians (Ligurians) with the Belgæ.[1] Now Ostorius had swept the Cotswolds long before that date, and some of his strongest camps were pitched on that range of hills. It can scarcely be supposed that the conflict of the races survived the Roman era, if, indeed, the peoples had kept themselves separate and distinct up to the second century.

10. Let us now briefly gather out of the early histories the traditions that refer more immediately to our own neighbourhood.[2] The best known of the Welsh chronicles is that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who translated the History of the Kings of the Britons from British into Latin. He was made Bishop of St. Asaph in A.D. 1152. His story runs that a great grandson of Æneas of Troy, named Brutus, at the head of his Keltic Gauls, crossed from the Continent to Albion and landed at Totnes. From him the country was called Britain, the Kelts being the descendants of himself and his followers.

Although little reliance can be placed upon Geoffrey's statements in general, this story is slightly corroborated by an earlier historian. Ammianus Marcellinus wrote A.D. 370 thus:—"Some say that a few persons having escaped from the destruction of Troy, seized on Gaul, then void of inhabitants." "This account," he adds, "I took from Timagenes, a Greek historian."

Nennius (*circa* A.D. 858) relates the same story with such variations that Seyer thinks he must have had several British chronicles from which to copy.

From the above sources, the Welsh Triads and the Brut Tysilio,[1] our historian concludes that an Earl or King of Cornwall (*i.e.*, West Wales, or the country from Gloucester and Wiltshire to the Land's End, *circa* B.C. 400), one Dyfnwal Moelmyd, made himself master of all Britain,[2] constructed four great roads, executed other useful works, and built, amongst other places, Caer Odor.

Geoffrey gives him the Latin name Dunwallo Mulmutius. Robert Ricart, our early Bristol historian (A.D. 1479), gives his name as Doneband. Ricart ascribes the foundation of the town to Bran, or Bryn, the son of Dyfnwal; he and his brother Beli are both far better known by their Latin names, Brennus and Belinus. These brothers, on succeeding to their father in the kingdom, crossed over to the Continent, and led an army of Britons and Gauls into Italy, where they sacked and burned Rome B.C. 391. The story of Brennus throwing his sword into the scale as the gold for ransom was being unjustly weighed, with the insulting cry, "*Væ Victis*" (woe to the vanquished), has become one of the romances of history. Enervated by sensual indulgence and unwonted luxury, and afterwards with his army decimated by pestilence and famine, Brennus, with but the shadow of his great host, retraced his steps to Britain. Polybius says:—"They were called home to defend their own country against the Veneti, or Belgæ, who had invaded it." Ricart's words are:—"After they had this doon, the saide two brethern retorned home into this lande of grete Bretaigne, with their Bretonnes, and dwelled here togeder in grete joye. And then Brynne first founded and billed this worshypfull towne of Bristut, that now is Bristowe, and set it upon a littel hill; that is to say, betweene Seint Nicholas Yate, Seint Johnes Yate, Seint Leonardes Yate, and the Newe Yate, and no more was billed not many yeres after, and then Brynne repared home over sea," &c. This tradition was current in Bristol before Ricart's day (1479). In the tower of St. John's Church, facing Broad-street, are effigies of Brennus and Belinus, which are generally considered to be of older date than the building (1370), and to

[1] Coote's Romans of Britain, 24.

[2] The argument here is derived chiefly from Seyer; our readers must take it for what it is worth.

[1] All written in the 14th century, therefore very doubtful as history.

[2] He means all England, we suppose. James I. was the first King who ruled over "all Britain."

have been removed from a previous structure to their present site.

11. The inferences we are expected to draw from these traditional stories are these :—First, that Dyfnwal gathering his hordes out of the west and from across the Severn, previous to sweeping with conquering arm over the east and north, those men would naturally construct their earthen dwellings on our downs, and thus Caer Odor would become a local habitation and a name; secondly, that Brennus, on the other hand, returning from civilized Rome forty or fifty years later, where his Britons had rioted in luxury, would be far more likely, in consideration of his newly-acquired habits, to look out for a situation more in accordance with the commercial tastes which foreign travel had awakened; hence his foundation of a town below the hill at the confluence of two tidal rivers.

We must confess that we place no confidence in these "vain traditions," but no "History of Bristol" would be complete without relating what our forefathers firmly believed to be indisputable facts, and which are repeatedly given as such by early historians.

12. The consecutive alterations in the name are slightly in favour of the theory of the growth of the town downwards from the hill-top. In the Chronicles we have it simply "Caer Odor," the city of the chasm; then "Caer Odor nant Baddon," the city of the chasm in the vale of baths; again, "Caer Odor nant," the city in the vale of the chasm, or, as the Welsh more poetically render it, "the city in the rent valley." The transition in a later age to Clifftown (Clifton) from the first is obvious. An eminent modern authority, however, says the most natural origin of the name would be Caer-y-deor; in Welsh, "the city of the water," or "on the water," pronounced Caer-i-door. In a compound word made into one, the accent, according to an invariable rule, falls on the penultimate.

That Bristol was founded in the British era was a very early and commonly received opinion is evident. Robert the Rhymer gives us the following verse :—

> "The first lordes and masters that in the land were
> And the chiefe towns they let arear
> London, and Everwyk, Lincoln, and Leycestre,
> Colchestre, and Canterbyre, Brystoe, and Worcestre."

William Wyrcestre (1478) says :—"The town of Bristol, otherwise called Bristuit, was founded by Brennus, *i.e.*, Brenne, as it is written in the book of the chronicles of Alfred, King of England, which I saw in the French language, which begins thus :—'En la cite de graunt Troye etoit un noble chevalier et puissant, de grande puissance qui oula non Eneas.'" Leland also says :—"Brennus conditor Bristolliæ." John Rowse (1491) corroborates this statement, and Grafton's chronicle quotes Polychronicon to the same effect. It is mentioned by name as "Caer Odor yn nant Baddon," or as "Civitas Odera in valle Badonica" by John Twine, and also by H. Llwd; and Henry Huntingdon, quoting the title, adds, *i.e.*, "*Bristou.*"[1]

13. Seyer's conclusion is as follows :—"The British foundation of Bristol appears to be a fragment of real history, transmitted to us by registers and chronicles from the earliest age; and I consider it probable that a British King of the Dumnonii, or Earl of Cornwall, Moelmydd, or one of his sons, for the sake of strengthening his frontier, or, it may be, for the defence of the neighbourhood, founded a town called Caer Odor, either at Bristol or so near it that the Welsh antiquaries have interpreted one name by the other; and this happened between the years B.C. 390-350, about the time when the Belgæ first arrived on the coast of Hampshire.[2] Thus was founded a British town on Clifton hill, the original settlement, from which Bristol was derived; and when this latter town began to flourish and the old hill fortress to be neglected, it was easy and natural to call the new town adjoining by the old name, as happened at Salisbury, Winchester, Colchester, and other places." He then adds a few words which, if true in 1822, are infinitely more so at the present date. "It is curious to observe how Clifton, after having transferred its inhabitants to Bristol, and continued an unfrequented village for more than a thousand years, is now receiving back its population and reasserting its claim to eminence."

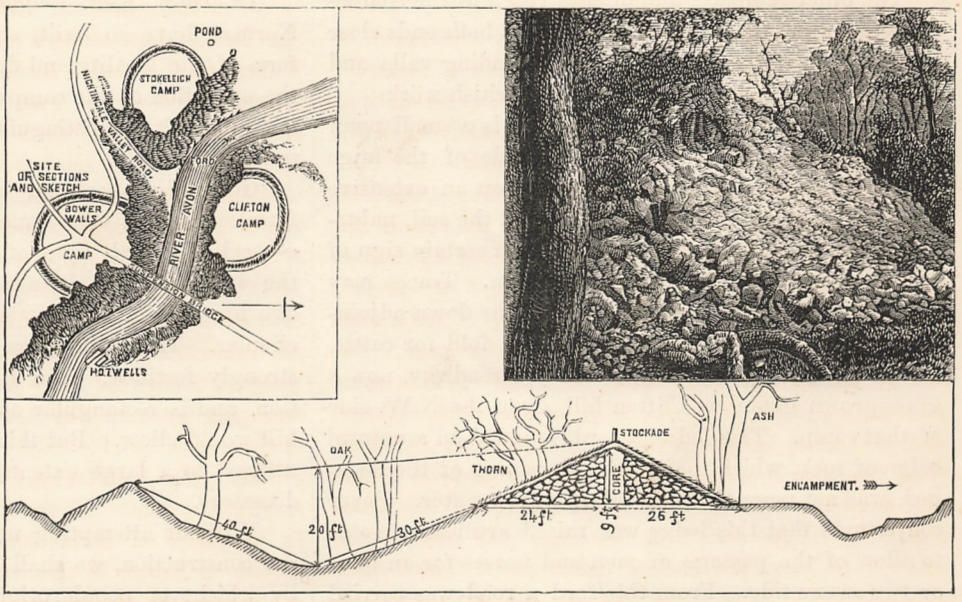
14. "The fortress on Clifton hill was not (Seyer remarks) the whole of the British station on the Avon. It consisted of three separate camps, Clifton camp, Bower or Burgh Walls, and Stoke Leigh camp," and, we would add, the fortified plateau of Durdham down. Clifton camp is in shape an irregular circle, containing about 3½ acres on the highest point of St. Vincent's rock, and overhanging the river Avon by a sheer perpendicular precipice of 285 feet to high water mark. This camp is surrounded on the sides not protected by the cliff by two ditches, which form three ramparts. The inner one measures 293 feet in length; it has an average height of four feet above the area. The other valla are of much greater relative elevation; they can readily be traced, although they are now intersected by paths and have become a fashionable promenade.

[1] Seyer, I., 192, 206.

[2] Dr. Guest, the best modern authority, admits the possible existence of Dyfnal Moelmydd, but places him *circa* A.D. 600, a slight difference of only *about* one thousand years. Such is monkish history.

The inner area is about 115 yards wide, and tokens of Roman occupation (to which we shall have again to refer) and of the earlier pit-dwellings may be easily traced. Exactly opposite to this camp on the Somerset side of the Avon is a deep and beautiful combe or glen, Stoke Leigh slade, now known as Nightingale valley. On each side of this glen, abutting on the river, the rocks rise nearly as high as those of St. Vincent and almost as precipitously. These bluffs or spurs of the hill were also occupied as camps. The Suspension bridge is swung at its southern extremity from the rocks of Burgh Walls to the opposite rock of St. Vincent, bringing into close juxtaposition and striking contrast the rude earthen valla and fossæ of a primitive people and the most graceful of all the skilled erections of the modern engineer.

15. This camp of Burgh or Bower Walls has within the last decade been almost entirely destroyed; the loveliness of the site, its quiet repose and enchanting scenery, in which rocky height, frowning precipice, soft woodland, winding river, expanse of sea and distant mountains are all happily blended, have offered temptations too strong for resistance; its valla have been burnt into lime, its ditches levelled, modern villas have replaced the hut-circle of the savage, and flowers from every clime bloom in an area that had remained desolate and uninhabited save at distant intervals for upwards of two thousand years.



Camps of the Avon. (Copied by permission from the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society's Journal.)

Such changes must inevitably come in the course of the ages, and perhaps none but an antiquary regrets them; to him it seems an irreparable loss to blot out the last relics of a period when time was young and of a people that have vanished. The camp of Burgh Walls was a table-land containing about seven acres. It was enclosed by three ramparts. On the hillside these were in the form of a segment of a circle, and the innermost and highest measured 455 yards in length. The precipice facing Clifton was 280 yards, and that on the N.W., which overhung the combe (Nightingale valley), about 160 yards long.

16. The innermost of the three valla was upwards of 22 feet in height from its ditch; it was built of loose limestone and was a fine specimen of what is known in Scotland as "the vitrified fort," with this exception, the material used here being limestone, instead of fusing, it calcined under the intense heat.

As shown in the engraving below, this carbonized core of the top wall, measuring from eight to ten feet in height, was then banked up on both sides with loose unburnt stone.

The charcoal of the wood used to calcine the mass was revealed beneath and on the sides at every section made when this vallum was destroyed. This innermost vallum was most probably a Roman addition to the ancient fortification. The second rampart was much lower, and was strengthened by a low wall of loose stone. The third or outer agger was as usual of little height or strength, and was in many places 40 feet or more from the second ditch. The winding entrance on the S.E. between two walls of earth, faced and covered by a mound like a barbican, is essentially British and of early date.

17. The third of these camps is situated also on the Somerset side of the Avon, and lies on the N.W. of Burgh Walls camp, being divided from it by the Nightingale valley. Stoke Leigh camp is a promontory of high table-land of an angular form, with the apex pointing towards Clifton camp, which is exactly opposite to it, on the other side of the river. On the side of the combe facing Burgh Walls (S.E.), Stoke Leigh has a front of 280 yards in length, which is difficult of access in all parts, but towards the river it is precipitous.

On the N.W. its defence is a craggy precipice 220 yards long, which overhangs another deep combe. A curvilinear vallum, now overgrown with forest trees, was carried from one of these cliffs to the other on the western side of the camp, which is on a level with the hilltop. This rampart is 225 yards long, and it has a wall of loose stones four feet thick built on the top. This earthwork is elevated about 12 feet above the area of the camp, but its fosse is very deep, the slope being about 40 feet from the top to the bottom of the ditch.

Beyond this inner line of defence, at a distance of about 40 feet, there is another fosse 12 feet in depth, with a low rampart of earth. An intervening ditch appears to have been at one time begun but was never finished.

The other ramparts and ditches reach to the combes on both sides. There were entrances at both ends close to the ravines; these had the usual winding valla and outer defences that characterise early British work.

At the N.W. end of the outer ditch is a small pond fed by a spring, and on the inner side of the huge rampart there are traces of habitation on an extensive scale. The area is free from trees, and the soil, naturally red, has become black and friable, a certain sign of early, continuous, and dense population. Traces may also be found of a larger enclosure on the down adjoining, evidently fenced in by a fosse as a fold for cattle. These three camps are connected by a roadway, now a grass-grown glade, on Clifton hill, upon the N.W. side of that camp. This led to a ford, founded on a natural ledge of rock, which, before the deepening of the Avon bed, was not more than knee deep at low water. Seyer conjectures that this ledge was raised artificially, so as to allow of the passage of men and horses for an hour or two every tide. From this ford a road was carried up the combe, known as Nightingale valley, between Burgh Walls and Stoke Leigh. This road can be plainly seen in its upper portion; the lower is hidden beneath a moraine of limestone from the heights. A curious triangular guard-house or pit, with its sides of loose stone without mortar, defends the pass midway up on the Somerset side.

18. Durdham down, the cattle lair and temporary residence probably of the camp followers of Caer Odor, had its ravines of approach jealously guarded.

In what is now known as Fairy Land, above the winding carriage road from the Hotwells and the new Zigzag, between Proctor's fountain and the high cliff, there are the remains of a rampart and of many guard-pits. They occur also in large numbers on Walcombe slade, the ravine which is known to moderns as "the valley of Jehosaphat," and which runs down to the river between the above spot and the Sea Walls.

The generally received opinion of competent antiquaries is that these several portions formed one large fortress, and were probably a national rendezvous. They, in position and method of construction, answer to Cæsar's description:—"The Britons call it a town when they have fortified any woods difficult of access with a ditch and a rampart, where it is their practice to take refuge in order to avoid the assault of their enemies."

Again, on his second landing in Britain in A.D. 56, he says:—"They retired into the woods and took possession of a place excellently fortified by art and nature, which they had provided before apparently for the purpose of domestic war."

19. Iberi, Kelt, Belgæ, Roman, Saxon, Dane and Norman have so built, occupied and altered the hill forts of the locality and destroyed its woods that, with the exception of the camps constructed by the Romans, it is difficult to distinguish those erected by any one nation.

Generally speaking, we think that the larger fortresses, with the inner rampart the highest of several, and with signs of abundant habitation within the walls or upon the adjoining downs, belong to the two first-named people. The Belgic camps are mostly circular. The Danish are often pear-shaped and less strongly fortified. The Roman is built on low elevation, and is rectangular as nearly as the shape of the hill would allow. But this people and the Anglo-Saxon utilized to a large extent the fortresses of their predecessors.

Without attempting minutely to distinguish as to the construction, we shall briefly note as early British, by whichever people originally founded, the principal camps near to Bristol, leaving the Roman alterations of such fortresses and those confessedly built by their legions to be described hereafter.

20. Overlooking the village of Henbury (the ancient burgh or fortified place), in the charming grounds of Blaize castle, on a hill precipitous upon the southern and the eastern sides and of considerable height, is a very strong fort. Upon the west and north it is less difficult of access, and is therefore defended by a double fosse and triple rampart. The area embraces about six acres. The proximity of this camp to the Roman station known to us as Sea Mills induced them to occupy and greatly to strengthen it.

About a musket shot distant to the S.W., across a deep gorge, through which flows the little river Trym, is a cattle fort. This has merely a vallum and ditch

cut across the hill top, with a small entrenched camp on the extreme corner of the hill.

21. Seven miles from Bristol to the north, in the parish of Almondsbury, upon a knoll of the ridge of hills that run parallel to the Severn, is Knole, the seat of Mr. Sholto Vere Hare. Beautiful and commanding in situation, this fortress stands out boldly 60 feet above the alluvium. It was fortified upon the plateau by a rampart of earth, and the charming serpentine walks midway along the natural escarpment of the hill were evidently constructed on the site of the ancient fosse. The spur of the hill on which this camp stands was cut off by a deep ditch and vallum, apparently about 30 feet high. The many-gabled mansion, with its octagon tower, is a strikingly beautiful and conspicuous object from the fertile plain that skirts the Severn.

22. Another remarkably strong fortress of pre-Roman construction is that of Berry hill, in the hamlet of Moorend, near to Winterbourne. It is very nearly circular, with diameters of 180 × 140 yards; its inner rampart, of about 560 yards, encloses an area of four acres, in which are the remains of a long barrow and a good well of spring water: the outer vallum is by far the higher, averaging perhaps 20 feet. The hill on the eastern side is nearly level with the camp area; here the artificial defence is strongest. The river Frome encircles the south and part of the western sides, which are steep, the latter yielding good stone to the quarrymen. On the north-west, finishing the ditch, is a large mound. Camden ascribes the erection of this camp to Ostorius, but it certainly is not originally Roman; Seyer thinks this mound was thrown up by the Romans in their assault upon the camp.

This is evidently a mistake: it is a defensive work to cover the entrance. Cadbury, Dyrham or Burrill, and other camps yet to be mentioned, have their gateways defended in the like manner.

23. Oldbury is another British fortress very similar in construction to Moorend or Berry hill. It stands on a low insulated hill about three-quarters of a mile from the Severn. The area, about 80 yards in diameter, is now occupied by the churchyard and church. The edges of the hill are scarped and portions of the ditch remain. On the N.W. point of Lansdown hill, above the village of Dyrham, is all that remains of a fine camp of 20 acres in extent; it has a high rampart and a very deep ditch. The serpentine entrance with defensive mound would alone testify to its being early British. History corroborates the statement, for Burrill (Bury hill), Dyrham, is the spot where Ceawlin, A.D. 577, defeated and slew three British princes.

Portions of the vallum are levelled and the whole area is cultivated. Many years since an ancient labourer informed us that he helped to level the rampart, and that large quantities of flint arrowheads and chippings were found therein.

24. Four miles N.W. of Bath, on a spur of Lansdown, projecting boldly over Kelston Beacon hill and the valley of the Avon, is the camp of North Stoke. Two of the sides are steep, and strengthened greatly by art. On the hill top the defences are a curved trench and a high vallum of considerable strength. Its area of 15 acres has been divided and the camp Romanized. There are two long barrows in this fine camp. Within a few hundred yards there is a small rectangular Roman camp, probably thrown up when that people attacked and carried this large fortress.

25. On the Somerset side of the Avon there are a great many of these fortresses. At Portbury and on the range of hills above Long Ashton they are small, with slight ramparts and of no great strength. Cadbury camp (above Tickenham), seven miles from Bristol, is much of the same form and size as Berry hill. It has two valla formed of loose limestone, 12 feet high and distant 45 feet from each other; the curved hornwork for defending the entrance is a marked feature.

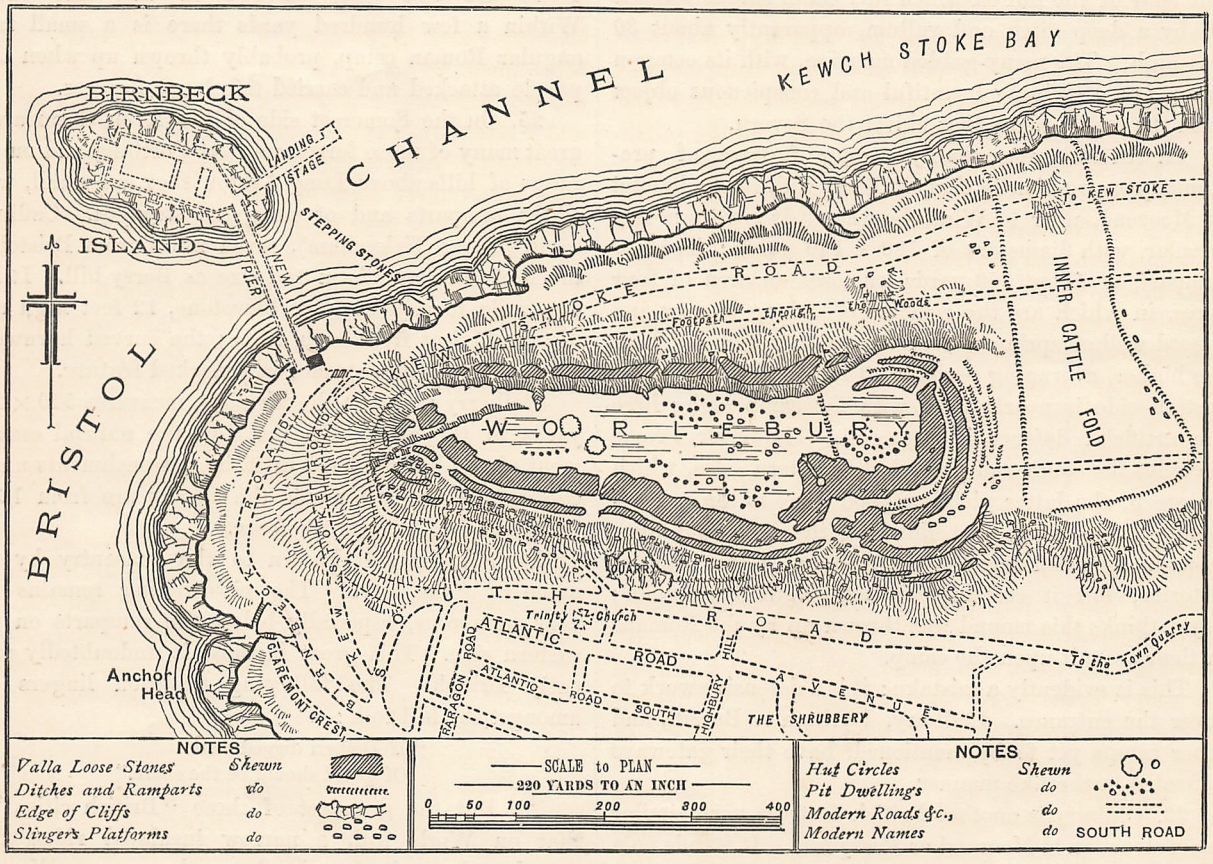
Dolberry camp, on the Mendips, measures 540 × 220 yards in the area. On the S.E. the natural escarpment of the hill rendered artificial entrenchments unnecessary; on the other side the aggers are from 16 to 30 feet in height from the fosse.

Dolberry is still known to the peasantry by the name of "the city." The pit-dwelling remains are very numerous, especially below the ramparts on the eastern side. This great fastness is undoubtedly very early British. The following tradition lingers yet amongst the hill folk:—

> "If Dolberi digged were
> Of gould should be the share."

26. But the grandest of these "British cities" is that on Worle hill, a narrow insulated ridge that stretches from Anchor head on the sea at Weston-super-Mare to Worle on the Great Western railway. Every portion of this ridge was fortified; all its weak points are defended by arrow pits and ramparts. The hill is repeatedly crossed from side to side by earthen walls and ditches forming enclosures for cattle. The city, which is of amazing strength and construction for a prehistoric age, is in the fort at the western end overhanging the sea. The camp, which is double, covers about 20 acres. Seven ramparts contiguous to and rising above each other defend it on the hill level. The first four of these consist merely of the earth and stones thrown up from the ditch; the fifth bears marks

of an added wall upon its top of later date. Behind this is another fosse, from whose edge rises the first of the singular valla by which this fastness is surrounded. Pieces of dry uncemented grey limestone, clean in the fracture and angular, are piled up to a height of twelve or fourteen feet, having a base of double that width. Within this vallum is the seventh fosse, and from it rises the innermost rampart, 20 feet in height, composed of similar fragments of loose limestone. This mighty wall is more than a mile in circumference, and in some parts is 100 feet in thickness at the base. The rampart, they themselves being protected by its shelter. We, conceiving the purpose of this shelf-like formation, sought for and found on these ledges the round pebbles for the slings, a kind of ammunition which, amidst the myriads of angular fragments that compose the walls, cannot be found in any other part of the camp. This stronghold is divided into two parts. The more eastern is the stronger in its defences: this contains about four acres, and is cut off by a deep ditch from the other part of the enclosure, which measures about eleven acres.



Worlebury City and Fortress.

stones vary in size, and are chiefly from 4lb to 12lb in weight. On the top of this huge vallum a dry wooden stockade was apparently erected. Strange as it may sound, the places in which the posts stood and the watch pits in the wall can be plainly traced. Yet more, in many spots, especially where the access on the hill-side was easier than elsewhere, and around the serpentine entrances to the fort, the inside of the vallum in several places retains its perfectly perpendicular form, and a levelled ledge runs around the wall about three feet below the top for the archers and slingers to stand upon, so that they could deliver their missiles over the

On the northern side the precipitous cliff would appear to be a sufficient defence; nevertheless, at its foot the camp is additionally protected by another loose stone rampart. This was probably a defence to the path to the spring at the bottom of the hill, from which the water for the camp was necessarily fetched.

Upon the south front (facing Weston) the hill was defended by entrenchments, short valla in weak spots, and innumerable platforms for slingers built up like brackets upon its steep acclivity. In the larger area there are literally hundreds of the pit-dwellings previously described.

27. Some of these were opened in 1851, and their contents carefully noted. One in particular is deserving of remark. It differs from the others in form, being square for a depth of three feet six inches, then it has a circular opening like a well, built up carefully with stones without mortar. This well is two feet deep and four feet three inches in diameter; it was, in fact, the family lounge. This strange dwelling in 1851 revealed a fearful history. In the grassy sod around its mouth Roman coins were discovered (no uncommon occurrence); but three skeletons were found in the pit lying across each other, and evidently thrust in by violence. One of these had two deep gashes at the base of the skull, which must have been inflicted with a short, heavy, clean-cutting sword; another had a stone embedded in the fractured skull, and the collar-bone was driven up into the jaw; the third had a wound in the thigh, and an iron spear-head was found sticking in the vertebral column. Others of the pits contained skeletons and fragments of rude pottery, beads, spear-heads, and one had a short sword or dagger. Slain in defence of the spot, these men had, it is presumed, been hastily tumbled into their homes, were then rudely covered over with stones, and time, assisted perhaps in the ages by thrifty farmers who sought to save their flocks from accident, had filled up the cavities. The men whose skeletons were discovered were not, however, the original occupants; they were not even a second, but were men of a third race, who probably fell before Roman or, it may be, Saxon prowess. Below the skeletons were layers of broken stones alternated with earth. When these were removed the lias slabs were found that had fallen in from the roof; there were also fragments of the burnt rafters, impressions from a kind of basket-work of twigs, wheat charred black, traces of a kind of mat or bag, scorched barley, &c. All these things were burnt most on the upper side, showing that the fire had fallen from above. Below this *débris* were more earth, marks of fire again, &c., &c.; then small bones of birds and rabbits, sling stones, flint knives and arrow-heads lying upon the primitive rock floor. It seems to us that the inference is clear. Here are the marks of at least three distinct epochs in the history of the spot, epochs divided by long periods and peopled by men of widely different arms and habits.

28. We can only find space to name two other of these British fastnesses, Stanton Bury and Maes Knoll,[1] on the eastern end of Dundry Hill, both on the Wansdyke. This latter has two deep ditches and ramparts on the eastern brow, and several on the southern. Towards the north the edge of the steep hillside was protected by a vallum. A huge tumulus or mound, 390 feet long, 84 feet broad and 60 feet high, stands between the camp and the adjoining hill. In the area, and indeed outside it, are a great many depressed hollows or pit-dwellings, which prove it to have been an early British stronghold; but, as we shall show hereafter, it was much altered by the Romans.

[1] Battle Hill, Keltic British.

29. From their contiguity, form and position we ascribe the origin of many of these forts to remote ages, times of great tribal strife. Others, from their great size and indubitable proofs of population, were literally cities of refuge for a whole people; whilst some undoubtedly mark out the lines of offence and defence between a powerful foe advancing westward and a slowly retreating people. The Kelts could make no effectual stand against the Belgæ, but were driven backwards until with the Bristol Channel and the Severn in their rear they were able for a while in a smaller area successfully to withstand the aggressors. The two nations were thus brought front to front with each other in Somerset, and probably also upon opposite sides of the Avon. Now although the Kelts preferred to remain a separate and distinct people, yet the nations could not be always at war, and the population of Caer Odor would necessarily be subject to influences that were unfelt by their kinsfolk who dwelt amidst the western mountains.

30. Peaceful intercourse at intervals, would tend to convince them that the Belgæ had by traffic and contact with continental nations become more civilized and attained to a higher degree of knowledge than themselves, and the natural law of diffusion would gradually work out its inevitable result, either the weaker race that remained subject to its influence would be absorbed or would die out.

We are aware that ethnologists have drawn a broad line of demarcation between the Keltic and the Teutonic races, and their union has by some been pronounced "impossible." It appears to us that history scarcely supports this view, and if so dogma must yield to facts.

A large minority of these conquering Belgæ were themselves Keltic; the races had amalgamated on the Continent and become one nation, and assuming a common origin for the human race, a divergence that should render a reunion of Teuton and Kelt incompatible is a greater anomaly to us than that, with such an element of affinity, these nations should eventually coalesce and become a homogeneous people.

The Basque blood had amalgamated with and become lost in the Keltic, and now overlying this mixed race was that of these latest invaders, the Kymric.

The distinctive characteristics of these races are not, we admit, altogether obliterated; they crop out at times. We have still amongst us the people with flat head, forehead low and broad, face round, approaching to square, with high cheek bones, chin prominent, nose small, often *retrousse*, and the figure stout and of but moderate height. This type, found in Ireland, Wales and England, is a cropping out of the ancient strain.

The other type reveals to us the head long, oval, with high forehead, somewhat narrow, the nose curved downward and pointed, the chin small and projecting, almost meeting with the nose in old age, the figure tall and slender. This type is found largely in Wales, and is, we judge, Kymric. It is the type of the Walloons and Picards. Cæsar observed "that the connection between those whom he termed the Teuton-Germans and the Keltic-Belgians on the Continent was more close than that between the different races of the same Keltic family." "Cæsar's view," says Dean Merivale, "may be erroneous; but the fact that so accurate an observer should have made the mistake may suffice to convince us how powerfully the accidents of intercourse and proximity may operate in sundering kindred, and in amalgamating independent elements." [1]

31. Hence we conclude that the causes we have named, combined with the civilizing influences of a navigable river, the proximity of a quiet roadstead, and a sheltered arm of the sea, must have had a material effect upon the Keltic population on the northern shore of the Avon, even if they remained unconquered.

The Belgians were a maritime race; the extraordinary rapidity with which the seaports in their possession sprang into commercial greatness proved their aptitude for such a career.

They had left the wild habits of their roving forest life, and we cannot conceive that a people with such proclivities and possessing facilities so favourable as were offered them by the shores of the Bristol Channel and the Avon would rest supinely on their arms, still less that they would retrograde to a savage life.

Nothing seems to us more natural than that small Belgic settlements should arise on the river and sea shores, and that in due course their neighbours should fraternize, join in their pursuits, and so lay the rude foundation of that maritime greatness which the subsequent history of our city reveals.

Some historians contend that the whole eastern border of the Channel and Severn continued Keltic until A.D. 577. If this were so, still the Phœnicians traded to Cornwall for tin, and were not unlikely to visit the shore of the Mendips for lead, and whether the intercourse was with them direct or with the Belgæ the argument remains intact; social influences must have ameliorated the condition of the Keltic inhabitants, and unless human nature was very different in that age from our experience of it in the 19th century, these would tend to create a taste for a commercial and maritime life in those people with whom the foreigners came into contact. Indeed there is no evidence to prove that there was much and continuous fighting between the Belgæ and the previous inhabitants of the island; war there was undoubtedly, but the case seems to us to be this: a more advanced Continental people came and squatted down in steadily increasing numbers amongst a sparse, uncultivated, and possibly not a very unfriendly people, until they eventually altered not only the language but the very type of the earlier race.

This is by no means a singular result. By the fortunes of war a complete interchange of language between two nations has in recent times been known to have occurred in Africa.[1] Besides, the Keltic and the Belgic tongues, although now so different, were both evidently derived from a common sub-Aryan source, but the Belgæ had in their continental migrations acquired many lingual additions, not a few of which would necessarily be German or Teutonic.

32. The religious ideas prevalent in Britain at this epoch demand a brief consideration. The theological system known as Druidism was claimed by the Kymrii of Britain to be their own invention. In its mysteries their priests were preëminent. "Those who wish to be more accurately versed in Druidical rites go over to learn in Britain." [2] The claim to original invention cannot be sustained; the system was essentially Oriental, and its path westward may be traced by its megalithic structures from beyond the Euxine, from whence also its ramifications extended eastward to the borders of Thibet and even into Japan.

"It taught," says Dean Merivale, "the purity of the Godhead as a metaphysical abstraction, and the eternity of the soul's existence by transmigration; it had its mysteries and initiatory rites by which the mind of the votary was withdrawn from the contemplation of the manifold energies of the Godhead to that of His essential unity; it abounded in symbols, inculcated retirement and meditation, and upheld the character of its priesthood as mediators between earth and heaven. Again, it made use of natural phenomena as means to elevate the mind to the comprehension of a First Cause, glided from thence unto the frivolous delusions of astrology, and finally degenerated into the impieties and horrors of a belief in magic. Hence an

[1] Merivale's History of the Romans, I., 204.

[1] Dr. Beddoe. [2] Cæs. B. G., vi., 13.

addiction to human sacrifices, the last resort of superstitious terror endeavouring to extort the secrets of futurity from a reluctant power, and to control the course of destiny."[1]

The influence, social and political, of the Druids was immense; they were the lawgivers as well as priests, the bards, teachers of the young, arbiters in disputes, and supreme judges in the criminal courts. Assuming that the megalithic structures were, as is generally supposed, connected with Druidical worship, we have in our immediate neighbourhood the most venerable of their temples, compared with which Abury is but as a youth, and Stonehenge an infant of days.

33. Stanton Drew (supposed to mean the stone town of the Druids) stands in the fertile valley of Chew, on the south side of Maes Knoll. It consists of about 60 stones of great size, which measure from five feet to upwards of 15 feet in height, not a few being, it is calculated, of the weight of from 20 to 30 tons. Eighteen of these are standing; 42 others have fallen, some of which are almost buried by the accretive soil, whilst many have been broken up and the materials used for building purposes.

These huge monoliths are with two exceptions of a kind of travertine, containing sulphur (a rock not found *in situ)*; the exceptions are of Dundry stone. They bear no tool mark, but were raised unwrought from the quarry. Their arrangement is that of three separate circles of different sizes, two portions of avenues, and a "cove," thought to be an altar, but more probably a judgment seat.

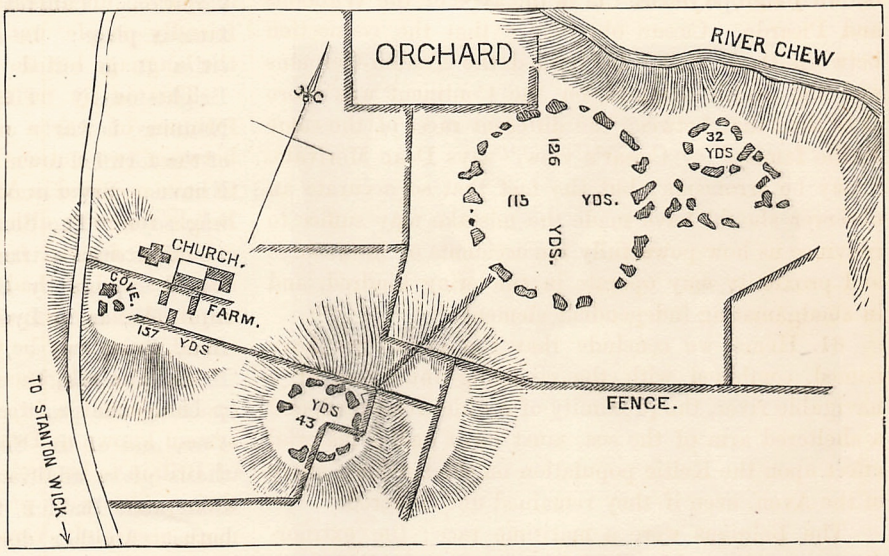
The largest of the circles is in a meadow; 18 stones may be counted, and the places of six or eight others that are buried may be traced. The circle is irregular, its diameters being 345 feet and 384 feet. On the eastern side of this, about 50 yards distant, and connected at one time by an avenue of which seven stones remain, is a smaller circle of eight stones. The diameter of this is 96 feet.

Still further to the east are seven other stones, all but one of them prostrate; these formed, it is thought, a serpentine avenue of approach, a kind of portal to the holy of holies.

[1] Merivale's History of the Romans, I., 231.

To the south-west of the large circle, and about 150 yards from its centre, is another circle of twelve megaliths, having a diameter of 129 feet; here the stones lie prostrate, broken, and some of them so deeply buried as scarcely to be traceable; they have evidently been used for the fence of the orchard, the angles of which intersect the periphery of this circle.

In the same orchard, 70 feet to the north-west, is the "cove." This is formed by three large stones, each about 18 inches thick; they are respectively 5 feet, 11 feet, and 14 feet in height, and are set in the form of a seat, or chair; the back stone has been broken off, and about 13 feet of it lies supine between



The Megalithic Circles at Stanton Drew.

the other two. This chair-like opening is about 10 feet wide and 8 feet deep.

Two-thirds of a mile to the N.W. are two other huge stones of the same kind, and on the N.E., on the other side of the river Chew, lies one known as Hautville's quoit, from which in the early part of this century large quantities were broken wherewith to mend the roads.

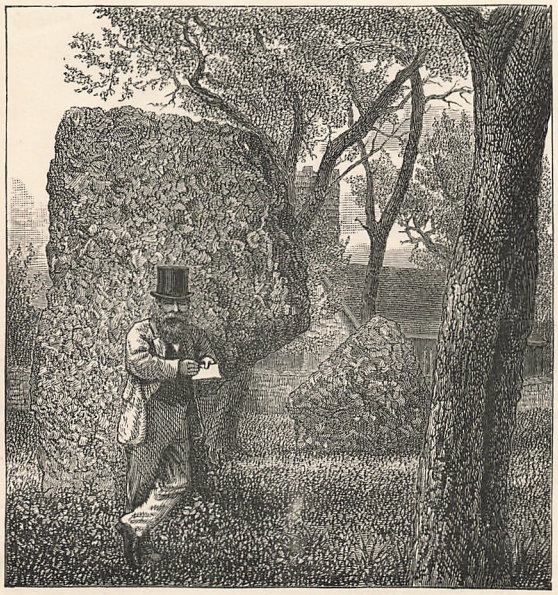
At Wick, between Bristol and Bath, in a field known as the "Chesils," are three monoliths; two are standing, the third has fallen, and fragments of a fourth may be traced.

At Stoke Bishop, in the parish of Westbury, adjoining Bristol, is a dolmen, or table stone, $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet $\times$ $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet $\times$ $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness. It originally rested on four pillar stones; one of these has disappeared and the table has slipped.

In Armoury Square, Stapleton Road, there were two monoliths. These have disappeared, and their site is now covered with buildings.

34. All of the above-named megaliths are generally considered to be Druidical remains. Some suppose them to have been solar, others lunar temples. We rather incline to the belief that those at Wick and Armoury Square were Roman land marks, erected by the "*agrimensores*," or land surveyors.[1]

In fact it is all conjecture as to the purpose for which, or the people by whom, these stones were erected. Council hall or temple, grave or altar, gross serpent worship or Druidical rite, have each their advocates; nay it is contended by some to be within the range of possibility that the stones at Stanton Drew were erected by the primitive non-Aryan race who inhabited Europe before the Gaul.



The Stones in the Orchard, Stanton Drew.

All we can positively claim for them is this, that they evidently prove the early existence, in this locality, of a population which must have been familiar with the rude mechanical arts, which enabled them to move to a distance heavy masses such as these ponderous stones.

Keltic nomenclature abounds in the neighbourhood of Bristol, often pure, more frequently with a Teutonic affix to the old name, as Durdham, Ruanham, Cotham, Hanham, Aldeburyham, Conham, Henbury, Westbury, Hallen, Penpool, Bertonne, Filton, Brandon, Brastuilton.[2]

[1] Coote's Romans of Britain, 98.

[2] An eminent local antiquary has an elaborate, and we think unanswerable argument, showing the early foundation of Bristol, from the fact that this village (Brislington) was derived from and named after Bristol. See Journal British Arch. Assoc., June, 1875, Kerslake, 176.

35. The distinctive name Bristol has been the cause of much speculation. Seyer gives forty-two variations in the spelling, to which we could add upwards of twenty. In the coins of the Saxon and Danish kings from A.D. 978 to 1016 it is variously spelt Bricstow, Brygstow, whilst William the Norman on his pennies spelt it Bricstol. The earliest form in the Saxon Chronicle 1087, gives it Bricgstowe, which, with slight variations, is repeated in 1114, 1126, and 1204. Seyer, however, quotes an authority, Hoveden, for an earlier date, 1064, for Brikestow. On the coins of Henry I., *circa* 1110, it is spelt as now, Bristol. In the twelfth century the general Norman French spelling was Bristuit, with variations. Camden is in favour of Brightstowe, "the famous place;" he says, "in the catalogue of ancient cities it is called Caer Brito, and by the Saxons Brightstowe." This name, which he quotes from Nennius, is fairly conclusive evidence of the existence of the fortified town in his day, so called by the Cambro Britons. Seyer quotes the opinion of a learned friend, who says, "The Saxons in giving a name to the town would attempt a translation of the original. *Caer* they would express by *Stowe;* Odor they would translate into *Bric*, as in Lye's Saxon dictionary; also Somner, *Bric, Brica, ruptura, fractio, a break or breach*; so that Bricstow would be an exact translation of *Caer Odor*, it being the practice of the British language to prefix *Caer*, and of the Saxon to suffix *Stowe*." This hypothesis gives additional proof that Bristow was Caer Odor nant Baddon, the town in the rent valley of the baths. Another derivation which he gives is *Brito*, which he prefers as being the most ancient, and as having historical support.[1] *Bricstowe*, as being originally built on the breach of the rocks, may be right, he thinks, but the Saxon translation of *Caer Brito* into *Brito Stow*, *Britstow*, would soon become *Bristow*, the common English name of the place down to the middle of the seventeenth century.

36. We will give one other authority. The Rev. S. Lysons, an eminent antiquary, says:—"I have a strong conviction that our British ancestors were actuated, in giving local names, by their acute observation of the features of the places and countries to which they gave these names. And this will be more and more apparent the greater number of examples we can bring together showing the great fitness of the adaptation. A more striking instance can scarcely be brought forward than that of Bristol, where the name traced back to the original Chaldee describes precisely the geological position of that town. Prits-tol—the B and P being inter-

[1] Nennius, whose date is variously given from A.D. 620 to 858, the latter being more probably correct.

changeable letters, as we see from Marcian, the geographer of the fourth century, who writes both Britain and Pritain as meaning the same thing—Pritstol or Britstol means a 'burst-through hill or valley,' *i.e.*, a valley formed by the bursting through a hill by force, especially by water. Pritsi or Britsi in Chaldee means 'breaches,' 'craggy rocks formed by the action of the water, as on the sea shore, chasms,'[1] &c.

"Without meaning a pun, Bristol and Burst-dale, Burst-dell are words '*idem sonantia, idem significantia.*' Seyer, in his admirable history of Bristol, tells us that the Britons called the place Caer Odor, and that the modern Welsh still, or until recently, so called it; and he explains the meaning as 'the City of the Chasm.' But if it be modern and ancient British, it is also Chaldæo-Hebrew; Caer or Kir, or Car, as in Kirjath and in Carthage, means a city, and Odor means a fissure, chasm, separation, division or partition. Caer Odor and Bristol are only synonyms for the same thing. Cliff-ton, the cleft place or place of cliffs, is another synonym for the same; and we must remember that old Bristol was situate at Clifton, where there are still the traces of British occupation. The word Clifton is the Saxon way of expressing this geological fact, and equally derived from a common Hebrew or Chaldee origin; Clef and Chlef (whence our words half and to halve) means to cut in twain by violence.[2]

"There are three other places in England having the name of Birstal, two in Yorkshire and one in Leicestershire. As far as indifferent maps will lead me to judge, somewhat of the same geological features present themselves as in our Bristol, namely, that of a river bursting through a narrow channel. I see that at Birstal, in Yorkshire, there is a cliff overhanging it, called Brunicliff—Barnicliff, in Hebrew the Barren cliff, or Barecliff.

"I suspect that the monkish derivation of Bristol from Brutus or Brennus had no other origin than in the fertility of brain of Geoffrey of Monmouth and his compeers."

37. Early English antiquaries down to Camden had always supposed Bristol to be the city described by Ptolemy A.D. 120 as Venta Belgarum. "*Dobunis vero subjacent Belgæ et urbs Ischalis, Aquæ Calide, Venta.*" "Under the Dobuni lie the Belgæ and the cities of Ilchester, Bath and Venta." Camden contends that Winchester is the Venta which is meant by the old geographer. Our most recent Bristol historian, Mr. Pryce, following out the argument of Mr. Hooke (who commenced a History of Bristol in 1748), contends that Winchester was not seated under the Dobuni, but many miles eastward of their frontier, as well as distant from the other places mentioned; that Bristol is so situated, *ergo* Bristol is the Venta. The argument is untenable. Ptolemy evidently only meant that the Belgæ possessed these places south of the frontier of the Dobuni. (We greatly doubt whether Bath was Belgic, but must admit that the Belgic frontier extended to the river Avon, and from Bathampton it certainly overlooked the city.) It is, we think, clear, from the distances given and the towns in the line of route named in Antonine's Itinerary, that Winchester is the Venta that is meant by the Roman geographer.

Mr. Pryce further argues that the name was changed from Caer Odor to Caer Brito shortly before the time of Nennius, because it is so named by that writer, who, it is contended, "was only the translator of a more ancient history written in the old British language by another person of a similar name, but who lived 80 years before the Christian era."[1]

Mr. Pryce contends on the above hypotheses, that as these names, Venta and Caer Brito, mean Bristol, therefore from the slow growth of a city under ordinary circumstances "Bristol must probably have been founded long before even the age of Brennus and Belinus."

We have thus adduced, we believe, the principal if not the whole of the reasons given by different authorities, together with our own conclusions, which tend to show that in prehistoric times a town or city, the precursor of modern Bristol, was even then existent, first upon the hills, and that subsequently (as at Salisbury, Winchester and other places) the inhabitants settled for convenience upon the present site, until from "Caer Odor nant Baddon," the city of the chasm down in the valley of the baths, it attained its present designation—BRISTOL.

[1] When it is said in Judges v. 17, "Asher continued on the sea shore and abode in his breaches," the word Britsi is used; it means those creeks formed by stream and tide, into which, as at Bristol, it is convenient to run up ships. Again, when read as Ph or F (for the letters again are interchangeable with the B), we have the words Fresh and Freshet, Firth or Frith, which every dweller on a tidal river recognises, and so the word Brits, or Prits, or Frits in Hebrew is translated in 2 Sam. v. 20, 1 Chron. xiv. 11, Job xxviii. 4, "A breaking forth of waters, a torrent, a rushing headlong stream."

[2] The river Oder, in Germany, means the same thing. It is the river of separation.

[1] Pryce, 7.

CHAPTER II.

THE ROMAN ERA.

1. *Cæsar's First Invasion.* 2. *Condition and Characteristics of the Briton.* 3. *Cæsar's Second Invasion.* 4. *That of Claudius under Plautius and Ostorius.* 5. *Roman Fortified Camps.* 6. *Which of the Avons was indicated by Tacitus.* 7. *Quietude under Roman Rule.* 8. *Roman Camps at Clifton, Sea Mills and Blaize Castle.* 9. *Seyer's opinion as to who built the First Wall.* 10. *The Iter of Antonine.* 11. *Its probable Route.* 12. *A partial alternative of the Route.* 13. *Roman roads on Durdham down.* 14. *Site of Abona changed to Bristol.* 15. *Geographical resemblance to Rome.* 16. *Walled by Constantine the Great.* 17. *Discovery of Roman Coins at Clifton, College Green, sundry Places in Bristol, Easton, Filwood, Ashton, &c., &c.* 18. *Roman Coins dredged up from the Floating Harbour.* 19. *Pigs of Lead with Roman Inscription found in the Frome.* 20. *Plan of the City decidedly Roman.* 21. *This portion of the Country surveyed by the Romans.* 22. *Maes Knoll and other Tumps, Roman Landmarks.* 23. *The First Wall of Bristol on the Roman plan.* 24. *The most Ancient Privileges of Bristol Freemen identical with those of Roman Citizens.* 25. *Reasons why these could not have been derived from the Anglo-Saxons.* 26. *Roman incised stone found at Sea Mills;* 27. *Probably a Christian's tombstone of the Third Century.* 28. *Episcopal Dioceses in the early Fourth Century.* 29. *The Roman Legions recalled.*

CÆSAR'S latest conquests in the north-west of Gaul were retarded by the assistance rendered to the Veneti by the Britons. The name of the Brittani.[1] now appears for the first time in the pages of history, B.C. 57. "Who are these people," he asks, "who stretch out an invisible arm to succour the enemies of Rome?" Cæsar had felt their prowess on the sea; their ships were weighty, strongly built, and withstood the attack of the lighter Roman galleys, until their opponents, with hooks fastened on long poles, cut the halyards, brought down the sails, and rendered them unmanageable.

Cæsar determined to punish these Brittani for showing such sympathy with his foes; it was politically necessary to chastise a nation that flaunted its freedom in the face of his legions, and deemed itself safe in "the great wall of ocean by which it was surrounded;" its example might become contagious, and so the terror of the Roman arms was destined to be carried westward, over the last barrier that Nature had raised against them.

He therefore sent out and surveyed the coasts of Albion, and began to collect ships and to gather his legions for an expedition thither in the ensuing season.

On the 26th of August, B.C. 55, he landed near Hythe with 12,000 men, but never lost sight of the sea shore, and after remaining three weeks he quitted the island, being without a supply of grain for the winter, and many of his ships having been injured by a storm. There possibly were other reasons which, as

[1] Cæs. B.G., iii., 9.

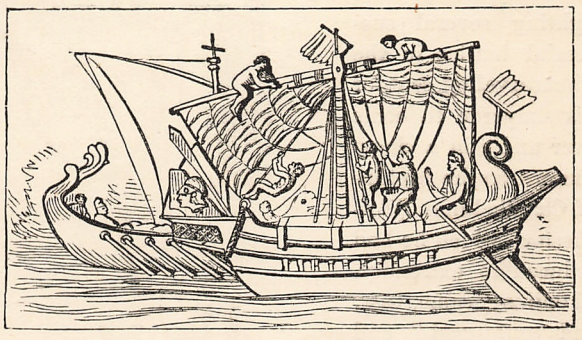
his own historian, Cæsar preferred to leave untold. Lucan says, "he showed his affrighted back to the Britons whom he had invaded." It will be advisable, perhaps, before we proceed further, for us to glance at the people whom he came to conquer.

The first invasion, as we have seen, was justified by him on the ground that his Gallic enemies had repeatedly recruited their armies and repaired their losses by the aid of their kinsmen from Britain. The merchants of the coast, who found a market in the island, furnished him (reluctantly, Cæsar admits) with the information upon which his plan of invasion was founded.[1]

2. Macaulay, like Hume, following the generally received opinion that the then inhabitants were altogether savage, ignorant, communistic and destitute of all the arts that tend to make this life enjoyable, says, "Nothing in the early existence of Britain indicated the greatness she was destined to attain."

But what are the facts which we gather from the Roman historians? Properly considered they seem to us not only to describe a people containing within themselves the germs of greatness, but a race fairly advanced in a career that only lacked cohesion of their tribes to make them a noble nation. Tacitus says, "The nations of Britain were formerly subject to kings, but they were miserably divided by the factious cabals of their leading men." The natives are said to have been courageous, amenable to discipline, obedient to authority, yet impatient of subjection; and herein lay their weakness; it was because they were broken up into tribes or petty kingdoms that they were, as is well known, taken in detail and subjugated. They exchanged commodities. Strabo says, "They exported corn, cattle, gold, silver, iron, skins, slaves, basket-work, chalk,[2] and a large species of dog.[3] They were practical miners in tin, lead, and, we think, also copper; they worked in metals, coined moneys of brass and silver. "*Utuntur aut ære aut nummo aureo aut annulis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo.*"[4] They marled their land for corn growing, had spears, swords, and chariots of war armed with scythe blades at the axles; hence they must have possessed considerable skill in mechanics. They knew how to stake a ford so as effectually to impede the march of cavalry, and had a system of roads paved with stones on the tops of hills; these had lateral branches which led to their towns. We read that Cassivelaunus could rapidly bring together from all parts 4000 chariots with which to oppose the Romans. They built fortifications which for hugeness and strength of defence are to this day a marvel to engineers. They braved the dangers of the ocean in strong home-built ships; possessed many towns; Tacitus tells us their buildings were numerous;[1] they had begun to practise the fine arts, could design, and paint upon shield and body well-known and familiar objects; Cæsar himself brought away and exhibited a corslet made of British pearls; and they had a system of religion that was immensely in advance of heathendom in general.

It would be wrong to suppose that the whole land was thus civilized; we learn the contrary from the varied sources from which we have culled the above facts. Differences of race and tribal jealousies kept them asunder, so that the inhabitants of some parts of the interior still roamed in primitive barbarity through marsh and wold and tangled forest.



Roman Galleys.

Enough has been said to show that the foe Cæsar had to encounter was not a mere nation of savages, and the Roman writers who have told the stirring story of their conquest—and have with admiration recorded some heroic examples of their defence of their island home—describe the people "as an energetic race, whose cold and uncertain climate compelled a laborious perseverance to secure the means of life; * * * * as being impatient of restraint, fond of liberty, warlike, industrious, fierce and imperious, ingenious and high-spirited."[2] Strabo tells us "they exceeded the Gauls in stature; I saw young Britons in Rome who were taller by half a foot than our tallest men."[3]

Cæsar's first attempt to conquer these islanders was undoubtedly a failure; but he, the greatest general the world ever saw, was one whom difficulties did not daunt,

[1] Bell. Gall. III., 8, 9, and IV., 20.

[2] At Domburgh, in 1647, there was a remarkable inscription found dedicated to the goddess Nehalenniæ, by Secundus Silvanus, a chalk merchant of Britain.

[3] "There is a kind of dogs of mighty fame for hunting; by painted Britons bred." Camden, I., 140.

[4] Hawkins's "Remarks on British Coins," in Monumenta Historica Brittanica, cii.; Knight, 15.

[1] Tacitus Ann., xiv., 33.

[2] Ptolemy De Judiciis, lib. II., c. 3.

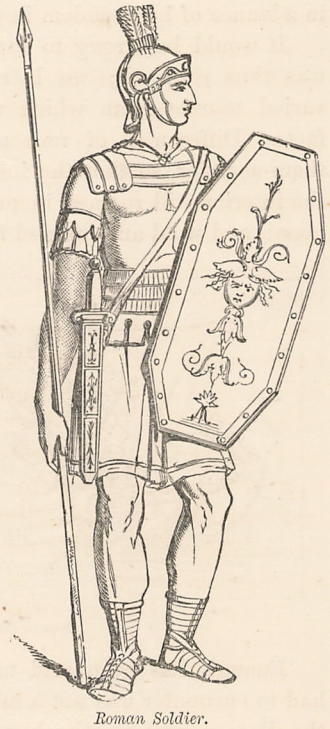
[3] Lib. V., 200.

and upon whom failure acted as an incentive to renewed exertion.

3. The next year, B.C. 54, he collected a second and a larger fleet, at Portus Itius (Witsand), consisting this time of 800 ships, in which he embarked five legions, and upwards of 2000 Gaulish cavalry; these he succeeded in landing near Deal.

After a brief stay of three months, and a somewhat equivocal success, he withdrew again from the country, upon receiving a promise of tribute. From this period the island became better known to the civilized world, and trade with it increased rapidly.

4. Ninety-seven years passed before another attempt was made upon Britain by the Romans. In the year A.D. 43 the Emperor Claudius sent an army under Aulius Plautius, who, after fighting several successful battles in the Thames valley, sent for his emperor to come over and win a cheap renown by the capture of Camalodunum (Colchester), which he had reduced to extremity. Claudius "came, saw, and conquered," and having been sixteen days in Britain returned to Rome in triumph, leaving Plautius governor of the conquered province In the same year (A.D. 44) Vespasian was sent into Britain with the second legion, and the work of subduing the southern portion of the island was entrusted to him by Plautius. He fought thirty battles, took more than twenty towns, made prisoners of some British kings, reduced the Isle of Wight, threw up on Salisbury plain a huge camp that still bears his name, founded Cirencester, and conquered the whole of the south and a considerable portion of the west of Britain, as far north as the Severn.



Roman Soldier.

When Publius Ostorius Scapula arrived in the island as successor to Plautius, he found the Silures (the inhabitants of Central and South Wales), who had never been conquered, endeavouring by their incursions across the Severn to recover for their kinsmen and allies the country which had been seized by the Romans.

5. The proprætor immediately took the field with some light-armed troops, although the winter had begun, drove back the invaders and pursued them to the borders of their own territory. Tacitus informs us that then, "lest the enemy should again collect themselves, and by a dangerous and faithless peace give no repose either to the general or his army," he began to disarm the inhabitants of those towns and districts whom he suspected, and to secure the banks of the Severn and the Antona, either by constructing new fortresses or by occupying the ancient camps, "*cinctos castris*," of the natives. That the line of defence ran northward, east of the Severn, on the Cotswolds and their outlying spurs, is certain. Sea Mills, Blaize castle, Knole, Sodbury, Oldbury, Horton, Elberton, Glevum, &c., &c., are all either camps of Roman foundation or bear unmistakable marks of having been occupied by Roman soldiers.

6. But historians differ as to which of the Avons it was which is described in Tacitus as being thus fortified and held. Seyer (very doubtfully) inclines to the opinion of Camden that it is the Warwickshire Avon which is meant, the reason alleged being this: that this part of the country (around Bristol) had been reduced to quiet submission by Vespasian. But the men of the West—the Kimbri, Damnonii, and Karnabii—had not been conquered; they were only driven into the corner of the land.

It is even doubtful whether the Romans had at that period possession beyond the Mendips and Brean down. We have proof of their occupation of the lead mines on these hills in the time of the Emperor Brittanicus, A.D. 49, but nothing to assure us of a more westernly occupation of North Somerset and Devon so early; Exmoor, Dartmoor and Cornwall were as yet unconquered.

Our own Avon is remarkably strong in its Roman and Romano-British fortresses. Dominating the river we have Sea Mills, Clifton, Blaize castle, Maes Knoll, Bury hill, Hanham, Bitton, Wick, North Stoke, Little Salisbury, Aquæ Solis, &c., &c.; further west we have Brean down ("Adaxium"), Cadbury, Hamdon, Burrington, Maesbury, Dolebury, &c., &c., guarding the Mendips; whilst the Wiltshire Avon, which almost meets our river at nearly a right angle, is similarly guarded on both sides even to the English Channel.

These forts, in sight of each other, garrisoned with a small but disciplined soldiery, formed a complete wall of security from the undisciplined hordes that lingered in the west, and secured his rear for Ostorius.

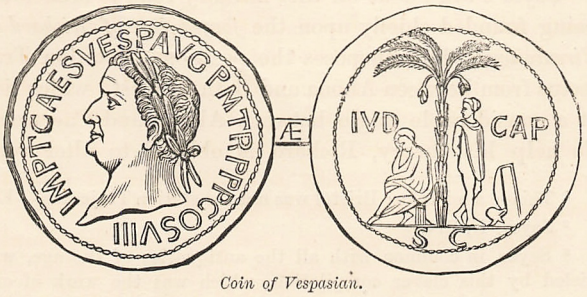
We do not think the Warwickshire Avon could be meant by Tacitus. The Silures were on the left flank of the Romans; this Ostorius had effectually guarded by the Severn and its camps. His rear must be secured

before he could march northward and then turn the flank of the most numerous, aggressive and incursive of his foes. The fortresses we have indicated, with many others unnamed, would suffice to hold the men of West Wales in check, as well as to dominate the recently conquered territory. Ostorius could scarcely afford soldiers sufficient to man a second line on the northern Avon, and from it to lengthen a chain of forts to Camalodunum, a distance of more than a hundred miles. A few camps to keep in awe the people who had just witnessed the march of his conquering legions, with a stronghold and a Roman colony founded by him at Camalodunum, to secure the Ikeni, and then his way was clear to attack the Cangi and Brigantii in detail, fall back on the west of the Severn and swoop down upon and crush, in the country of the Ordovices (or North Wales), those inveterate foes of Rome, the Silures, who had carried the war up into that quarter. This he did, defeating them and taking their king, Caradoc, prisoner.

If this reasoning be correct the Bristol Avon must be, it seems to us, the Antona of Tacitus.

We learn further from him, that the plan of garrisoning detached forts was a Roman practice. In the insurrection under Boadicea[1] in the year following the death of Ostorius, the Ikeni first stormed and took the garrisons stationed in the neighbouring forts, and then assaulted and carried Camalodunum itself, putting to the sword the whole colony. We are also told that at a later date, when the second legion was stationed at Caerleon, detachments were quartered in the most convenient of the ancient British forts.

Indeed, in no other way can we account for the added Roman work and the great number of Roman coins that are almost invariably found in these earth-walled castles.



Coin of Vespasian.

7. Under the Emperor Vespasian, A.D. 69, Julius Frontinus, who was then governor of the Roman province in Britain, attempted to complete the task in which Ostorius had failed. Crossing the Severn he formed the camp at Sudbrook, took the capital city of the Silures, Caerwent, fortified it as a Roman city, naming it Venta Silurum, founded Caerleon and established there the second legion. But although he succeeded in holding by main force a narrow strip of the coast, the hardy Silures defied him in their mountain fastnesses and remained unsubdued.

From the silence of history henceforth for centuries concerning this portion of Britain, and from the numerous remains of villa residences which have been discovered in Somerset and Gloucestershire, we conclude that it had become Romanized, and had settled quietly down under civilized law. Government was administered in a regular manner; the whole land was measured, allotted, divided, fenced and cultivated. Ancient British towns, such as Gloucester and Bath, were fortified, and became Roman cities; these were colonized by the Læti, the Limitani and others, old soldiers, who received grants of land, and the inhabitants enjoyed the municipal privileges of Rome. London, no more than Bristol, could boast of being a colony. "Suetonius marched to London, a city famous for its wealth and the great number of its merchants; though it was not distinguished by the title of a colony."[1] Sites that commended themselves to the tastes and judgment of these "*possessores*" and "*coloni*" were soon taken up and occupied with villas, or grew into "*civitates*," to each of which was assigned a territorium, *i.e.*, a town with a territory around it comprising villages, hamlets, &c.

Thus the territory of Glevum became Gloucestershire, nor is it at all improbable that Caer Odor (renamed Caer Brito) became a small Roman settlement, with a limited territorium which it holds to this day. If the exact site of the ancient burgh were not the first spot chosen by the Latins, we know that the neighbourhood commended itself to their judgment, as one suitable both for commerce and defence. Speedily on the hill at Clifton there arose a "*castrum stativum*," with at least one handsome Roman villa within a few hundred yards of it;[2] to be followed at no distant period by the establishment of a "*castrum hibernum*," on the slight elevation that overhung the confluence of the rivers Avon and Trym; which spot, known now by the name of Sea Mills, Seyer has identified, we think correctly, as the Abona of the *iter* of Antonine.

8. The traces of Roman occupation in the camp on Clifton down are still visible. The square of the prætorium at the western end, although cut through by modern paths, may be distinctly traced. This, and the

[1] Tac. Agric. 16. In the Bristol Fine Arts Academy there is a very fine cartoon of Boadicea haranguing the Ikeni, which obtained the prize of £100. It is by H. C. Selous.

[1] Tacitus III., cap. 33. [2] The site of Manilla hall.

inner rampart of stones cemented by mortar, are apparently the only additions made by the Romans to the ancient British fort previously described. Similar walls were added at Bower Walls and Stoke Leigh camps, on the opposite side of the Avon. These three camps formed, we think, one grand Roman fortress. The camp at Sea Mills,[1] most probably the Abona of Antonine, stood on a low hill at the mouth of the river Trym; its area is exactly 50 acres, and it is 510 yards in length on the northern side, which is defended by a valley having a brook in the bottom. The eastern side is the highest, being about 40 feet above the meadow; here on the rampart there are two projecting circular bastions, which Seyer considers were built upon a more ancient work; from this spot the ground slopes gradually towards the west and the river Trym, which front was probably fortified with a rampart, of which no remains exist. The southern side, which has a steep natural fall to the river Avon, is in itself a sufficient defence, although from appearances we judge this also to have had a low agger.

The Romans in their day trusted more to the valour and discipline of their troops than to huge ramparts of defence. On Lansdown may still be seen their camp of attack, but a hundred yards or so from the huge British fortification of North Stoke, and the difference between the two works in height and artificial strength is something extraordinary. The "thin red line" of Balaklava is an historical repetition of the power of brave hearts in manly breasts behind the weakest natural defences, or entirely without them, to repel undisciplined hosts, whose chief strength in attack consists in a sudden surprise by overwhelming numbers, and who for defence rely upon the height, solidity and number of their supposed impregnable bulwarks.

Blaize castle, at Henbury, we also know to have been in the occupation of the Romans; at Hanham they had a small camp; and Seyer says that Constantine the Great walled around the site of the ancient city of Bristol. His words are as follow:—

9. "The first settlement on the Avon was Caer Odor, or Cliffton, founded about 391 B.C.; and there was at that time a ferry across the Avon, where the bridge now stands, and a small town or village near the ferry. When the Romans conquered this part of the country their general, Vespasian, founded Abona, at the same time keeping garrisons at Clifton, Henbury, &c. When thus the country became safe and peaceable the most respectable part of the neighbouring inhabitants settled at Abona for the sake of commerce, society and safe government. Meanwhile the inhabitants of Clifton feeling the same security gradually extended themselves down the hill, occupying the banks of the river as far as '*Trajectus*' (Bristol),[1] insomuch that the whole way was one long town, called by the original name '*Caer Odor*.' Things were in this situation when in the reign of Constantine the Great the Roman government thought fit to surround with a wall and gates the area now occupied by High street, Broad street, Corn street and Wine street, which then became a town and was called Caer Brito; still, however, the whole settlement continued to be called Caer Odor, and is so called by the Welsh to this day." [2]

10. The names of the Roman stations Abona and Trajectus are derived from the "Itinerary of Antonine," a book of routes throughout the whole Roman Empire, published apparently for the use of the military, to enable the officers to direct their soldiers on the march. The book contains merely the names of the stations upon the line of road, and the distances between them. All that relates to Britain is contained in fifteen journeys; the one we have to consider, which is the fourteenth, is literally as follows:—

"Item alio itinere ab Iscâ Callevum m' p' CIII.—Venta Silurum m' p' IX.—Abone m' p' IX.—Trajectus m' p' IX.—Aquis Solis m' p' VI." &c.

The remainder is unnecessary to our argument. From this we learn that the military route from Caerwent to Bath passed if not through, at least near to Bristol.

Seyer's argument on this military road is fallacious, being founded chiefly upon the *forged iter of Richard of Cirencester*,[3] who transposes the position of station Trajectus from between Abona and Bath to Aust,[4] which lies at a considerable angle between Abona and Caerwent. To help his theory, Richard is obliged to alter very

[1] During the visionary days of the South Sea bubble, a dock was projected and built here, chiefly, we believe, for the South Sea whale fishery. Large sums were expended, warehouses were erected, but the bursting of the bubble brought on litigation, which ruined the scheme. A mill at the mouth of the Trym, erected for the manufacture of Says, a kind of serge cloth, has given the name to the locality, which should be Says Mill, and not Sea Mills; the latter appellation being, however, so well known we shall use it in these pages to designate the place.

[1] This is a mistake; Bristol was not the station Trajectus.—Ed.

[2] Seyer, I., 214.

[3] Seyer, in common with all the antiquaries of the age, was misled by this clever compilation, which was the work of one Bertram, of Copenhagen, who foisted it upon Dr. Stukeley, and he published it in 1759. Mr. Woodward, the Queen's librarian at Windsor, in 1866 exposed the cheat, and proved that the whole book was compiled from a lot of different but well-known works. Unfortunately nearly the whole of Seyer's Roman chapter is founded upon this farrago, and must therefore be rejected.

[4] Seyer, I., 136.

materially the several distances. Nor is he alone in this respect. Antiquaries, from Camden down to our day, have differed widely as to the course of this *iter* and the situation of the stations named, changing the numerals at will and giving most fanciful derivations to names of places in support of their views.

It would be a mere waste of words, and lead to no definite conclusion, were we to quote at length the different theories or to point out what we deem to be the erroneous conclusions arrived at.

11. We shall briefly give our own opinion as to the route from Venta Silurum (Caerwent) to Aquæ Solis (Bath). We must premise that a great military road, carried as straight as practicable between distant camps, did not necessarily run through the centre of every station upon its line of route; but just as the Great Western railway between Bristol and Exeter has stations for Clevedon, Weston-super-Mare and Tiverton, although neither of these towns is upon the main road, so did, we believe, short lateral roads connect different stations with the chief Roman military *iter*. We give the distances in a straight line as measured upon the map, irrespective of obstacles such as the water passage, twists in the roads, &c., &c.

Antonine's *iter* for Venta Silurum (Caerwent) to Abone, IX.; Abone to Trajectus, IX.; Trajectus to Aquis Solis, VI.; which we explain as meaning Caerwent *viâ* Sudbrook camp to Blaize castle, nine miles; Blaize castle to Wick, nine miles; Wick to Bath, six miles—total, twenty-four miles; or, by an alternative route, Blaize castle to Bitton, nine miles; Bitton to Bath, five miles—total, twenty-three miles. Sudbrook camp, on the Welsh shore of the Severn, is the small remainder of an undoubted Roman fortress, which, from its situation, must have been specially built to guard a landing-place or a ferry; this of course implies a road on both sides of the river. Opposite to it at the ebb tide the Severn rolls through the Shoots, being there less than five hundred yards in width to the English stones, a reef of rocks that is laid bare from low water to almost half tide; at high water, the full breadth of the river here is nearly three miles. On the English shore, facing Sudbrook, is a beach retaining its Roman name, *Chesil* beach, from which a pitched road runs through the marsh up to the high land under Blaize castle. This road also, singularly enough, bears a Roman title, "Chittening-street." Close to this road is a pill, or opening into the land from the river, Step pill, or Chittening pill, which, beginning at Chesil beach, and running parallel with the street to the high land, has been converted into a dyke or drain. The only objection to this route for the *iter* has been that it was over marshy ground, which, if not embanked, would be subject to overflow by the spring tides.

There is no record of the time when this diluvial land was first protected from the waters by a bank, but in 1409 commissioners were appointed "to view and cause to be repaired all those banks, &c., between Gloucester and Bristol which were broken by the violence of the tides."[1] These ancient banks, then, might possibly have been Roman, and Chittening-street would under those circumstances at ordinary times have been a solid military road. Herodian informs us that the Romans "made the marshy places stable by means of raised causeways, that the soldiers might easily pass them and fight to advantage, for many parts of Britain being constantly flooded by the tides of ocean become marshy." The case we are considering is so much to the point that one can almost believe it to be particularly referred to by the historian. But even supposing that at times the water did cover the roadway, then Chittening pill would become a canal-like cutting, available for transport by water from the source of its stream, Lawrence Weston hill. If this were, as we believe, the identical route of this great military road, how singular it is that history should so markedly repeat itself, for the tunnel under the Severn which is being constructed for the Great Western railway starts from Sudbrook camp for the English shore, and the line of road in the nineteenth century is but following that marked out by the conquerors of the world in the second century.

It is very evident that the station Abone, or Abona (which is merely Avona Latinized), must have been upon the river; we heartily endorse Seyer's opinion that it was at Sea Mills. Several collateral pieces of evidence support this view. "In Lawrence Weston, on the line of road between Sudbrook and Sea Mills, mention was made in the rent-roll of Sir Richard Sadler (temp. 36 Henry VIII.) of an acre of land in *Campo Abone town*."[2] Again, an ancient road led from Sea Mills to Henbury for Caerwent, and another, we contend, *viâ* Almondsbury, to the Ridgeway (*i.e.*, the Roman road to Gloucester), which crossed the great *iter* at Westbury.

A portion of this road, which ran from Durdham Down to Sea Mills, has only lately been destroyed, but some relics of it remain on the down itself, pointing northward from Durdham lodge. It lay between the edge of the down and the Clifton Cricket Club ground.

12. Another road from Sea Mills, which forms a junction with the *iter* for Bath, is very plainly to be seen: it runs from Durdham lodge towards Redland—the

[1] Dugdale on Embankments, 114.

[2] Barrett, 12.

water reservoir stands upon it. A third—the road to Clifton camp—is shown by the avenue of trees, which, starting also from the same point (the lodge), runs straight for that fortress. Thus it will be seen that whilst one road, following pretty closely the course of the river Trym, connected Abona with the *iter* at Henbury, and so was in direct communication with Venta Silurum, another led up the valley to Durdham down, where it trifurcated on reaching the level, and so by the shortest practicable routes Abona was placed in direct communication with Glevum, Aquæ Solis and Clifton camp.

13. The central of these three roads would join the main *iter*, we consider, at Redland, and, leaving the site of Bristol on its right, would pass on to St. George's, running thence to Trajectus, which we consider to have been the Roman camp of seven acres or more in extent at Wick, and which is just the requisite distance to Bath—viz., six miles. One strong bit of evidence in favour of this view is this:—There are three *Cold Harbours*, or Roman shelters, along the line of route, a name indicative of Roman occupation; moreover, a continuation of this road from Wick, through Marshfield, completed the network of roads by forming a junction with the great Fosse road at North Wraxall. An alternative portion of this *iter* has found favour with many excellent judges—viz., that from St. George's it ran *viâ* Hanham and Bitton to Bath. We do not demur to the assertion that this also was a Roman road; on the contrary, we know from a map of the seventeenth century that a portion of it was even then known as "Auguste causeway." There was also at Bitton a small Roman camp. But we can scarcely conceive that the passage of the little river Boyd at Bitton warrants the name of Trajectus being given to such a station.

It may be said that the same argument is equally cogent with regard to Wick, it being on the same river; but the whole valley of Dyrham (Dwr, water) above Wick, catches as in a basin the watershed of the south-west Cotswolds, so that the course of the river on both sides of the rocks on which the camp was situated was evidently through marshy land; in fact, this part of the country must not be judged by its present appearance, especially the Golden Valley, which in Antonine's time would better befit a name that implies a water-passage.

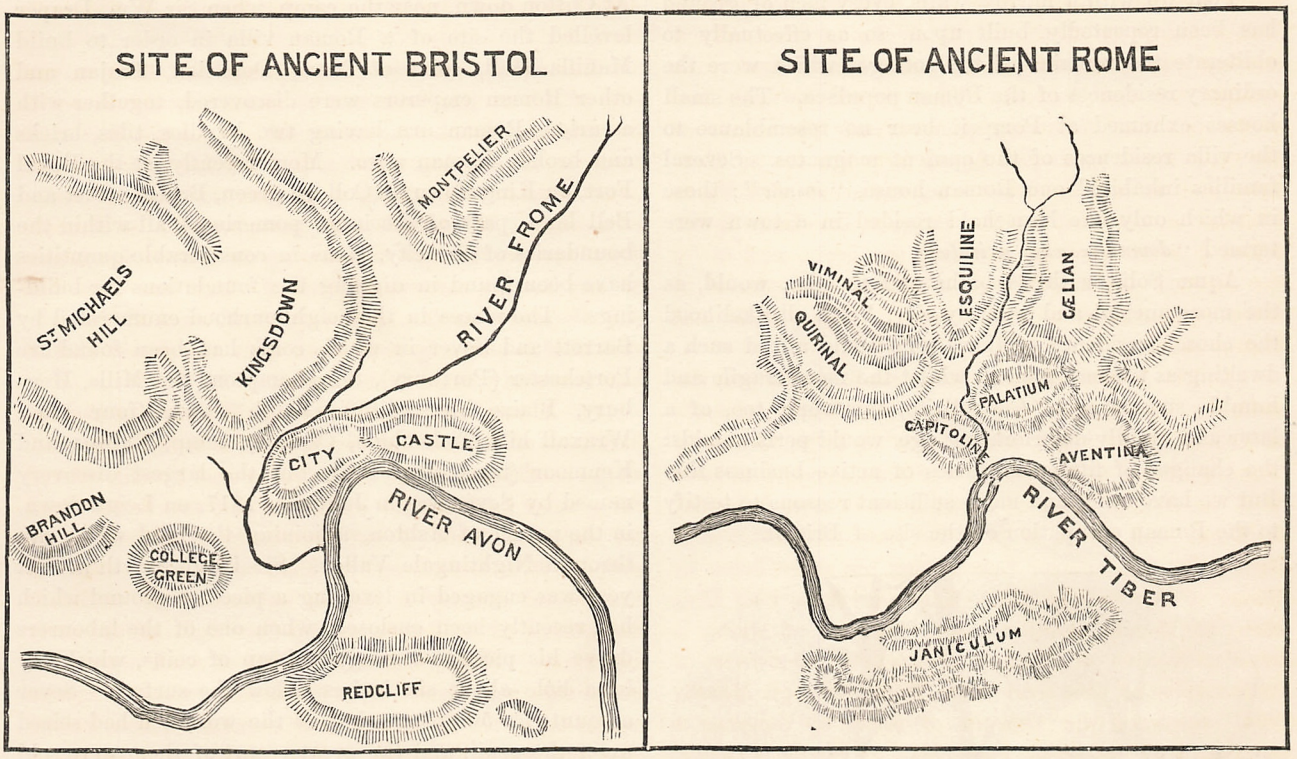
But is it not possible that the word *Trajectus* in this case means the passage of the river itself through the riven gorge of limestone rock, which, indeed, forms the fosse of the Roman camp on the height above, and through which the river has forced a passage, the chasm being similar in character, and only inferior in depth and grandeur, to that of the Avon at St. Vincent's rocks?

The chief difficulty in accepting Sea Mills as the site of Abona has been not so much any difference in its relative distance to other stations as the fact that there are no existing remains that betoken an important place of trade or anything more than the ordinary relics of a camp. No thane's *wic*, baron's castle, or English town rose on the spot to cover up or destroy the traces of any former structures; indeed, there has been but one discovery on the spot worthy of especial remark, and that is perfectly consistent with the theory that it was never any other than a camp.

14. A very brief residence would convince the inhabitants of Abone that the low hill a little to the east, at the confluence of the rivers Avon and Frome, offered far greater facilities for commerce and was better fitted for defence. This (if not previously inhabited, as we suppose it to have been, by Kelt or Belgæ) became in the second century a Roman settlement of sufficient importance to be known as the Caer Brito of the early historians. Through it another line of road, not named in the *iters*, was carried from Gloucester, which is known to this day as the Ridgeway, and is continued from Bristol over the marsh meadows of Bedminster by a causeway to the lead mines of Mendip. Another road (the alternative one before mentioned) also was constructed, giving shorter access to Bath, *via* Hanham and Bitton. The intersecting point of these great roads being at the conflux of two navigable rivers, with a sheltered roadstead in the adjoining sea, and well defended by neighbouring camps on every side, is a sufficient reason to account for the choice of it as a settlement. That Caer Brito thus sprung into note on the decadence of the less suitable station of Abone is the conclusion of Barrett, who, supposing that station to include the camps of Clifton, continues: "As it was then from the Roman camps in its neighbourhood, and the road betwixt Bath and Caerwent passing this way, Bristol may be said to have deduced its first origin, the Britons living there under their protection and government. * * * If it should be further asked at what particular period of time it was founded it can only be said to have taken its rise beyond doubt from the Roman station of Abone, growing up by degrees from it, and at last blended with it, while the Romans used to pass the Severn to Caerwent."[1]

We may add, for the information of those who are curious in such matters, that the divergence of opinion in by-gone years between antiquaries as to the position of Abone upon the *iter* is very remarkable.

[1] Barrett, 30.



"* * * * Bristowa stands
Like Rome, on seven* hills, proud and strong,
While, through her rich and varied lands,
Avon, like Tiber, flows along
Between such banks as bravely vie,
With Rhine's own gorgeous scenery."

BARHAM (Ingoldsby) *New Bristol Guide, 1847.*

* There are eight hills shown in each map, but Redcliff, like the Janiculum, was an accretion to the original city. By mistake our artist has mapped Bristol on a much larger scale than Rome, hence he has been unable to show the reach of the Avon to Hanham, which still more strongly adds to the resemblance.

Dr. Gale thought it was at Hanham, Stukeley names both Henbury and Oldland Common; Horsley, Almondsbury; Reynolds, Hallen; Bishop Stillingfleet, Aust; Barrett fluctuates between Sea Mills and Clifton, and Seyer places it, correctly we think, at Sea Mills.

15. Some of our historians have detected a resemblance between the physical geography of Rome and Bristol, which they suppose may possibly have influenced the choice by the Latins of the latter as the site for a town, and certainly on paper the likeness is far from being merely a fanciful one. The yellow Tiber flows by an obtuse angle around the transpontine district of Rome, the base of which is the Janiculum hill. By an angle of similar form the turbid waters of the Avon cut off from the ancient city proper of Bristol, the district of which Redcliff hill forms the base line. Rome was built on seven hills, say they; Mons Palatinus is represented by the hill on which our walled burgh was built, Aventinus by the Castle hill, Capitolinus by College green, Quirinalis by Brandon, Viminalis by St. Michael, Exquilinus by Kingsdown, and Cælius by Montpelier. The idea, is without doubt, an afterthought, arising from the palpable resemblance of the maps of the two cities.

16. During the first part of the 4th century this site, so admirably fitted for trade, was reckoned of sufficient importance to be surrounded by a wall, and a fosse where such was necessary. This was done, Seyer tells us, by Constantine the Great; it must therefore have been before A.D. 336.

Fortified so near the close of the Roman era in Britain, and having a city (Aquæ Solis) graced with beautiful temples and possessing every luxury, within half a day's march, it is not surprising that Bristol cannot—like her sister city—point to her architectural relics as proof of her Roman origin.

Pent up within narrow walls, every inch of ground has been repeatedly built upon, so as effectually to obliterate the remains of the cottages which were the ordinary residences of the Roman populace. The small houses exhumed at Pompeii bear no resemblance to the villa residences of the opulent magnates. Several families inhabited one Roman house, "*insulæ*"; those in which only one household resided in a town were termed "*domus ve ædes privatæ.*"

Aquæ Solis, with its baths and temples, would, as the more ancient and wealthy city, be in all likelihood the chosen residence of those who could afford such a dwelling as the last named, whilst the more fragile and humble structures of Caer Brito, the work, too, of a later and rapidly deteriorating age, would perish amidst the changes of fifteen centuries of active business life. But we have other and more sufficient reasons to testify to the Roman occupation of the site of Bristol.



Nightingale Valley, Leigh Woods.

17. The whole of the neighbourhood has been, and still appears to be, rich in deposits of Roman coins. Barrett mentions many discoveries prior to his day, and Seyer devotes twenty pages to the enumeration and description of them, together with others that came under his own personal observation. For the catalogue of these we refer our readers to his pages, vol. I., cap. ii., 154, 174. We shall, however, briefly note the sites within the city boundaries, or in their immediate neighbourhood, where the largest deposits were found. At Clifton down, near the camp, when Sir Wm. Draper levelled the site of a Roman villa in order to build Manilla Hall, coins of Nero, Domitian, Trajan and other Roman emperors were discovered, together with a curious Roman urn having two handles, tiles, bricks and broken Roman ware. More recently, at the Royal Fort, on Kingsdown, in College green, Bridge street and Bell lane (part of the inner pomerium), all within the boundaries of the city, coins in considerable quantities have been found in digging the foundations for buildings. The places in the neighbourhood enumerated by Barrett and Seyer in which coins had been found are Portchester (Portbury), Shirehampton, Sea Mills, Henbury, Blaize hill, Clifton, Leigh down (four lots), Wraxall hill, Tickenham, Cadbury camp, Nailsea and Kenmoor (three urns full), but the largest discovery named by Seyer was in January, 1817, on Leigh down, in the parish of Ashton, adjoining the road which ran through Nightingale Valley. Sir Hugh Smyth in that year was engaged in levelling a piece of ground which had recently been enclosed, when one of the labourers drove his pickaxe through a heap of coins, which lay in a hole about six inches below the surface. Seyer accounts for 500 pieces, but as the workmen had seized upon the spoil, and the greater part of them were sold for more than double their value, he considers that there were altogether more than a thousand pieces. They appear with one exception to have been silver denarii. Seyer gives 242 different types obtained by himself. They ranged from coins of the Republic of Rome to Constantius II., and varied in weight from 56 to 28 grs., besides which the coins of the later emperors were greatly debased, the proportion being 1½ of copper to 1 of silver.

As only one coin of Constantius II. was found in the lot, this hoard was probably deposited A.D. 338-40.

In 1865 a number were discovered by the labourers employed in lowering the ground on the north side of the Cathedral, and within the last five years immense deposits have been unearthed, which to a very large extent have been personally inspected by ourselves.

In the year 1875, in the suburb of Easton, on the site of *iter* xiii., leading to Bath, some labourers, engaged in laying water-pipes, dug up a hoard so numerous that they shared the coins by the double-handsful instead of counting them, and bore their prizes away in three bowler hats filled to the brim.

Out of 732 of these coins in our possession, exactly 600 are of the reigns of Constantius Chlorus and Constantine the Great, about 70 to the former and 530 to the latter, 18 are coins of Crispus, the son of Constantine, 58 of Licinius, 5 of Diocletian, 13 of Maximianus,

24 of Maximin Daza, 4 of Maxentius, 3 of Probus, 1 of Carausius, 1 of Carinus, 2 of Claudius II., and 3 of Gallienus. They are therefore all included within a period of 350 years of the Lower Empire. They consist of 251 separate types, are all beautifully oxidized, but not any of them worn by use—even those of Gallienus have the bust and exergue sharply defined, whilst the later specimens are fresh as if buried from the mint. None of them have ever apparently been used for currency, and they were probably hidden about A.D. 336.

In 1874 another buried hoard was disturbed by the spade of a ditcher, who was paring the banks of a little watercourse which runs by an ancient footpath in Filwood that leads from Bristol up to Maes Knoll tump, and close to an old road of communication between the latter place and the *iter* xii. The man unwittingly cleft the jar containing the coins, and a large number, apparently about two thirds of them, were scattered with the clods over the grassfield, where many were eventually found. The discovery was made by a lad, who saw some curious rolls in the bank, which upon inspection proved to be first brasses, chiefly of the early empire, but ranging from Claudius to Maximianus. These were oxidized into solid masses, and when severed were found to have been much worn by constant use as currency, many of them being so smooth that neither bust nor inscription could be traced; where they could be deciphered those of Hadrian were by far the most plentiful. In the remaining portion of the jar, which was of common pottery, there were some thousands of smaller irregularly shaped coins, varying in diameter from the eighth of an inch to three-eighths. Comparatively few of these were circular, but there was in all of them a rough approach to that form. On the obverse was more or less (according to the capacity of the coin) of a head in profile wearing a spiked crown; they bore many different types on the reverse. Of the coins of Constantine, so abundant in the locality, there was not one. The fair inference is that this hoard was deposited before his reign, that the large brasses had long been in circulation, and that the small coins were those of one of the British emperors, either Carausius or Allectus. This bank deposit therefore was made before A.D. 306.

In April, 1880, one of the largest hoards yet discovered, and very much akin in character to that unearthed at Easton, was found near to a lane and footpath which crosses the fields from the Ridgeway to the site of the before-named *iter*. The spot was between Netherways and Filton. These coins had been buried in an earthen jar of common half-baked pottery, about $\frac{3}{8}$ths of an inch in thickness, in the bank of an old watercourse, out of the bed of which a considerable number were gathered; the rest were oxidised in lumps in the broken fragment of the vase found in the bank. Upwards of 3000 of them are third brasses of Licinius, Constantine the Great, and his son. They are of the London and Treves coinages chiefly, and are of great variety of type; many of them are sharply cut and in good preservation, none of them show signs of wear, but like those of the Easton deposit they appear to have been buried soon after they came from the mint. In addition to these, there remained with the broken shards nearly a thousand of the smaller coins to which we have before alluded in the discovery at Filwood; these have also for the most part a rayed crowned head on the obverse. From their position the discoverer inferred, and we think justly, that a far greater number of these small pieces at least, and some also of the larger, had been washed away at times of flood and lost, when at some remote period the vase was broken. Altogether there seem to have been between 4000 and 5000 pieces recovered, and possibly quite as many have been irrecoverably lost.

It is quite conceivable that the undiscovered treasures of the soil equal those that have been found. Remembering that all the cases cited are those of hidden and lost moneys (a very small portion of the general currency) the thought naturally arises, what, then, must the bulk have been within the circle in which these spots occur? And if so much money were buried and lost in the locality, within two centuries, what an amount of trade must have been carried on therein.

18. The dredge that scoops up the mud from our Floating Harbour (the old bed of the river Avon) empties its contents at a sluice which opens into the New Cut. Here at low water the mudlarks may be seen busily at work, and, although by far the larger number of such light articles as silver farthings and pennies of the English kings and second and third brasses of the Roman empire have most certainly been swept away by the rush of the waters from the sluice, sufficient coinage is found to prove that a very large trade must have been carried on here in the Roman period. Of an immense number of coins thus collected through a long series of years, which we have been privileged to examine, about one-fifth consisted of the latten money of the Hanse towns and the Low countries, three-fifths English, ranging from Henry I. to modern days, those of Edward I., III. and IV., Elizabeth, James I., Charles II., being of the ancient English coinages the most plentiful; a small proportion were Spanish, and the remainder Roman. We submit that the circumstances under which such coins as these are continually

being produced from our harbour, between the Hotwells and Bristol Bridge, proves our position that Bristol was a Roman town, for not in a desert or uninhabited spot is lost money plentiful, but in the busy centres of commerce and in the midst of a population given to traffic.

This superabundance of Roman money is to our minds a more convincing proof of dense habitation by the Latin race, or their *coloni* or *privati*, than are the temples of Aquæ Solis or the tile-bound walls of Venta Silurum.

19. Another discovery, made some years ago, connects more intimately still the present site of Bristol with the trade of the Romans, and gives, we think, conclusive proof of their occupation of it as a place of export, even before Sea Mills was abandoned. In the bed of the river Frome, close to its bank, there were found two pigs of lead, weighing respectively, one 76lbs., the other 89lbs., bearing the inscription "IMP. CAES. AN--NINI, AUG. PII., PP." (*i.e.*, somewhere between A.D. 139—161). Whether these came from the Mendip Hills, or, as we think, from Penpark Hole,[1] is of little consequence. The question is, how came they in the bed of the river? Too heavy to be flung in from the bank, they must have been accidentally dropped in process of shipment on board some Roman galley. Exhumed after a burial of fifteen centuries, they prove that in the second century Bristol was a place of export for Roman commodities.



Cromlech at Stoke Bishop.

Mr. Prebendary Scarth says: "It is not improbable that Bristol in Roman times may have afforded an outlet to Roman Somersetshire commerce, as Roman coins and two pigs of Roman lead have been found there, and the river Avon has yielded distinct signs of Roman traffic."[2]

20. A single glance at an ancient map of the three cities Glevum, Aquæ Solis, and Bristol will show a most striking similarity in size, form, and the method of laying out the streets within the walls. This plan had no connection with the cross of Christianity, as Seyer supposed,[1] but is a necessary result of the Roman method of measuring, noting and dividing the land. Each Roman "*civitas*," or town, had its "*territorium*" divided by "*axes*," in other words roads. Of these the "*cardo maximus*" ran from south to north, the "*decumanus maximus*" from east to west. The rest of the territory was divided by lines of roads that ran parallel to these "*decumani*" and "*cardines*."[2] The estates thus parcelled out by system were registered in the government books, the roads on which they were situated being each numbered.

21. There were several trigonometrical surveys of the island under the Romans, for which they must have selected for the triangulation great base lines marked by some distinctive feature different from the ordinary conformation of the country; natural objects were made to suffice when they were sufficiently remarkable, but art was frequently called to their aid in order to make the line conspicuous.

22. Now, scattered over the country we find a number of artificial hills, distinct in character and outstripping in size the tumuli or barrows. The object of their erection has been a puzzle for antiquaries. Unsuited for defensive warfare, and too vast for sepulture, combined with the fact that they contain no human remains, the cognoscenti have had to look to other causes for their origin. In the west we have a number of these tumps, as they are termed, Elberton, Maes Knoll, Silbury, Marlborough, Maesbury, Cadbury, and we think we may add also Bewell's tump, the site of the cross that bore that name in the grounds of Cotham house, Highbury, Bristol, which is hidden from general view by the trees planted thereon in 1813.

It is very probable that Bewell's cross resembled in some points that at Banwell, which is an earthwork,

[1] Penpark is named in a deed witnessed by King Alfred, in A.D. 883, as a place of diggings.—*Mr. Kerslake.*

[2] Som. Arch. Proc., XXIV.

[1] Seyer, I., 210.

[2] Coote's Romans of Britain, 42—121.

consisting of an oblong enclosure fifty yards long and forty-five broad, having a slight agger and fosse. In the centre is a ridge of earth forming a Greek cross, raised about two feet above the rest of the enclosure, and four feet broad, in the middle of the cross is a depression, apparently the mouth of a well, like that on Jordan hill an unquestioned Roman quadrifinium. Bewell's differed from this, and was we think raised in relief upon a mound. These crosses of the "*agrimensores*" show the point of intersection of the Roman lines of centuriation.[1]

Upon opening them we find no signs of sepulture, but merely such relics as a Roman bridle-bit or spur, broken shards of pottery, and a stratum of imperishable charcoal: in fact just enough to tell us they were raised by human hands.[2]

The tump at Maes Knoll, so plainly visible from all parts of the city of Bristol, is 390 feet long, 84 feet broad, and 60 feet high from the outer ditch; its monstrous size proves that it could not be for defensive purposes, indeed a short detour of a few hundred yards would bring the assailants to extended and comparatively easy ramparts of only a few feet in height. Besides this tump is manifestly an aftergrowth, and not a part of the original British camp. It is a curious coincidence, if not something more than a mere coincidence, that the first five of the above named mounds are very nearly upon a line which runs north and south, also that Broad street, Bristol, the northern arm of the cross streets in the centre of the city, is made to bend from a rectangle slightly to the west, and thus to point directly to the tump at Highbury. Again on a latitudinal line running east from Highbury, we have on a well defined Roman road, Silbury hill and Marlborough tump, &c. The legitimate inference is that these mounds are Roman "*botontini*," and that the first is the line of a "*cardo maximus*," the other that of a "*decumanus maximus*." Here we have additional evidence that Bristol streets are the result of Roman triangulation, and clearly belong to its "*centuriæ*."[3]

23. The walls of Bristol were assuredly designed on the plan of a Roman fortified town. The inner "*pomœrium*," or "*murivant*," can be followed on foot for nearly the whole of the circumvallation, the wall itself was destroyed circa 1247 in order to allow of the growth of the burgh. The area is traversed by four principal streets, which face very nearly the cardinal points, these are intersected by parallel lines of lesser ways, "*vici*" and "*angiportus*." The public buildings have always occupied the central place at the intersection of the roads, even as at Rome they were grouped around the Forum. More land we know was enclosed by a "*second wall*" on the north side, built in the 10th or possibly the 11th century, necessitated by the growth of the "*municipium*." Who then surrounded it first with a wall, we are entitled to ask, if the Romans did not? Clearly not the Danes. They only came in great strength during the 10th and 11th centuries. Most certainly it could not be the Anglo-Saxons, they were no town-dwellers, they scorned to possess a dwelling in a city or town.[1] It seems to us that we are forced to the conclusion that Bristol must have been fortified as well as previously planned by the Romans.

24. But not only in the form of our city do we trace its Latin origin as a "*municipium*," its customs and privileges which were confirmed by charter in the 12th century as having been enjoyed by the burgesses "from time immemorial" are coincident many of them with those enjoyed by the Roman municipalities, and are such as could not possibly have been derived from a barbarous and an uncivilized race such as the Saxons and Angles. For instance, Metellus by law decreed that no Roman citizen should pay *portorium*, a toll levied on goods imported or exported. From earliest historic times Bristol citizens claimed to be free of toll, custom or passage. Kemble, the great Saxon authority, admits that "the Teutonic kings and lords established hostile tolls to the injury of internal traffic."[2] This freedom then could not be an increment of Saxon rule. Even down to the 9th century on the continent "*Libertas Romana*" was defined to mean the privilege of minting money and of holding markets and exacting tolls from strangers.[3] Bristol minted money certainly as early as the 10th century, very probably before, but the first known coin of the Bristol mint is one of Ethelred II.,[4] and her burgesses not only imposed tolls on goods brought by foreigners, but they prevented strangers

[1] Coote's Romans of Britain, 42—121.

[2] The great Bishop of Hippo, St. Augustine, in De Civit. Dei. lib. xxi., c. 4, refers to the practice of burying charcoal under these *botontini*, by way of illustrating his argument. *Quid in carbonibus*, &c.

[3] The reader who is curious in these matters should consult Coote's Romans of Britain.

[1] "House joined to house and surrounded by a dense quadrangular wall, crowding into a defined and narrow space the elements of civilization, are unintelligible to the Saxon."—Kemble, Saxons in England, II., 263.

"They settled in the territoria of the cities, never in the inside, but always outside of the boroughs."—Coote's Romans of Britain, 231.

[2] Kemble, Saxons in England, II., 316.

[3] Thierry, quoted by Coote, 382.

[4] "Ethelred enacted that there should be no moneyers besides the king's, and that their number should be diminished."—Kemble, Saxons in England, II., 323.

selling anything within the walls excepting through the agency of a Bristol broker.

The Roman laws of Papius and of Junius Pennius denied to strangers a residence within the gates. We know that the Bristol men limited the stranger to forty days' residence.

25. What on the contrary was the custom of the *bonâ fide* Saxon towns? They grew up around the castle of the lord. "He encouraged as much as possible the resort of strangers to his domain."[1] But Bristol castle was outside the walls of the town, and was an increment and not the nucleus of the burgh.

The "*Lex Atilia*," A.U. 443, gave wardship of intestate widows and orphans to the Prætor and a majority of the Tribunes. In Bristol such wardships remained in the hands of the municipality for centuries. We know that Teutonic rule was the reverse of this, and the Saxon king had the wardship even of his Thanes. The Roman citizen could and did make his will at pleasure, so did our Bristol burgesses; a privilege and practice that was unknown to the German race. The Romans paid "*tributum*," a standing land-tax. So did the Bristol men pay "landgafol," or a ground rent for their holdings; not so "the Anglo-Saxon, who at no period paid tributum for his land in the shire, and it is well known that he scorned to possess a dwelling in any city or town."[2] The Roman "*municipium*" possessed territories outside its walls and surrounding them; Bristol had its well defined boundary lands, which in 1373, after, it is stated in the charters, untold ages of possession were converted into the county of Bristol. Further points of identity are found in these municipalities: the townsmen of Bristol, as did the citizens of Rome, kept the keys of their gates, elected their own officers, administered civil justice, maintained a police, had their own court-house, and their collegia or guilds. "Wherever," said Seneca, "the Roman has conquered there he inhabits." "He makes the people slaves," says Tacitus, "but he says nothing of destroying them."[3] The above are a few of the instances of Roman survival in Bristol; they are entirely foreign as we have shown to the spirit of the Teutonic life of those centuries, and were privileges neither claimed nor enjoyed in the Anglo-Saxon period by any place that had not been a Roman "*municipium*."

We have purposely omitted much that is common to the whole country, but which was an inheritance from the Romans, such as the ornamental work in tapestry and jewellery, take for instance the so-called Saxon fibulæ, for which Britain was famed all over the continent in the eighth and ninth centuries, but which with many ordinary customs are palpably of Roman origin. To this day we beat the city bounds after the Roman fashion, the "ancient terminalia." We dance with Flora on May morning. The ring, the veil, the wedding gifts, the wheat or rice thrown over the bridal party, the bride-cake, groomsman and bridesmaids descend to us from the mistress of the world. Our mourning garb, flowers on graves; cypress and yew come from the same source; our lucky and unlucky days, and other superstitious fears; our "God bless you" to anyone sneezing, and the thought that some one is talking about us when our ears tingle are all relics of Rome.

26. To us it seems incredible that, to use the eloquent words of an author to whose admirable work we are under great obligations, "that a few generations after the Anglo-Saxon occupation the Anglo-Saxon race, which we know to have been at the epoch of that event merely barbarous, was enabled by contact only of a soil once peopled by a civilized, artistic and "*policée*" race, and without communication with that or any other race equally gifted, to become possessed through spontaneous and unconditional development, not merely of civilization, but of *the identical civilization of the erased race*,—a civilization of so peculiar a nature and so precise a degree that in the natural order of statictics it could not be obtained except under the same conditions."[1]

The multiplied accumulation of circumstantial proofs which we have thus adduced, is we think sufficient to show that in its inception our "*municipium*" must be identified with that of the Romano-Briton of the lower Empire.

27. There remains yet another argument, but as it applies more particularly to Sea Mills than to Bristol, we use it only as a proof that Christianity was enjoyed in this neighbourhood before Constantine established it as the religion of the State in A.D. 312; although we cannot receive the theory that the four crossways with their hypothetical churches were the result of the Christian piety of the Roman Emperor.[2]

There was found under the turf of Sea Mills camp in 1873 a large flat stone, having its incised face downwards, which was inadvertently broken by the labourers; four of the pieces were preserved, the rest are lost. The pieces discovered form the upper part of a mural tablet, about six inches thick and two feet in height, it is pentagonal in form, the acute angle being the apex, as in many a modern monument.

[1] Kemble, Saxons in England, II., 304.
[2] Coote's Romans of Britain, 253. [3] Annals lib., XIV.

[1] Coote's Neglected Fact in English History, vii.
[2] Seyer, I., 209.

On the face of the stone is inscribed a female head and bust, surmounted by a semi-circle (the rainbow of Hope), above this in the centre is either a St. Andrew's cross, with a stem between the two lower arms,—⚹ or, as some think, an unfinished Christian monogram—☧. The woman has earrings, and on one side is a dog *rampant*, on the other a cock. The drawing is rude, the execution rough, and underneath the figure is the beginning of an inscription—C SPES SENTI, with a leaf stop on each side of the top line. Now the cross, the bow, the dog and the cock are all early Christian symbols, and "SPES" is a female name.[1]



Roman incised Stone found at Sea Mills.

Both Mr. Parker and Mr. Prebendary Scarth (no mean authorities) agree as to this being a Christian tombstone of third century date, erected or intended to be erected to the wife or daughter of Caius Sentius. Mr. Coote thinks it is possibly Mithraic and of the 1st century.

"In none of her provinces did Rome seek to exterminate the natives, she took away their national independence, but she elevated them by giving her laws, her arts, and her admirable system of municipal self-government; the ablest and wealthiest of the Britons shared in these rights, and in Caracalla's time all subjects of the emperor who were not slaves were made citizens of Rome. Yet Britain, although she shared in these privileges, never like Gaul or Spain became thoroughly Romanized. The people retained their own language, but during the five centuries of Roman occupation they like the inhabitants of the rest of the empire had become a Christian people."[1]

28. Before A.D. 360 Britain was divided into episcopal dioceses, for in that year three bishops *ex Britannia* "attended the Council of Ariminum."[2]

29. About A.D. 426 the Roman legions were finally and entirely withdrawn from Britain, the colonists were thus left to their own resources; tribal republics and free municipal governments arose as a necessity of the age, and these conflicting, stamped the ensuing half century as one of chronic turbulence and strife. In A.D. 446 "the groans of the Britons" was the title of an appeal for aid which was addressed to Ætius, who was thrice Consul of Rome. None but a civilized people would have addressed him in these terms:— "The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea throws us back upon the barbarians; so that we have nothing left us but the wretched choice of being either drowned or butchered." The Consul pitied but could not relieve them. Twice since Victorinus withdrew the Roman regulars from the island, after giving the people and the veteran soldiers and colonists who had settled in Britain due notice that they must henceforth defend themselves, had the Emperor Honorius sent a legion to their assistance against the Picts and Scots; but now Rome herself was in danger from the Huns, and Britain was left to her fate.

[1] Aringhi II., 614. Gruter, 608. No. 6 Asinia Spes, 118. No. 11 Torania Spes. Scarth in Somerset Arch. Proceedings, 1873.

[1] Creasy, 4, Introduction to Great Events of Great Britain, by S. Neil.

[2] Coote's Romans of Britain, 413, 421.

CHAPTER III.

THE TEUTONIC CONQUESTS AND RULE.

1. *The Interregnum.* 2. *The Teutonic Invaders, and the order in which they formed settlements.* 3. *King Arthur, and the seat of his Kingdom.* 4. *Number of the towns that existed in Britain at that period.* 5. *Lundenwic (London) a connecting link between Roman and Saxon.* 6. *Bristol jealously copies London.* 7. *The Invaders never more than a minority of the Population.* 8. *The Land-laws.* 9. *The King and his Estate.* 10. *The Mark and Shire.* 11. *The Freemen, Witenagemot, and their power.* 12. *The Thane.* 13. *The Sixhynde man of Mercia and Wessex, a town dweller.* 14. *Bristol on the south frontier of Mercia.* 15. *St. Werburgh and Bristolington.* 16. *Presumed site of St. Augustine's Conference.* 17. *Curious sculptured Anglo-Saxon stone dug up in the Chapter House.* 18. *Story of the Roman Catholic mission to Britain, and St. Augustine's interview with the British Bishops.* 19. *First descent of the Danes.* 20. *Alfred assigns them the Denalague.* 21. *Edward throws up a Castle at the mouth of the Avon.* 22. *Ælla, a fictitious creation of Chatterton.* 23. *Aylward Sneaw, Lord of the Honour of Bristol.* 24. *Death of Edward at Pucklechurch.* 25. *Characteristics of the later Anglo-Saxon Kings and of their rule.* 26. *Ethelred. His coins the first known money minted in Bristol.* 27. *The marvellous recuperative power inherent in Britain.* 28. *Camden's view as to the foundation of Bristol considered.* 29. *Commerce of slow growth in troublous times.* 30. *Edmund Ironside.* 31. *Knut's victory at Assandun.* 32. *State of the country at the change of dynasties.* 33. *English Works of Art in great request.* 34. *Curious Saxon School Book.* 35. *Athelstan and his fleet.* 36. *Bristol famous as a place of export for Slaves.* 37. *The reign of Knut.* 38. *Elevation of Godwin.* 39. *Knut's Letter to the English People.* 40. *Discovery of Knut's body.* 41. *His Bristol Coins.* 42. *The Sons of Godwin.* 43. *Bristol Coinage of Harold I.* 44. *Harthaknut succeeds Harold.* 45. *Earl Godwin's Golden Gift.* 46. *The Confessor and his Norman Policy.* 47. *Differences arise between the King and Godwin's Family.* 48. *The Earls worsted, Harold flies to Bristol.* 49. *Visit of William, Duke of Normandy, to England; his Character.* 50. *Troubled condition of the Kingdom.* 51. *Godwin returns, and the Normans fly.* 52. *Godwin dies, and his son Harold succeeds him as Earl of the West Saxons.* 53. *Harold's victory over Gruffydd.* 54. *Portskewet. Harold builds there.* 55. *Bristol Pennies of Edward the Confessor.* 56. *Place-names in Bristol derived from the family of Godwin.* 57. *Bristol Pennies of Harold II.* 58. *Boundaries of the Town at the close of the Anglo-Danish period.* 59. *Its outer Natural Defences.* 60. *Frankpledge, what it meant.* 61. *Bristol at the Close of the Teutonic Era, strong, wealthy and prosperous.* 62. *Clifton, a Manor belonging to the King, but held under the Provost of Bristol.*

AFTER Honorius had withdrawn the Roman legions from Britain and left the inhabitants to their own resources, the government reverted to the native chieftains, who still "greedy of quarrels," [1] were continually fighting with each other, and to the colonies left by the Romans, which, as free cities, were self-governed when sufficiently strong. Hence small bodies of disciplined and fierce invaders of a kingdom torn by dissensions, found no great difficulty in seizing upon and maintaining their position in the most fertile portion of the island.

2. It is tolerably certain that there were Teutonic settlements on the eastern coast before the Roman invasion, and also that soldiers of the same race served in the imperial armies and became *coloni*. Theodosius and Stilicho also repelled Saxon invaders in the 4th and 5th centuries. Thus the name Saxon became familiar to the natives, and is a term of reproach in Wales to the present day. But the first of the Teutonic tribes who conquered and established a colony after the Romans were the Jutes, who, in A.D. 449, founded the kingdom of Kent. The Saxons under Ælla, in A.D. 477, settled themselves as "South Saxons" (*i.e.* Sussex). A very much larger kingdom began to be founded in A.D. 495, which bore the name of West Saxon (*i.e.* Wessex). The East Saxons gave their name to Essex. The Angles seized upon Northumbria, the land between the Humber and the Frith of Forth, which again was divided into two kingdoms—Beornicia and Deira (Yorkshire). The East Angles came in the sixth century, and became Northfolk and Southfolk. The last, and ere long the greatest, of these Anglian kingdoms was that of the Mercians—"March or frontier men," who, says Dr. Freeman, gradually joined together several smaller states, including all the land which the West Saxons had held north of the Thames. Such as the Lindesfaras and Gainas in Lincolnshire, the Magesætas in Herefordshire, the Hwiccas in Gloucester, Worcester, and part of Warwick, and several others. Mercia thus became very large and powerful, "it was chiefly an Anglian kingdom but among the Hwiccas, and in some of the other shires in southern and western Mercia most of the people must really have been Saxons." [2]

The Romano-British inhabitants of Somerset and the Cotswolds appear to have manfully resisted the advancing tide of West Saxon invasion. It was a religious war as well as a war of races. The Saxons were pagans, the British, nominally at least, Christians, but no doubt many of the Britons, descended from the Belgæ or Belgæ and Kelt, remained pagan, and with the earlier immigrants of Tuetonic descent helped materially in the Saxon conquest of England.

3. These were the days in which King Arthur is reputed to have flourished. His kingdom of Cornwall comprised not only the county still known by that name, but also Devon, Somerset, part of West Wiltshire, and of South Gloucestershire.

"This is that Arthur who was a man worthy of having his actions published, not by deceitful fables but by true histories, as being one who sustained his falling country and sharpened the broken spirits of his countrymen to war, and lastly who put to flight 900 of the enemy at the siege of Mount Badon." [1] It used to be always considered that one of the hills above Bath was the site of this conflict, but latterly the preference has been given to Badbury, in Dorsetshire. In a metrical romance, it is said that during this invasion "a vast army of Saracens (Pagans) from Denmark made an attack on Bristol with 30,000 men, in which they were so completely defeated that not five of them escaped, but Aurelius Ambrosius was slain." [2] (This was a Romano-Briton of great ability, who was elected general-in-chief.) Arthur it is well known is reputed to have been buried at Glastonbury, where there was a church in British days, "and it is quite certain that the West Saxon kings did not conquer any part of Somerset until after the time in which Arthur is said to have lived." [3]

Here again we must ask our readers to judge for themselves; the Arthur best known to this generation is a creation of transcendent poetical genius, and in the search after the real man the historian is somewhat like an aeronaut, drifting, not aimlessly, but helplessly, amidst glorified cloudlands, in search of a solid Alp on which to anchor. All we really know, is that we have English and Welsh place names in close juxtaposition on a line from the Avon to the Axe that apparently mark the boundaries at that period between the two races.

4. The Anglo-Saxon invaders found here a number of territorial towns and cities; in A.D. 250 they were 59 in number.[4] Kemble admits that there were 34 in the fifth and sixth centuries,[5] and he names Bristol

[1] Amm. Marcell., 15, 12.
[2] Freeman, Old Eng. Hist., 38, 39.

[1] Wm. Malmes, I.
[2] Ellis's Specimens of Early English Metrical Romance, I., 236.
[3] Freeman, Old Eng. Hist., 36.
[4] Marcianus Lib. I., 57 (Hudson's Geog. Min).
[5] Kemble, Saxons in England, II., 269.

as being the chief provincial town, he also imputes the growth and continuance of that burgh to the industry and commercial activity of its inhabitants. His words are as follow: "If royal favours and court gaieties could have made cities great, Warwick, Stafford and Winchester should have flourished; for they were the residences of the rulers of Mercia and Wessex, the scenes of witenagemots, of Christmas festivals and Easters, when the king solemnly wore his crown; while the ceorls and mangeras of Brygstowe and Lundenwic were cheapening hides with the Easterlings, warehousing foreign wines, or bargaining with the adventurer from the East for incense, which was to accompany the high mass in the Cathedral." [1]

5. This is satisfactory proof that the British were not all wiped out by the Saxons, as one of our most eminent historians has assumed.

Lundenwic (London) connects the Kelt, the Roman, and the Teuton, her commercial fame dates from the Roman dominion,[2] but she always preserved as far as practicable her character of a free city. Sturdy in defence of her rights, she knew how to bide her time when compelled to bow before brute force, and by the potent power of wealth to recover a little more than that which she had temporarily lost. Throughout the six centuries of Anglo-Saxon rule she fluctuated between being a princely dependency of Mercia, or of Wessex, and the state of an independent commonwealth.

True, during the time of internecine strife, when might became right in the eyes of all men, and pillage and plunder were legitimatized, we hear but little of her commerce. But in the end of the 9th century she emerges from chaos; Alfred, when he rescued her from the Danes, laid in her eastern borders the germ of her future citadel. The dooms of the city (local laws for self-government) were fixed by the citizens in the reign of Athelstan,[3] and being specially favoured under Ethelred her commerce spread over Western Europe and along the shores of the Mediterranean. On more than one occasion when the rest of the country had submitted to the invader, she by her passionate love of freedom and her unbounded stores of arms and wealth was enabled successfully to maintain her independence against the armies of the victorious Danes.

6. It is a time-honoured proverb that "Bristol has always slept with one eye open." That open eye was ever kept fixed on London, which was the great exemplar for the men of the West. Our earthen citadel was raised outside our eastern wall, within twenty years of the death of Alfred. Our earliest by-laws are similar to those of London; the date of our commercial importance followed closely upon hers; and in our charters Bristol repeatedly asserts her right to equal privileges. Our ships sailed to the same eastern seas as those of London, whilst in the western ocean Bristol ships always led the van. Less strong and defensible than the metropolis, Bristol was obliged to succumb to her Danish invaders, but we find her minting money under Ethelred before her fall, as well as afterwards for her conqueror, and under the quiet rule of Knut's later years rivalling, not always unsuccessfully, her elder sister the Queen of the Thames.

7. This fact also ought to be borne in mind in considering this subject, viz., the Anglo-Saxon invaders were comparatively few in number, never more than a minority of the population; they "cut down the tall poppies," and British chiefs and warriors of repute among the *coloni* were pitilessly sacrificed; but the people in the mass were made slaves or villans, doomed to toil for their new masters, whilst the women and children would undoubtedly be spared.

The land was conquered in detail after a long protracted, but not apparently any concentrated, or powerful defence.

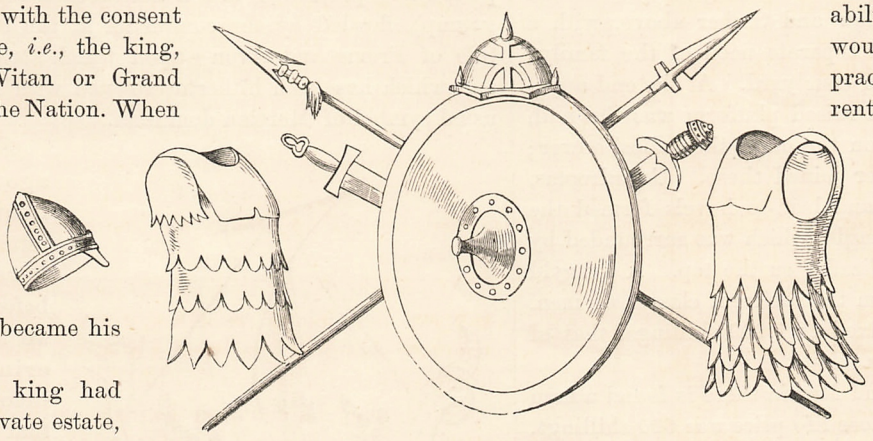
We might expect that after a sanguinary conflict, a stubborn determined resistance, there would be indiscriminate slaughter, but it is a libel on human nature to suppose that a bloody and blind rule of unnecessary extermination, characterised the invasion throughout the whole of the two centuries which elapsed between the departure of the legions of Honorius and the battle of Deorham. The men were savage, the warfare was at times ferocious, but the idea generally received that they annihilated the "*Romano-Belgæ*" and the *coloni* is incredible, and contrary we consider to historic evidence. The fact is that these invaders became the aristocrats, the captains, chief nobles, heads of the people, and eventually kings; but they knew the value of the native population too well to exterminate them. The goose that laid the golden egg might be plucked of its feathers and robbed of its produce, but it was too valuable to be foolishly slain. Besides, long after the Anglo-Saxons had invaded the land we find these Romano-Britons not only existent, but joining the invaders. It was they who helped the Angles in their attack upon Keltic Cumberland, and also in their raid on Strathclyde, and in this very district we find them joining forces with Ceawlin, the West Saxon, in A.D. 577 in his great battle at Dyrham, by which victory he got possession of the three Romano-British cities, Bath, Cirencester and Gloucester. Nevertheless it is very

[1] Kemble, Saxons in England, II., 308.
[2] Tacitus Ann., XIV., 33.
[3] Kemble, Saxons in England, II., 521.

doubtful whether Ceawlin conquered the Cotswolds or penetrated to the Severn, for we find that the Mercian cathedral of Worcester was endowed in the year A.D. 692 with certain lands situated in the parish of Henbury.

8. Let us now turn our attention to the land and the conditions under which it was held; conditions it seems to us partly adopted from the Roman rule, but largely supplemented by the customs derived from their own country by the conquerors.

We find that from earliest times there are recognised duties of the citizen or inhabitant, to the Commonwealth. The famous "*Trinodas necessitas*," the obligation to serve in the field, to repair bridges and fortresses, was a recognised law. Military service by holders of land was due to and exacted by the lord. Land was divided into "*folkland*" and "*bookland*." Folkland was the property of the nation, it was inalienable except with the consent of the State, *i.e.*, the king, and the Witan or Grand Council of the Nation. When thus granted it became bookland, *i.e.*, was booked to the new owner and became his freehold.



Saxon Arms and Armour.

9. The king had his own private estate, allodial property, and also bookland. The monarchy being elective he could not pass crown lands to his descendants, who might possibly never be his kingly successors. But the claims of "his men" upon the monarch had to be satisfied; this naturally would be done not from his private estate, but out of the nation's property. So that when after the Norman conquest the crown became hereditary, folkland had practically become royal property and William claimed it as such and made it part of the royal domain, the lawyers deciding that the king could possess no private estate, and that the land was the property of the crown, and descended to its legal possessor.

In modern days the monarch has conceded the ancient right, the crown lands are once more the property of the nation, are controlled by Act of Parliament, and practically have become folkland, whilst the monarch, as in Saxon time, can now inherit, hold, buy, sell or bequeath private estate.

10. In the Saxon divisions of the land the mark was analagous to the modern parish. In a hostile country the occupiers would become federative for defence, hence the anomalous shapes of modern parishes; and the shires being simply a collection of parishes, their diversified forms as contrasted with the rectangular divisions of the Romans is at once accounted for. Each shire was ruled by an alderman, who was appointed by the king and his witan, under whom was the "sciregerefa" or sheriff, who was the king's officer and representative.

11. Every churl (freeman) had a voice in his mark (of which the parish vestry is a survival) and also originally we think in the Court of the County, *i.e.* the Shire Meeting, and apparently in the Witenagemot or Grand Council of the Nation. But these latter rights soon lapsed. In the natural order of things men of wealth, power, ability (lay and ecclesiastic) would take front rank, and practically, although apparently without any legal form, they would stand as the representatives of their neighbours in the witan. On the death of the king (the head freeman) these, his fellow Thanes, claimed and exercised the right of choice in electing his successor. They had also the right of deposing the monarch; Sigbert in the 8th and Ethelred in the 11th centuries are instances of the exercise of this power. Even under "duresse," as in the case of Sweyn and other Danish kings, the form of election was preserved, for he would only be half a king who had not been elected by the people's witan (or wise men). It will be seen that under the Norman rule this power decreased, and under the Angevin kings it was apparently moribund, but it was resuscitated for the people in the 13th century, and it may be said truly that England has never been entirely deprived of her "People's Parliament." The king's influence in the witan depended upon his character and ability. A weak, vacillating, irresolute monarch found his master therein, and became a puppet in the hands of a single energetic individual or of a few leading men; whilst an able king could sway the assembly at his will.

If the king could not legally act without the consent of his witan neither could the witan do anything without the king (unless indeed he violated national law, or endangered the nation's safety, when they removed him if they could). The witan decreed, the king acted, and if of superior mind or of more powerful will he so moved the witan that they decreed according to his wish. The fountain of honour, and of wealth, he could not only make Thanes, but by grants of folkland could still further enrich them. Hence his power.

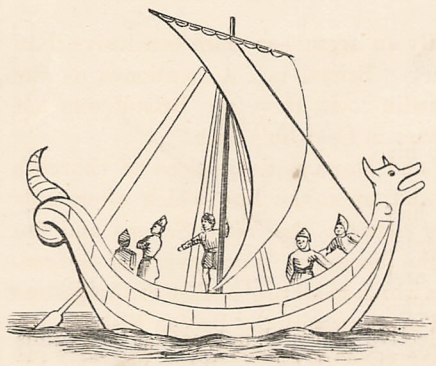
12. The Thane was the nobleman, the fellow freeman of the king, whom he recognised merely as his leader or chieftain for life, or on good behaviour.

The Thanes lived in their own manors, surrounded by their churls, and their serfs or villans, and they never paid gafol or land tax to the king. The Thane's house was an irregular pile of buildings, chiefly of one story, built of stone below and timber above, with a room or house for each separate need of the family; these surrounded an open courtyard. At the end opposite to the entrance on a raised platform was the hall, on one side the chapel, on the other the ladies' bower; the strong place or tower joined these. Guardrooms, kitchens, barns, stables and lean-to hovels formed the other sides of the quadrangle, which was surrounded by an earthen wall with palisades on the top. A wergyld or life price was put upon the different classes of men. That of the thane was fixed at 1,200 shillings, that of the churl at 200 shillings.

13. But in Wessex and Mercia there is found a man of intermediate value, whose life price was 600 shillings. This sixhynde man was the townsman, or burgher, who paid gafol or land tax to the king, and who could hold land to any extent, even more than a thane held, but its possession did not make him a noble. He could also serve in the king's army as a horseman, and take his part by voice and vote in the shire mote, privileges which the churl by non-observance had lost.

This was, we contend, the status of the men who amidst this unhistoric, chaotic disturbance, held their ground, and were steadily building up, not only London, but also Bristol. Other Roman towns, especially in agricultural districts, fell into desuetude and decay, being for the most part entirely dependent upon supplies from the country that was overrun by the enemy, and also without a sea-borne commerce to fall back upon. Bristol, too far south to be often, if ever, disturbed by Pict or Scot, although occasionally sacked by Saxon, Angle, and Dane, possessed a strong recuperative power in its maritime position, defensible river and commerce, and was probably then, as we well know it became in after years, a fertile source of supply to needy kings.

14. In A.D. 586 the kingdom of Mercia was founded by Cridda. Bristol became its south-western frontier town. Mr. Kerslake, arguing for the supremacy of Mercia, from the dedication of a church to St. Werburgh, a daughter of the second christian king of Mercia, says, "What was the condition of the spot now occupied by Bristol, in the centre of which for eleven hundred and fifty years the church of St. Werburgh stood? A century and a half earlier (A.D. 577) Bath had been occupied by the West Saxons, and had no doubt so continued until the advance southward of Ethelbald's frontier also absorbed that city, or certainly its northern suburb, into Mercia. A great highway,[1] of much earlier date than the times here being considered, skirted the southern edge of the weald that we only know as Kingswood; and at least approached the neck of the peninsula—projecting into a land-locked lagoon (not a swamp), flooded by the confluence at the crest of the tide of Frome and Avon—upon which stands Bristol, and which has been hitherto crowned with Ethelbald's usual symbol of Mercian dominion.



Anglo-Saxon Ship.

"As long ago as ships frequented the estuary of the Severn—ages before the times we are considering—it is inconceivable that the uncommon advantages of this haven could have been unknown. A British city had no doubt existed for unknown ages on the neighbouring heights west of the lagoon; and there is a reason, too long to set forth here, to believe that the sheltered Bristol peninsula itself was used by the West Saxons of Ceawlin's settlement at Bath, as an advanced frontier towards the Welsh of West Gloucestershire, long before it was appropriated by Mercia. It was, perhaps, already a town before Ethelbald planted upon it one of his limitary sanctuaries, having '*more Saxonico*,' a fortress on the isthmus, upon which the great square Norman tower of Robert the Consul was afterwards raised."[2]

15. Again he says, "a national name (St. Werburgh) which has outlived nearly a thousand years in

[1] Antonine's *iter* between Bath and Caerwent.—Ed.

[2] Mr. Kerslake, Supremacy of Mercia, B. and G. Arch. Proc., 1878, 118.

exile must have had a very long precedent growth in its own soil. This name therefore proves to us that Bristol where we now find it, not only had a continued existence from probably the end of the sixth century to certainly the beginning of the tenth, but also that during that early existence it held a very important standing as a centre of intercourse between different races and different nations. If Bristol had been, instead of an independent secular commercial port, an appendage to an Anglo-Saxon monastery, its name might have come down to us in some cartulary, even as 'Penpole' and 'Combe Dingle' have.[1] But no matter. If the name 'Bristol' does not stand in any of these written waifs, a very archaic sample of it, perhaps older than any of these, comes daily out of our mouths whenever we mention one of them 'Brislington' or 'Bristolington.' * * * This name belongs to one of the very earliest showers of Teutonic place names that fell upon this island. * * * When first used, Bristol not only already existed, but had an offshoot to which it then stood Godfather. Rome was not built in a day, neither was Bristol a sudden growth of yesterday." [2]

This is assuredly an argument more conclusive than the mere negation; "Bristol is not mentioned as one of the places Ceawlin took, therefore Bristol was not probably in existence in Ceawlin's time."

These British and Mercian dedications of churches of the Hwiccii, and upon the line which afterwards became the border between the West Saxons and the Mercians, within the diocese of Worcester, and embracing the very site on which in all probability St. Augustine had his celebrated meeting with the British Bishops, are strong corroborative evidence in favour of the early existence of Bristol.

16. Bede says this conference was held A.D. 603 in a place which, in his day, retained the name of Augustine's Oak, situate on the confines of the Hwiccii and the West Saxons, and in the diocese of Worcester. There are two places which fairly meet these requirements, viz., Aust, and St. Augustine's place, College green, Bristol. With regard to the first of these, the argument is fairly shown in this work in the introductory sketch of the Ecclesiastical History. The conditions, easy access for the British Bishops west of the Severn, and the site, on the confines, are fairly balanced. Tradition, we think, slightly turns the scale in favour of Bristol. It is said to have been the spot where St. Augustine preached, and after him his chosen disciple, Jordan, who had a chapel on the green, and who was buried on the site of his ministry.[1] As late as 1491-2 "the sacrist of the abbey accounted for oblations amounting to twenty-two pence from the box of St. Clement, adjacent to the Chapel of St. Jordan in the green place." [2]

17. In October, 1831, a curious stone in low relief was dug up from under the floor of the chapter house. It represents Our Saviour ascending from the tomb, treading under foot the gaping heads of Death and Hell, whilst a number of naked human beings are clinging to him for salvation. The dress, accessories and execution are, we judge, not later than the 7th century, and we think it possibly once covered the remains of St. Augustine's favourite disciple.

18. The tale of the introduction of the Roman Catholic form of Christianity has been often told, and, inasmuch as we believe it to have had a special relation to the locality of Bristol, it will not be considered out of place if in a condensed form we include it in our pages.

In Rome at the end of the 6th century there dwelt a pious monk named Gregory. The city no longer mistress of the world, but bereft of her provinces, shorn of empire, wealth and temporal power, her noble buildings tottering in decay, her monuments in ruin, her Campagna a malarious wilderness, and dependent for her food on supplies from Egypt and Sicily, was yet the seat of a spiritual power that assumed universal dominion.

In her market place one day the good monk saw some yellow-haired fair-skinned children offered for sale as slaves. Enquiring whence they came, he was told, "they are Angles." "Not Angles, but Angels," said he, gazing on the well-proportioned forms. "They are from Deira," added the dealers, naming the British province of which they were natives. "It is well, '*de ira eruti*' snatched from wrath, through the mercy of Christ," replied Gregory. "Have they a king?" "Yes, Ælla." "*Alle*'lujah, God's praise must be sung in those regions," and thenceforth he sought earnestly the mission to Britain. Forbidden to go by his superiors, the desire was not evanescent, for when he became Pope, he sent St. Augustine with about forty companions to convert the people of the land to the faith of Rome. Meanwhile Gregory had learned that the island was not wholly given over to idolatry, that the Christian religion, with its orders of monk, priest and bishop was already established in some parts, hence his wise and politic advice to St. Augustine was, to ignore the differences between the Gallican and Roman churches, and to confine his efforts to teaching the great principles of the

[1] Cod. Dipl., 313, A.D. 883.

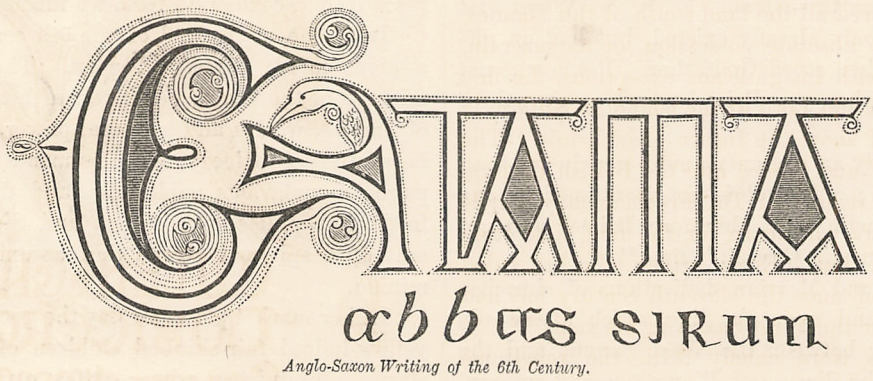
[2] Mr. Kerslake, British Arch. Proceedings, St. Ewen, Bristol, June, 1875, 174-5-6.

[1] Lel. Itin., 5-64, and Camden's Somersetshire.

[2] Mr. Taylor from Rot. penes Decanum et Capel, Bristol.

Christian faith. "Choose," said he, "from the several churches whatever is pious, religious, and right, and these gathered as it were into one whole, instil as observances into the minds of the Angles."[1]

St. Augustine however was a man of a different spirit from his master; at his first conference with the British bishops, he assumed a higher ecclesiastical authority, and demanded that they should conform to the Roman time of celebrating Easter, and the Roman method of baptism, and acknowledge him as their archbishop. The native bishops desired to consult their people before they pledged themselves to give up their ancient customs, and sought the advice of a venerable and holy hermit. His advice was, "If the man is of God follow him." "How are we to know that?" "Our Lord said, 'Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart.' If Augustine is meek and lowly of heart he has taken upon him Christ's yoke; but if he is haughty, and proud, it is manifest he is not of God, and ye need not regard his words." "How shall we discern this?" "Arrange it so that he and his company arrive first at your next conference; and if at your approach he shall rise up to meet you, be assured he is the servant of Christ, and hear him obediently: but if he shall despise you, and not rise up to you who are the greater number, let him also be contemned of you." They applied the test.



Anglo-Saxon Writing of the 6th Century.

Angry at being kept waiting, St. Augustine received them haughtily, did not rise to welcome them; and then finding that they rejected his mission, and declined to yield to his authority, he threatened, that as "they would not accept peace with their brothers, they should have war with their enemies." The vengeance they were threatened with overtook them in A.D. 612 when Ethelfrid of Bernicia defeated the British army headed by Powis, and massacred 1200 unarmed monks because they had prayed for his defeat.

Discarding all idea of "prophecy," the words were, we think, a mere "*brutum fulmen*," uttered in a moment of anger; an anti-Christian anathema, which however very possibly helped to bring about the fearful catastrophe.

[1] Bede, Book I., cap. xxvii.

It could scarcely be supposed probable that the ministers of a church that had struggled on for upwards of three centuries, amidst a heathen people, would yield up their opinions, and abandon their cherished customs at the mere dictum of one who offered them no better reason apparently than the arrogance of an ecclesiarch.

19. During the early half of the 9th century we first hear of the piratical descents of the Northmen or Danes; their practice was to land from their shipping, harry the country, and then retreat with their plunder to their vessels. For about 170 years history repeated itself, and the woes suffered by the Britons at the hands of the Anglo-Saxons were heavily avenged upon the descendants of the latter people by the Vikings of Denmark. Success emboldened, and the easy accession of wealth and plunder stimulated, their greed, so that in ever increasing numbers the Scandinavian pirates swarmed upon the English shores. No part of the coast was spared. Rounding John O'Groat's at one extremity and the Land's End at the other, they swept the coast with impunity, settled in large numbers in Ireland, and ravaged the Bristol Channel and Severn shores. About A.D. 850 they began to make permanent settlements in England, the successive Anglian kings finding thenceforth an Ixion-like task in their endeavours to enforce the obedience of the resident Danes, and to repel the ever accumulating hordes of their freebooting countrymen.

20. Barrett, quoting Hollingshead, says that Alfred in the third year of his reign drove the Danes from Exeter to Dartmouth where they took shipping, and dispersed others, some of whom fled to Chippenham and some to Bristol.[1] On another occasion, when they landed at Brent, Alfred defeated them, the survivors fled to Worle Hill where they fortified themselves.[2]

So numerous and powerful had the Vikings become by the third quarter of the century, that Alfred, after his great victory, by the peace of Wedmore, assigned to them for settlement the Denalague, or country north of Watling street (the Roman road that runs from Canterbury through London, Lichfield, Shrewsbury, and Os-

[1] Barrett, 34. [2] Langtoff's Chron. Hearn, II., 465.

westry). Their Danish laws and customs were retained by them, but their king was a vassal of Alfred, and both he and his people were compelled to be baptized and to profess Christianity.

But the wheel still kept rolling down the hill on the least relaxation of restraint, and the last five years of our truly great countryman's life were spent in a struggle, with fresh troops of invaders, that was equal to any of his earlier years. Alfred now laid the foundation of our naval greatness, by building a fleet of ships longer, swifter and more powerful than those of the Vikings, with which he scoured both seas, and freed Wessex from all but a few occasional forays for plunder. It was about this period if ever, we think, that the sack of Bristol occurred which is mentioned by Polydore Vergil.

Upon the death of Alfred, his son Edward brought the whole of the land into subjection to Wessex, which, from a small settlement in Hampshire, had gradually grown until it covered all the land south of the Thames, and now either by absolute possession, or as suzerain, Edward became, with insignificant exceptions, the first "King of England and Lord of the island of Britain."[1]

Our pages will show the future growth into "The United Kingdom," and thence into the British Empire.

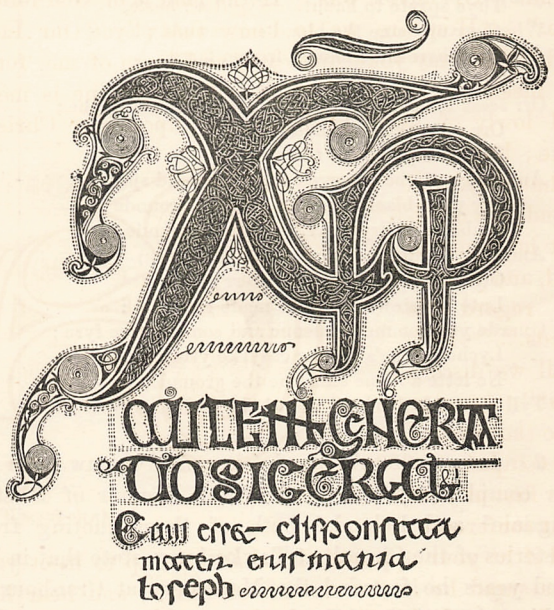
The following remark of Dr. Freeman may startle some of our readers who learn for the first time from our great historian that "Every prince who has ruled England before and since the eleventh century has had the blood of Kerdic the West Saxon in his veins."[2]

Edward's wars were chiefly with the rebellious Danes resident in the Denalague, whom he subdued; his son Athelstane, and after him Edgar the Peaceful, consolidated the kingdom, which he guarded by a fleet in which he frequently made the circuit of Britain. Eight tributary kings rowed his barge on the waters of the Dee.

21. Stow tells us that Edward for the defence of Bristol built a castle at the mouth of the Avon. In those early days the word simply meant what we now term a camp, *i.e.*, an enclosure with an earthen or stone vallum and fosse, having wooden houses in the area. Seyer thinks that this was at Portishead; there is, it is true, a small camp at Portbury, but it is of no strength, Cadbury is too distant, and Blaize, Stoke Leigh, and Clifton, were already in existence. We strongly incline to the opinion that the site was Bristol, and that this was the foundation of our celebrated castle; the words "at the mouth of the Avon," although inexact, are sufficiently descriptive to warrant the supposition in the absence of any other site.

In A.D. 918 two divisions of the Danes were ravaging the shores of the Severn; defeated in Herefordshire, they fled in two divisions, the one landing at Watchet the other at Porlock, both bays on the coast of Somerset. They were attacked and destroyed, the miserable remnant escaping to the Flat Holm, where they remained until famine drove them to Wales, and thence to Ireland.

22. This is the period which "Bristol's marvellous boy" Chatterton has chosen for his grand conception of the castle warden, Ælla, and the battles with the Danes. We need scarcely mention that Ælla himself as well as the stately castle with its chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, are mere mythical creations of the young poet. The modern antiquary would have detected the imposture



Fragment of a Copy of the Evangelists in Latin, from an Anglo-Saxon MS. of the 10th Century, with Illuminated Initial Letter. (Reduced to half its original size.)

by its numerous anachronisms, but no class of men would more readily acknowledge the wonderful power that could select the hard incongruous words of the earlier centuries, and weave those and others equally unmanageable of his own invention, into the easy swinging rhythm of the 18th century, with a fire of genius and a power of song that will make his lyrics, uncouth as they appear to the eye, last as long as the English tongue is spoken.

We cannot refrain, forgery though it be, from giving here the "Song to Ælla":—

SONG TO ÆLLA,

LORDE OF THE CASTEL OF BRYSTOWE YNNE DAIES OF YORE.

Oh thou, orr what remaynes of thee,
Ælla, the darlynge of futurity,
Lett thys mie songe bolde as thie courage be,
As everlastynge to posteritye.

[1] Freeman, Nor. Conq., I., 62. [2] *Ibid*, I., 23.

Whanne Dacy's sonnes, whose hayres of bloude-redde hue
Lyche kynge-cuppes brastynge wythe the morning due,
Arraung'd ynne dreare arraie,
Upponne the lethale daie,
Spredde farre and wyde onne Watchet's shore;
Than dyddst thou furiouse stande,
And bie thie valyante hande
Beesprenged all the mees wythe gore.

Drawne bie thyne anlace felle,
Downe to the depthe of helle
Thousandes of Dacyanns went;
Brystowannes, menne of myghte,
Ydar'd the bloudie fyghte,
And actedd deeds full quent.

Oh thou, where'er (thie bones att reste)
Thye spryte to haunte delyghteth beste,
Whetherr upponne the bloud-embrewedd pleyne,
Orr whare thou kennst fromm farre
The dysmall crye of warre,
Orr seest some mountayne made of corse of sleyne;
Orr seest the hatchedd stede,
Ypraunceynge o'er the mede,
And neighe to be amenged the poynctedd speeres;
Orr ynne blacke armoure staulke arounde
Embattel'd Brystowe, once thie grounde,
And glowe ardurous onn the castel steeres;
Orr fierye round the mynsterr glare;
Lute Brystowe stylle be made thie care;
Guarde ytt fromme foemenne and consumynge fyre;
Lyche Avone's streme ensyrke ytte rounde,
Ne lette a flame enharme the grounde,
Tyll ynne one flame all the whole worlde expyre.

23. In A.D. 930 Aylward (surnamed Sneaw from his fair complexion) was Lord of the Honour of Bristol. Dugdale[1] and Leland,[2] both of them quoting from Histories of the Church at Tewkesbury, state that in his aged years he founded the Monastery at Cranbourne, making the Priory of Tewkesbury subject thereto. His grandson, the Ealdorman Algar (Algarus filius Meawes) the son of Mean or Meaw, fought on the side of Knut at Sherstone against Edmund Ironside.

One of the chroniclers makes Aylward to have sprung from the illustrious family of King Edward the Elder, the son of Alfred, which perhaps accounts for his honours and position. Leland,[3] quoting the book of the Kalendaries of Bristow, says that Aylward and Brictric were Lords of Brightstowe before the Conquest. William Wyrcestre,[4] says the Pithay was Aylewarde street. Barrett,[5] states that of old the Pithay gate used to be called Aylward's gate. One could have wished earlier authorities than the above, but there seems to be little doubt that Aylward did possess property in Bristol, and that the suburb of the Pithay was built upon his land. We have, it is true, in the earliest registers of our magistrates, men bearing the same name, possibly his collateral descendants. Richard Aylward was Mayor of Bristol 1233, 1240, and 1247, and Thomas Aylward, Præpositor 1237; but Seyer concludes, and we think correctly, that the Pithay was built upon before the 13th century. We are compelled to reject the generally received opinion that the second wall enclosing the above suburb was the work of this the first Aylward; the bastions and towers, one of which has only recently been destroyed, were not of so early a date, but were more like solid Norman work of the 12th century.

Upon the death of Aylward, A.D. 980, the estate passed to Algive his wife, and then, his son Mean or Meaw being dead, to his grandson Algar, from whom it descended to Brictric. Aylward flourished in the days of Athelstan, in whose reign, between 924 and 941, there were monetaries established, one of which, Roger Hoveden says, was at Bristol. Of the coinage of this period we believe there is no specimen extant.

24. In A.D. 946 King Edmund whilst feasting on St. Augustine's day, the 26th of May, at Pucklechurch in the King's Wood, was killed by Liulph, an outlaw whom he had banished early in his reign for robbery. Liulph having audaciously intruded on the royal banquet, the king ordered him to be arrested, a disturbance ensued, Edmund joined in the fray, and seizing the robber by the hair he dashed him to the ground, when ere the intoxicated courtiers could interfere Liulph stabbed the king to the heart with his dagger. The assassin was instantly cut to pieces. The site of the palace in which this drunken brawl occurred is still shown at Pucklechurch, but the mouldings of the broken stones are those of the 13th century, so that some apparently ecclesiastical building has been erected on the site, which also has disappeared leaving no traces in history save these few sculptured fragments. It was probably a hunting lodge of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who held this manor in 1227.

Passing over the reigns of Edred, Edwy, Edgar and Edward the Martyr, which have no special interest in our history, we, in A.D. 978, find upon the throne Ethelred II., the son of Elfrida, a lad of ten years of age, in whose eventful reign of 38 years the Danish invasions assumed the character of a conquest, which ended in placing a Danish dynasty upon the throne of Britain.

25. The later Anglo-Saxon kings had proved inert, luxurious and oppressive, they had alienated from themselves the affection of the people, who enslaved by their aristocracy, and priest ridden to an extreme, quailed before the free Norsemen, amongst whom there did not exist a single serf. Danish raids, that a small disciplined

[1] Dugd. Monast., I., 153. [2] Lel. Itin., 6-78.
[3] Lel. Itin., 7-94. [4] Wycestre's Itin., 184. [5] Barrett, 56.

force would have stamped out, proved successful everywhere. One shire would not help another. When called out by the witan, some districts took the field months before the others were ready. These tired of waiting and drawing no regular pay, disbanded and went home dispirited. Many of the people were moreover, although resident in England, fellow-countrymen of the invaders, and treason and cowardice were always at work.

When the king did manage to get together an army it marched on the foe only in time to see them decamp to the ships with their plunder; the English fleet, collected from all parts of the kingdom, reached the pillaged shores when the Danes were selling the spoil in Normandy. No wonder that a monarch who always managed to be too late, who spent his strength in petty wranglings with his vassals instead of confronting the common foe, and who went courting on the continent, when foreign troops were ravaging his country, should be nicknamed by his people "the Unready." The heavy Danegelt, drawn from the country in about 20 years of Ethelred's reign, amounted in value it is estimated to more than one-tenth of the land of England.

In A.D. 991 the Danes were bought off with £10,000; £16,000 was paid in A.D. 994, and in both cases the invaders had to be maintained throughout the winter. In 1001 £24,000 was demanded and paid; in 1007 £36,000 with provisions for the whole of the Danish army throughout the winter, and in 1012 £48,000 more was paid as ransom.

Be it remembered that in addition to these sums the coast line had been everywhere despoiled, and that raids had been made through the very heart of the country, and it will be readily understood, that the people began to consider which of the two evils would be the most endurable, continued allegiance to a king who demanded that property and life should be risked for him, but who was utterly unable to protect them; or submission to a foreign foe, whose exactions could scarcely be more burdensome, whilst his strong arm could guard those whom he took to grace.

26. Ethelred "the contemner of counsel" was a bad man and a worse king, his misgovernment paved the way for a change of dynasty, and he appears to have had no redeeming feature beyond that of an attractive handsome person. This king has put however his stamp upon our city. The earliest coin minted in Bristol that has as yet been discovered is a silver penny of Ethelred's, A.D. 978-1016. A specimen is preserved in the Royal cabinet at Stockholm. It bears on the *obverse* a profile bust of the king to the left, diademed and within an inner circle, the legend, ÆLDRED REX ANG, with a cross patée at the commencement of the legend. *Reverse*, a small cross patée in the centre of the coin within the inner circle. Circumscription + ÆLFPERD ON BRIC. (Ælfwerd at Bricgstow). This penny is one of a very large number of Anglo-Saxon coins now preserved at Stockholm, which were originally sent to Sweden as part of the celebrated tax or Danegelt.

The silver penny, weighing from 20 to 27 grains troy, was the chief piece of coined money made by the Anglo-Saxon kings, halfpence and farthings being generally formed by cutting or breaking the pennies into halves and quarters. All the Bristol coins from Ethelred II. to Harold II. inclusive, are pennies weighing as just stated, and made of silver of the "old standard," viz., 11 oz. 2 dwts. fine to 18 dwts. of alloy.

The pennies of this and all monarchs down to and including Henry III. have the type of the king's head, with his name and title on one side, and some form of the cross on the other, accompanied by the name of the moneyer and the place of mintage, as in the instance of the above described penny, the reverse inscription meaning that Ælfward was the workman of the mint who struck this coin at Bristol.[1] Inasmuch as in the early ages mints were established, not merely for the purpose of coining currency, but also for testing and assaying the value of foreign moneys brought for payment of exports, the inference is clear that Bristol in the 10th century was an important commercial town.

27. Whence came the recuperative power of the kingdom after enduring such heavy imposts, and such villainous pillagings as those previously described, but from its trade? The balance of exchange with foreign nations was clearly in times of peace largely in favour of Britain as a manufacturing and an exporting country.

In both of these particulars Bristol now begins to stand prominently forward.

28. Too much stress has been laid upon Camden's remark, "At what time and by whom it (Bristol) was built it is hard to say, but it seems of a late date, since in all the Danish wars it is not so much as mentioned in our histories.[2] For my own part I am of opinion that it rose in the declension of the Saxon government since it is not anywhere taken notice of before 1063."[3]

The veteran antiquary does not deny the existence of the town prior to that date, he merely classes it as inconsiderable. Yet in the same article he says, "In

[1] Henfrey "The Bristol Mint and its productions," Brit. Arch. Assoc., Decr., 1875.

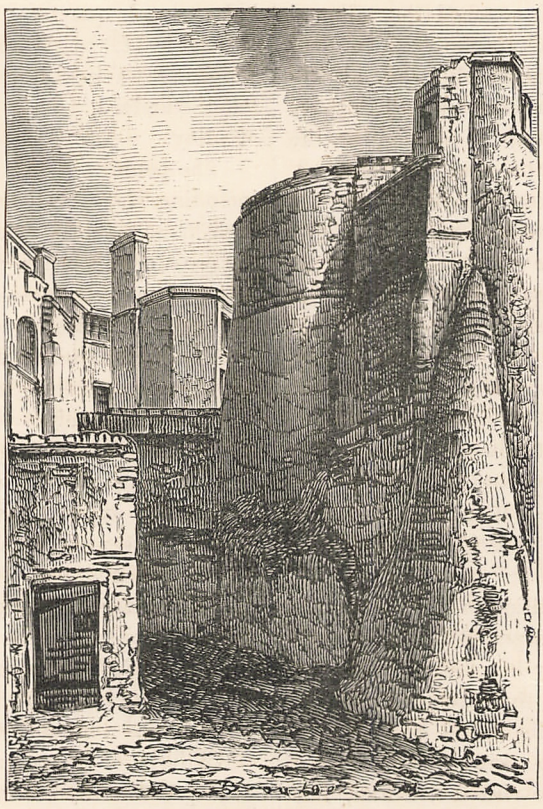
[2] This is a mistake, Polydore Vergil does mention it.—Ed.

[3] Cam. Brit. Somerset,

the catalogue of British cities it is called 'Caer Brito,' by the Saxons Brightstow,"[1] *q.d.* "*the famous place.*"

29. In those troublous times the growth of commercial towns must have been very slow, and totally different to the rapid development of some of modern days. The life of Bristol was its commerce, which was favoured by its situation, being on a river easily defended, with a secure roadstead at its mouth, with a sheltered channel opening gradually into the Atlantic.

There was at this time no Royal Navy, but when the king needed and the Witan decreed that there should be a fleet, ships were gathered from all the ports which were hired and paid for by the nation. These were raised by assessment, the scale of payment being determined by the Witan, was by contributions in kind, *i.e.*, ships, or things needful for shipping. Rich men occasionally found a ship for their county. Thus Archbishop Ælfric bequeathed in his will one ship to Kent and a second to Wiltshire.



Bastion and Tower of the Second Wall.

This was the way in which the fleets of Alfred and Edgar and now that of Ethelred were raised. We have here the germ of the famous ship money of the 17th century. But these early fleets were raised legally by grant of the Witenagemot. Charles levied cash, not ships, and stretching his prerogative, demanded it on his own authority. What precise share Bristol bore in raising in 1009 the greatest fleet that the country had ever seen is not known, but the plan adopted continued in force until the days of Henry VIII., and we shall frequently in this history have to refer to the practice. Instead however of meeting the Danish foe with it, Child Wulfnoth, the South Saxon, deserted with twenty ships, and turning pirate, began to plunder the south coast. Brihtric, who followed him with eighty ships to win great fame, promising to bring back the deserter alive or dead, was overtaken by a storm which wrecked some vessels. Wulfnoth, who had sheltered and escaped the gale, returned and burnt them. Panic seized the remainder, which was the larger portion of the fleet, and in which was the king with his aldermen and witan; these forsook the ships, and the crews took them to London, and "let all the nation's toil thus lightly perish." Then came Thurkill, the Dane, and after him in 1013 King Sweyn, who speedily overran and conquered the country, and was elected king by a witan in London, whilst Ethelred deposed, fled to Normandy.

Knut succeeded his father Sweyn, but the witan re-elected the absent Ethelred, "their lord by birth, if he would only rule them more righteously than he did before." This he promised faithfully to do, and returning, he in his witan, confirmed the best laws of his predecessors, and passed others, some of which were excellent.

In 1015 Knut landed with a large force at Poole. He harried Dorset, Wilts and Somerset, and all Wessex submitted to him and gave hostages for their good faith.

30. The next year Ethelred, who had brought such evil upon the land, died, and his son Edmund (Ironsides) succeeded to the troubled throne. He was a gallant warrior, who within seven months fought six pitched battles with Knut. The first of these was at Pen Selwood, at the junction of Dorset, Somerset and Wilts, which is, it is thought, the site of the ancient British city of Pen Saul Coit, where Kenwalch, in A.D. 658, fought the Britons, and conquering, drove them back over the Parret. On the 16th of July Edmund gained a second but hardly-won victory at Sherstone. This he had nearly lost through the treachery of his brother-in-law Eadric, who, fighting on the Danish side, slew a man resembling the Atheling, and cutting off the head, cried out to the English as he held it up, "Fly, English, fly! Edmund is dead." Edmund, seeing the panic and learning the cause, tore off his helmet, rushed into the *melée*, and hurled his spear at the traitor. Unfortunately for England, he missed his mark, but he killed the soldier nearest to

[1] Cam. Brit. Somerset.

him. The English renewed the fight and remained masters of the field. At London, Brentford, Oxford, and in Kent, Edmund achieved fresh victories, driving the Danes into the Isle of Sheppey, whence he would have thrust them out of the kingdom but for the miserable treachery that is such a marked characteristic of these wars.

31. Never was this more strongly shown than in Edmund's last battle, which was fought at Assandun. The King had pardoned his traitorous brother-in-law Eadric, and restored him to honour, favour and command, the fatal trust of a generous soul. In the moment of assured victory Eadric, by concerted arrangement with Knut, deserted to the Danes with his men of Herefordshire and his house-carles, and thus turned the fortune of the day. "All England fought against Knut, but Knut had the victory." Great was the slaughter of noble Englishmen that day. Knut's vengeance fell heavily upon the clerics and the thanes. The Atheling escaped, and raising the men of Gloucestershire, awaited his pursuing foe on the opposite shore of the Severn. There was, however, no more fighting. The two kings met in the Isle of Olney, and agreed to divide the land. Edmund was to be the supreme king, and to reign over the land south of the Thames, Essex, East Anglia and London. Knut took the remainder—the larger portion, but that in which the Danish population was most numerous. Ere the year was ended Edmund was dead, slain in a fearful and dastardly manner by an assassin, who was set on, it is thought, by Eadric, and Knut reigned in his stead.

32. Here we pause. We have seen the Romano-Briton, like the picture in a dissolving view, fade into and become the Englishman; the Ealderman grow into the King of Wessex; the King of Wessex become the King of the Saxons, King of the English and Lord of Britain, and now the scene changes, and a Scandinavian King is master of England and occupies the throne.

Agriculture under the Anglo-Saxons appears not to have flourished as in the Roman period. We do not read now of any export of corn; wool, cloth, iron, lead, tin, dogs, horses and slaves were the chief articles of export.

33. English work in jewels of gold and silver was in great demand; the most eminent artists of Germany resorted for supplies to Britain. Gold and silver must have been plentiful, for we know that large sums were taken out of the country. The Danegelt was paid partly at least in kind, as from the laws of Ethelred we learn that the common prices of certain articles in the 10th century were:—

		£	s.	d.	
A man slave...	A pound	2	16	3	sterling.
A horse.....	Thirty shillings	1	15	2	"
Mare or colt...	Twenty shillings	1	3	5	"
Ass or mule ...	Twelve shillings	0	14	1	"
Ox	Six shillings	0	7	0½	"
Cow	Five shillings	0	5	6	"
Swine	One shilling three pennies...	0	1	10½	"
Sheep.....	One shilling	0	1	2	"
Goat	Two pennies	0	0	5½	"

These were the legal values, besides which a toll was paid on each sale to the gerefa (sheriff); of course (as is indeed evident from the sale contracts) the prices differed somewhat, according to the value of the article. The coins were the silver penny (four to the shilling), the triens (one-third of the penny), the farthing and the half-farthing. The pound, mark, mancus and shilling were not coins, but merely "money of account."

34. In the British Museum is preserved a Saxon schoolbook, in which the merchant, giving an account of his occupation, in dialogue, says:—"I say I am useful to the king and ealdermen and to the rich and all people. I ascend my ship with my merchandize, and sail over the sea-like places, and sell my things, and buy dear things which are not produced in this land, and I bring them to you here with great danger over the sea; and sometimes I suffer shipwreck, with the loss of all my things, scarcely escaping myself."

"What do you bring to us?"

"Skins, silks, costly gems and gold, various garments, pigments, wine, oil, ivory, orichalcus (brass), copper, silver, glass, and such like."

"Will you sell your things here as you bought them there?"

"I will not, because what would my labour benefit me? I will sell them here dearer than I bought them there that I may get some profit to feed me, my wife and children."[1]

35. Athelstan, in the second quarter of the 10th century, with the assent of the Witenagemot, enacted that every merchant who made in his own ship three over-sea voyages should have the rank of a Thane or Noble, which shows the estimation in which commerce was beginning to be held.

Athelstan also sent a fleet to the help of his nephew, Louis IV. of France, which is the first instance we have of any political connection between the two countries. Edgar's navy is said to have consisted of a fabulous number of ships; and Alfred, earlier than either of these, when preparing for his final struggle with the Danes, built, somewhere apparently in the Bristol Channel, which was near his then refuge, a fleet of

[1] Cotton MS., Tib. A. iii.

ships longer, higher and swifter than the Danish æscas, some of them having sixty or more oars.

36. From the biography of Wulfstan, who was Bishop of Worcester at the time of the Conquest, we learn that Bristol was a well-known and wealthy commercial mart, although its chief articles of merchandize do not commend themselves to our modern feelings or judgment. "There is a seaport town called Bristol, opposite to Ireland, into which its inhabitants make frequent voyages on account of trade. Wulfstan cured the people of this town of a most odious and inveterate custom, *which they derived from their ancestors*, of buying men and women in all parts of England and exporting them to Ireland, for the sake of gain. The young women they seduced, and carried them to market in their pregnancy, that they might bring a better price. You might have seen with sorrow long ranks of young persons of great beauty, tied together with ropes, and daily exposed to sale; nor were these men ashamed, O horrid wickedness! to give up their nearest relations, nay, their own children, to slavery."[1]

From this we gather that Bristol had inherited the trade from their ancestors, consequently that it had long been a seaport doing a foreign trade, both Roman and Saxon having countenanced slavery. It was an ancient custom for the poor to sell their own children into slavery.

Men convicted of certain crimes were made slaves by the law, and their children became servile. Captives taken in war (chiefly the Welsh) were held and sold as slaves. Various ordinances had been passed to mitigate the condition of the victims and to restrain the spread of the system; there is an evident repugnance to the barbarous practice that is creditable to the age, although successive witans were unable to abolish it. The principal restraining enactment declared that "Christian and innocent men are not to be sold out of the land, least of all to heathen purchasers." By "innocent men" must have been meant, we apprehend, men who had been kidnapped, a practice that unhappily lingered in Bristol until it was stamped out by Judge Jefferys in the reign of James II.

37. Knut, upon the death of his father Sweyn, it will be remembered, held the Denalague, and had been proclaimed King by the Bersekers, as well as chosen by a witan held in London in April, 1016. Upon the death of Edmund he assembled all the notable men in witan at London in January, 1017, by whom he was elected king of all England, to the exclusion of Edmund's sons, who were sent out of the kingdom. Knut divided the realm into four provinces, over each of which he placed an earl. His brother-in-law Eric was Earl of Northumberland, Thurkill Earl of East Anglia, whilst Eadric, the traitor, was Earl of Mercia. The king retained Wessex. Still further to consolidate his power, he married Emma, the widow of the late king, who bore him two children, Harthaknut and Gunhild.

Eadric did not long enjoy his earldom, being put to death at Christmas, 1017. In 1018 a heavy Danegelt was levied of £82,503, of which London paid more than one-tenth. Knut then paid off his Bersekers and retained only 40 ships with their crews. On different pretexts the sons-in-law of Ethelred were put to death, after which Knut's cruelties and confiscations abated; he then forsook Odin, avowed himself a Christian, and in a witan at Oxford promised to govern on the basis of the laws of Edgar.

38. Keen and sagacious as a reader of character, he early in his reign, selected and speedily advanced to the highest station, a young Englishman, who by his great talents swayed through a long life, not only the councils of the realm, but also exercised a powerful personal and family influence over Bristol and its neighbourhood. Few public men have had more widely divergent stories told of their birth, their life and their death than Godwin. On the one hand his bitter foes have ascribed to him an ignoble origin, a lewd sacrilegious life, and a sudden and violent death by special judgment of God. On the other hand he is said to have been of noble if not of royal descent, to have been valiant in war, prudent in counsel, eloquent in speech, and of admirable conduct.

By a masterly analysis of the various statements respecting this great man, Dr. Freeman has arrived at the conclusion that Godwin was the son of Child Wulfnoth, that his bravery and services under Edmund had won for him the restitution of the property which had been forfeited by the treason of his father; that his valour and judgment commended him to the notice of King Knut, who speedily raised him to high rank, connected him by marriage with himself, admitted him to his most secret counsels, and finally at a witan held at Cirencester in April, 1020, exalted him to a position in the kingdom that was second only to the throne. Godwin became Earl of the West Saxons, the royal province which Knut had hitherto retained in his own hands. Henceforth the English earl was practically the viceroy of the kingdom, a position which he retained for thirty-two years, with the exception of a few months of banishment under Edward the Confessor. By the king's favour and royal gifts Godwin soon became the wealthiest subject as well as the first in position, and as far as one can judge, his influence was freely used for the good of the whole realm.

[1] Wharton's Anglia Sacra, II., 258.

Knut this year, as a thank-offering, built a stone church on the field at Assandun. He made Stigand its first priest, a man whose attainments qualified him for high ecclesiastical rank. He was made Bishop of Elmham in 1024, translated to Winchester in 1027, and became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1052. Godwin and his friend Stigand contributed largely to the change in Knut's views to which we have alluded. The king had by every account become an altered character, had learned to control the violence of his temper, and now he expressed his great sorrow for the cruelties he had been guilty of in his earlier years. In 1029 Knut went on a pilgrimage to Rome, from which place he addressed a letter to his people in England, which, from its character and the bearing it had on subsequent events, is worthy of notice.

39. No man could have written in the style in which Knut writes to all classes of his English subjects unless he were fully convinced that he possessed and deserved the love of his people. The tone of the letter is that of an absent father writing to his children. In all simplicity and confidence he tells them the events of his journey, with what honours he had been received, and with what presents he had been loaded by the two chiefs of Christendom, and what privileges for his subjects, both English and Danish, he had obtained at their hands. He confesses the errors of his youth, and promises reformation of anything which may still be amiss. All grievances shall be redressed, no extortions shall be allowed, King Knut needs no money raised by injustice. These are surely no mere formal or hypocritical professions, every word plainly comes from the heart. The same spirit reigns in his laws, wherein the precept to fear God and honour the king here takes a more personal and affectionate form.

"First above all things are men one God to love and worship, and one Christendom with one consent to hold, and Knut King to love with right truthfulness." The laws embrace the usual subjects, the reformation of manners, the administration of justice, the discharge of all ecclesiastical duties, and the strict payment of all ecclesiastical dues. The feasts of the two new national saints, Edward the king, and Dunstan the Primate, are again ordered to be observed on the authority of the Witan. The observance of the Lord's Day is also strongly insisted on, on that day there is to be no marketing, no hunting, even the holding of folkmotes is forbidden except in cases of absolute necessity. All heathen superstition is to be forsaken and the slave trade is again denounced. The whole fabric of English society is strictly preserved. The king legislates only with the consent of his Witan. The old assemblies, the old tribunals, the old magistrates, retain their rights and powers. The bishop and the ealderman still fill their place as joint presidents of the scirgemot and joint expounders of the laws ecclesiastical and secular. The king, as well as the inferior lords, is to enjoy all that is due to him; the royal rights, differing somewhat in the West Saxon and the Danish portions of the kingdom, are to be carefully preserved, and neither extended nor diminished in either country. No distinction is to be made between Danes and Englishmen. The local rights and customs of the Danish and English portions of the kingdom are to be strictly preserved. Trespasses on the king's forests are stringently forbidden, but the natural right of every man to hunt on his own land is emphatically asserted.

And as Knut's theory, so was his practice. No king was more active in what was then held to be the first duty of kingship, that of constantly going through every portion of his realm to see with his own eyes whether the laws which he enacted were duly put in force. In short, after Knut's power was fully established we hear no complaint against his government from any trustworthy Englishman. His hold upon the popular affection is shown by the number of personal anecdotes of which he is the hero.

In the best known tale of all he rebukes the impious flattery of his courtiers, and hangs his crown on the image of the crucified Saviour. He bursts into song as he hears the chant of the monks of Ely:—

> "Merie sungen the muneches binnen Ely
> Da Knut ching reu there by;
> Roweth cnihtes noer the land,
> And here we these muneches sæng."

He joins in and rejoices to keep the church festival with them. He bountifully rewards the peasant who proves the thickness of the ice over which the royal sledge has to pass.[1]

After the contentions and invasions that had torn the kingdom, there now ensued an unparalleled peace of many years duration, no civil discord, no revolting city, no ambitious chieftain disturbed the realm. In the second year of Knut's reign there had been a Scottish inroad, which was for a while successful, but Malcolm, then king, in 1031 became a man of the Dane and paid him homage; and in 1022 Eglaf, a Danish earl, invaded Wales and destroyed St. David's. These were the only wars, and they were of brief duration, so that during the latter years of Knut's reign it may be emphatically said the land had rest, the king dwelt in the hearts of his people, who had forgotten their terrible wars and his cruel early deeds in the benignant rule,

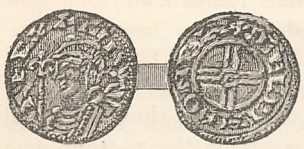
[1] Freeman, Old Eng. Hist., 241.

the spirit of equity and mercy, and the munificent patronage of literature, the arts, and religion of their monarch.

40. "A few days since the body of Canute was discovered in his monument in Winchester College. It was remarkably fresh, had a wreath around its head and a silver penny in its hand, several ornaments of gold, silver bands, and a ring on one finger with a remarkable large fine stone in it."[1]

41. Knut coined extensively in Bristol, indeed so various are the coins and so many are the moneyers, as to afford strong presumptive proof that he made the town for a while, at least, his head-quarters in the west. There are six different specimens in the British Museum, and eleven varieties are described by Hildebrand from the Stockholm cabinet. The name of the town is spelled as on Ethelred's penny *Bricgstow*, variously contracted; and the names of the moneyers are *Ægelwine*, *Ælfwine*, *Leofwine*, *Wulfwine*, *Wulstan*, *Wunsige* and *Goaman*.

"These pennies have on the *obverse* a profile bust to the left, diademed, within a tressure of four arches, legend + CNVT REX ANGL. Or a similar diademed bust to the left, with a sceptre in front of the face, legend CNVT RECX. Or the head and sceptre as before, legend (blundered) + ECPI RECCEX. On the *reverse* they bear—a tressure of four arches, with pellets on the points. Over all a long double cross with crescents on the ends of it, reaching to the edges of the coin, crosses patées at the commencement of the legends, which are ÆGELPINE ON BRI, or BRIC, ÆLFPINE ON BRIC, ÆLFPINE ON BRC, ÆLF PINE ON BRCS, ÆLPINE ON BRIC, GO, AMAN ON BRIC, PVLFPINE ON BRIC, PVLPINE ON BRIV, PVNSIGE ON BRIC, PVNSIGE ON BRICS. Others bear a double cross within an inner circle, an amulet over the centre; legends—+ ÆGEPINE ON BRIC, ÆLPINE ON BRI, LEOFPINE ON BRIC, or PVLSTAN O BR. Another coin has a double cross within an inner circle, over the centre is a small tressure of four curves, with pellets at the corners and in the centre; legend—+ ÆGELPINE ONN BRICC.[2]



Bristol Silver Penny of Knut.

42. Godwin's eldest son Sweyn was created Earl of Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Herefordshire, Somersetshire and Berkshire. He thus became Lord of Bristol. Harold, the second son, he who afterwards became king, was made Earl of Essex, East Anglia, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.

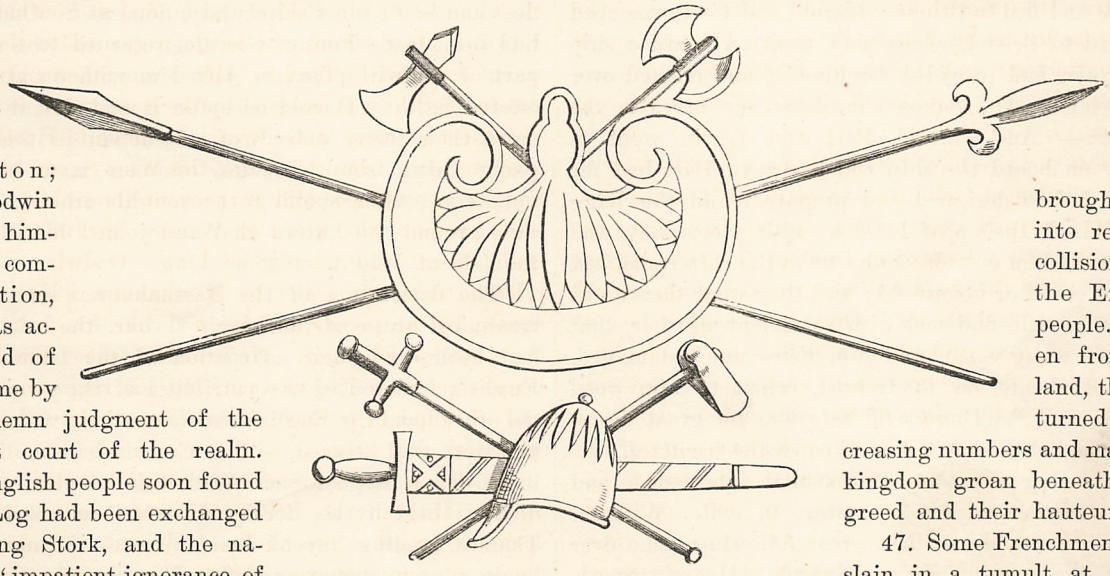
[1] The Bristol Journal, S. FARLEY, Castle green, June 14, 1766.
[2] Henfrey, December, 1875.

In the latter years of his reign Knut conferred the highest places in the realm upon Englishmen, and in everything he comported himself admirably as an English king. He died in 1035, and the kingdom was once more divided, Harold, Knut's reputed son by an English woman, seized on the territory north of the Thames. Harthaknut, the son of Queen Emma, who had been designated as his successor by Knut, was loyally supported in Wessex by Godwin and the English. Most unwisely for his own interests, Harthaknut preferred to remain in his Danish kingdom whilst his mother (Queen Emma), assisted by Godwin, ruled Wessex as Regent. In this interim her sons by Ethelred, the two Athelings, Edward and Alfred (from whom she was estranged), supported by a portion of the English people, crossed the channel in forty ships and landed at Southampton. Edward, after winning a battle, returned to the Continent laden with plunder; Alfred was taken and cruelly put to death it was asserted by the connivance, if not by the direct agency, of Godwin. Meanwhile Harthaknut keeping aloof from the realm, the West Saxon kingdom lost its importance, and to prevent its sinking into a mere province the witan of Wessex, in 1037, deposed their absent and uncrowned king. Godwin was thus released from his fealty to Harthaknut. Harold was chosen by the people and reigned, like his father, over the whole of England. He banished Queen Emma, and became reconciled to Godwin, but his reign was short, and he appears to have been a weak, irresolute and worthless character.

43. There are six specimens of the Bristol coinage of this king in the British Museum and four other varieties in the Stockholm Cabinet. "Among the names of the moneyers Alfwerd again appears, who may possibly be the same person as the Alfwerd who minted the before-described penny of Ethelred II. Other names of moneyers are *Leofwyne*, *Sæwine*, *Wulnoth* and *Wulwine*. Two of the Bristol pennies of Harold I. bear on the *obverse* the King's head to the left filleted; legend, + HAROLLD REX or HAROLD REX. *Reverse*, a cross, formed of four ovals issuing from a circle, with a rose in the centre; legend, + LEOFPINE ON BRIC, or SÆPINE ON BRICST. His other pennies have, *obverse*, bust of the king in profile to the left, a sceptre in front of the face; legend, + HAROLD REX. *Reverse*, a large double cross extending to the edge of the coin, with a *fleur-de-lys* in each angle issuing from a compartment in the centre; legend, one of the following:—+ AELPWERD ONN BRI, ELFPERD ON BRIC, LEOFPINE ON BRIC, SAEPINE ON BRIC, PVLNOD ON BRIC, or PYLPINE O BRIC."[1]

[1] Henfrey, 344.

44. Emma had no sooner reached the Continent than she roused the latent ambition of her son Harthaknut, and he was preparing an armament for the invasion of England when news reached him of Harold's death, and also that the Witan of all England had unanimously elected himself as king. Harthaknut's first act was to have the body of Harold exhumed, treated with indignity, and thrown into the river; his second was to levy on his new subjects a Danegelt of £32,000, an impost which the people had supposed obsolete, and which was paid so unwillingly that soldiers were sent as tax-gatherers into every shire to collect it for the King; his third, to attack Bishop Lyfing and Earl Godwin, the two great national leaders, whom he brought to trial for complicity in the death of Alfred. Lyfing lost his bishopric of Crediton; but Godwin cleared himself by compurgation, and was acquitted of the crime by the solemn judgment of the highest court of the realm. The English people soon found King Log had been exchanged for King Stork, and the national "impatient ignorance of taxation" culminated in our diocesan city of Worcester, where the citizens rose against their military tax-gatherers and slew them. For this the city was taken, sacked and burned. Harthaknut's reign was as brief as it was hateful and infamous. At a wedding feast, whilst proposing the health of the bride, he fell to the ground in a fit of epilepsy, from which he never recovered, and before he was buried, an English Witan at London chose Edward to be their king in 1042.



Danish Arms.

45. During Harthaknut's short reign, Godwin (probably to induce the King to overlook the fact that in compliance with the decree of the Witan he had assented to their choice of Harold) presented Harthaknut with a ship, which had its beak of gold, and was manned with eighty warriors, who were thoroughly equipped with every weapon both for offensive and defensive warfare. Each of these men was clad in a coat of triple mail, and wore a gilded helmet, as well as a bracelet of gold weighing 16 ounces upon each arm. Their shields had golden studs and bosses, their swords gilded handles, and their Danish battleaxes were profusely ornamented with silver and gold. Godwin's influence had placed Edward on the throne, at once his king, his son-in-law and his puppet, and well would it have been for England if Godwin's power over the soft priest-ridden king had been even more complete.

46. Edward the Confessor, son of Ethelred and Emma, was Norman in everything but birth. Educated on the Continent, he had acquired naturally the habits and tastes of the people amongst whom he had lived until his election to the throne. No sooner was he seated thereon than he was surrounded by Normans, whose overbearing conduct brought them into repeated collision with the English people. Driven from the land, they returned in increasing numbers and made the kingdom groan beneath their greed and their hauteur.

47. Some Frenchmen being slain in a tumult at Dover, which was occasioned by the overbearing insolence of their leader, Count Eustace, of Boulogne; the King, without inquiring into the case, ordered Godwin, in whose earldom Dover was situated, to punish the townsmen. This the Earl, who had no love for the foreigners, refused, and told the King "that no man in his earldom should be put to death without trial, but they should be fairly judged, and, if found guilty, should be punished." To defend the rights of Englishmen, Godwin and his sons then gathered their followers and encamped at Beverstone, on the Cotswold Hills. Turning the tables on the King, they became the accusers, and demanded that Count Eustace and his men, who had slain an Englishman in his own house at Dover, should be delivered up to them. The King also raised a large army, but Siward and Leofric, his commanders, found their troops averse to begin a civil war. Then the leaders on both sides met, and it was agreed

to refer the matter to a Witan, which was to be held in London. Godwin demanded hostages and a safe conduct. Whilst awaiting these he imprudently dismissed his army. Edward's generals, with more forethought, had steadily augmented their forces, and the King, finding himself master of the situation, refused to give the required guarantees.

48. A second demand being made by the English earls, and the King proving inflexible, the Witan met without them. Norman influence prevailed. Godwin and his sons were deemed contumacious; Sweyn, his eldest, the Earl of Gloucester and Lord of Bristol, was outlawed; Godwin and Harold were sentenced to banishment, and ordered to leave England in five days. Godwin, Sweyn, Tostig and Gurth took ship with their treasure and fled to Bruges; Harold and Leofwyne sped westward to Bristol, where they went on board a ship that Sweyn had provided for himself and crossed over into Ireland. The Saxon chronicle thus narrates the incident:—"And Harold Earl and Lewin went to Bristow on board the ship which Sweyn Earl had for himself before designed and prepared, and the King sent Ældred, Bishop of London, with a company, and they should him outride before he to the ship come, but they not could or not would; and they went thence out of Avon mouth, and met with so violent weather, that he scarce away come, and him there much damaged. He went thence on to Ireland, when to him good weather came." There evidently was no great desire on the English Bishop's part to catch the fugitives.

49. During the few months that intervened, and whilst Godwin and his sons were in exile, William, Duke of Normandy, with a great following came over to visit his cousin, King Edward. He afterwards asserted that the Confessor then promised to make him his heir. Leaving behind him a number of his adherents charged to look well after his interests, and to ingratiate themselves with the weak-minded king, William, well pleased and loaded with honours and gifts, returned to Normandy.

His brief sojourn in the land had satisfied him as to its industry and great wealth; he noted that the great lords held their possessions not as fiefs of the crown, but independently, ruling as sub-kings, bitterly jealous of each other, and he marked them for his prey.

William has been described by one who knew him as "a stark man," *i.e.* one of inflexible will, that will, was ultimately to possess England, peacefully if practicable, if not, why it was a land worth winning by arms, and the people might be denationalized by craft. Godwin and his sons were in exile, Norman courtiers surrounded the throne, Norman governors and men-at-arms held the strongholds, Norman priests had the ear of the monarch and possession of the richest benefices. Whilst the English, both noble, franklin, burgher and churl, were full feeders and heavy drinkers.

An easy conquest and a rich booty it seemed awaited Arletta's son, but he knew how to keep his own counsel and to "bide his time." Nor was he without hopes of being able by craft to win to his side, or else weaken the influence of, the great Saxon earls.

50. Meanwhile however, Godwin, the man of the strong hand, was missed in the land, and the people began to cry out for their English earl to deliver them from the insolent misrule of the Normans.

Cognizant of this, Harold and Leofwyne gathered a fleet and landed in Porlock Bay, Somerset. Odda, who had been made Earl of Somersetshire and the western part of Godwin's domain, met him with an army and offered battle. Harold accepted it and defeated him, more than thirty officers of distinction in the king's party being slain, besides common men in large numbers. After spoiling the neighbourhood, Harold sailed round the Land's End and joined his father at the Isle of Wight.

The detestation of the Normans was great, their tyrannical abuse of the king's favour, the castles they had built, and their usurpation of the lands of the English, had roused the patriotism of the people. On the other hand the English earls were their "own men," and were well beloved, so that Godwin had no difficulty in raising a large force. With this he plundered the districts held by the foreigners and then sailed up the Thames, landing beyond London, on the Strand, where he drew up his forces and offered the king battle. This Edward dared not accept, but ever weak, irresolute, and vacillating, he was reconciled to the earl.

51. The Normans sought safety in flight. Godwin and his sons were restored to their rank and honours, and for the next fourteen years England was freed to a great extent from Norman influence; the joy of the people was unbounded, a great moral victory had been won, and Godwin and Harold became the idols of the English. Sweyn, the eldest son, had lost caste; amongst other crimes he had slain treacherously his cousin Beorn, and now seized with remorse he had gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem barefooted, from which he never returned, dying in Lycia of a disorder induced by exposure to inclement weather.

52. In 1053 Earl Godwin died. The monkish party, ever bitterly opposed to him, said that he was choked by a morsel of bread whilst taking a false oath, but all such tales must be taken "*cum grano salis*." There

always have been men who would not scruple to lie for the glory of God and the good of their order. Godwin was a man of eminent ability, a thorough Englishman, and although ambitious, fond of power and of aggrandizing his family, his death was a national calamity. No reliance can be placed on the trumped up tales of infamy brought against his memory by the monks whom he had determinedly opposed. "The English people wept for him as a friend and a father, only they rejoiced that he had left a son to walk in his ways."[1]

Harold succeeded his father as Earl of the West Saxons, and Algar, the son of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, was made Earl of East Anglia.

Meanwhile Edward was busy building an abbey at Westminster for the monks; Harold, who favoured the secular clergy (the people's priests), built a large church at Waltham, and sought for the best teachers for the people from amongst the reformed churches on the Continent. "Wise, thoughtful, ever anxious to improve himself and others, he was really one of the greatest and best rulers England ever had."[2]

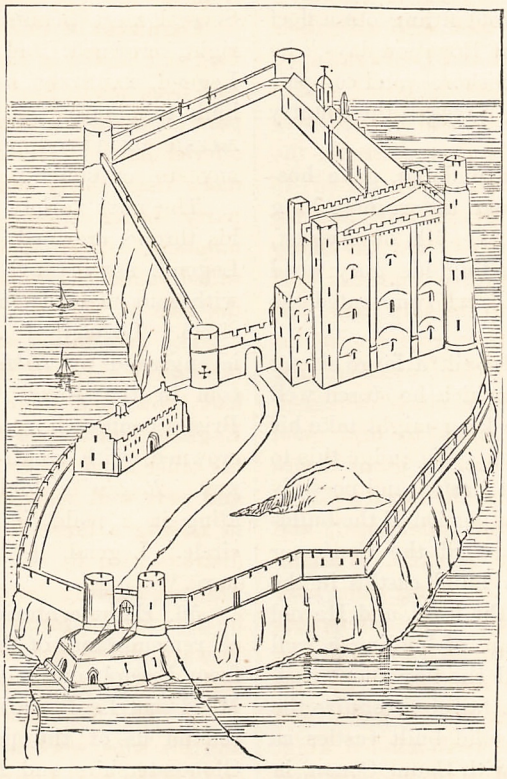
Siward, Earl of Northumbria, died in 1055, and Harold's brother Tostig, a man of a different calibre, unfortunately was made earl by the king and his council, so that the house of Godwin and the house of Leofric between them ruled the whole kingdom.

Algar, the East Anglian earl, revolted, fled to Ireland, and returning thence with 18 ships made a league with Gruffydd, the King of Wales, and they together invaded Herefordshire. Opposed by King Edward's army, led by his nephew Ralph, a Norman, who caitiff-like fled at the commencement of the battle, the forces under Gruffydd and Algar gained an easy victory, they then entered Hereford and burned the monastery, and the town also after they had plundered it, and slain many of the clergy and the inhabitants.

England now only needed a general; the aged Leofric could scarcely be expected to march against his own son. So Harold, the favourite of the nation, was placed once more in command of the army.

Algar dared not risk a battle, but submitted incontinently and was again pardoned by the king, who to pacify him restored him to his earldom, and upon the death of his father Leofric made him Earl of Mercia. East Anglia was then divided between Gurth and Leofric, two younger brothers of Harold, and now all England with the exception of Algar's earldom was governed by the sons of Godwin.

In 1058 Algar once more revolted, but assisted by Gruffydd he was strong enough to dictate terms to Edward, and he again obtained possession of his earldom. About this time Wulfstan, prior of the abbey of Worcester, a great friend of Harold's, was made against his will bishop of the diocese.



Plan of Early Norman Castle.

53. In 1063 Gruffydd, who had repeatedly invaded England and had given great trouble to the people of the Marches, was attacked by Harold, who ultimately fitted his men with leathern jerkins and light armour, that they might be better able to follow the Welsh into their fastnesses. Making a rapid march from Gloucester in the depth of winter with a small body of horse to Rhudlan, he surprised Gruffydd, so that he had much ado to escape in a ship; Harold burned his palace and his ships, and returned to Gloucester the same day.

"This year passing to an end without other matters of moment, save the frequent inroads and robberies of Griffin, whom no bonds of faith could restrain, King Edward sent against him, after Christmas, Harold, now Duke of the West Saxons, with no great body of horse from Gloucester, where he then kept his court; whose coming, heard of, Griffin, not daring to abide, nor in any part of his land holding himself secure, escaped hardly by sea, ere Harold coming to '*Rudeland*,' burnt his palace and ships there, and retired to Gloucester the same day."[1]

Evans thinks that Gruffydd had come up the Avon

[1] Freeman, Old Eng. Hist., 270. [2] *Ibid*, 273.

[1] Turner's Anglo-Saxons, I., 458.

and built himself a palace at Redland, from whence he fled over the downs to Sea Mills, barely escaping thence by ship. There is some reason in this view of the matter if we are to take the narrative literally, for by it we are led to suppose that the march from Gloucester was made in a night, and the return to Gloucester was as rapid. Ruddyland, or Redland, would doubtless be the cognomen of many a place in those days, but we know of none that fit the relation as it stands so well as the pleasant spot now within our city that bears to this day the name. Still we think that all that the narrator meant was this, that having sacked Rhudland, in North Wales, Harold with his army left the same day for Gloucester.

We next find the gallant Harold fitting out a fleet at Bristol, with which "on or about Rogation days," he sailed for Wales, coasting along its shores, and co-operating with his brother Tostig, who ravaged the country with a body of cavalry.

The Welsh, driven to bay, surrendered, gave hostages, promised tribute, drove their unfortunate king into banishment, and finally on the 5th of August, 1064, treacherously slew him, sending his gory head and the beak of his ship to Harold, who presented the ghastly trophies to the king.

54. Shortly afterwards Harold built a large strong house at Portascith (Portskewet), which he stored well with provisions, that his lord the king might take his pleasure in hunting in those parts. We judge this to have been on the site of Caldecott Castle, and possibly the round mound and keep may be a portion of the building. The Norman knights of Edward the Confessor had, before this period, begun to build castles in the districts conferred upon them by the king, and Harold must have seen the great advantage of holding a well fortified place that could withstand the impetuous rush of the hardy Welsh, nor would he fail to recognize the advantage to be gained by such solid built castles as those he had met with in the war with Count Conan, in Brittany, in which he had helped the Norman duke. There are no signs of English occupation in Sudbrook Camp, if we except the ruined church, which is of a later date.

55. The Bristol pennies of Edward the Confessor, 1041—1066, are rather numerous. There are at least twelve varieties, the name of the town is variously spelled, viz., *Bricc*, *Brec*, *Bryce*, and *Brygstow*. The moneyers' names are: *Ælfric*, *Ælfward*, *Ælfwine*, *Æthelstan*, *Ceorl*, and *Godwine*. The name Ælfwine occurs on coins of Knut, but all the others are new, *Elfwine* and *Jelfwine* are apparently blundered forms of *Ælfwine*. Two of these pennies bear on the *obverse* the king's bust in profile to the left crowned. No sceptre and no inner circle. Legend, + EDPERD RECX. *Reverse*, a small cross pattée within an inner circle. Legend, + ÆLPINE ON BRICC, or GODPINE ON BRVCE. One rare penny in the British Museum has on the *obverse*, full-face bust bearded and crowned, within an inner circle. Legend, + EADPARD REX A. *Reverse* similar in type to the last described coins. Legend, GODPINE ON BRVC. Two other pennies bear *obverse*, king's bust to the left, filleted and with sceptre. No inner circle. Legend, + EDPERD REX. *Reverse*, a double cross, with limbs gradually expanding, issuing from two central circles; all within an inner circle. Legend, ELFPARD ON BRICST, or EDESTAN ON BRI. Several more pennies have *obverse*, king's bust to the right, crowned, and with sceptre. No inner circle. Legend, EADPARRD REX. *Reverse*, a double cross, each limb terminating in an incurved crescent. Legends, ÆLFRIC ON BRVGSTO. ÆLFPINE ON BRE. ÆLFPINE ON BRVCSTO, or GODPINE ON BREEC.

The next variety has: *obverse*, the king sitting on his throne, crowned, and holding the sceptre and orb. Legend, EDVVEARDVS REX AN. *Reverse*, a double cross with four martlets in the angles; all within an inner circle. Legend, + ÆLFPINE ONN BRVCE. This penny is engraved by *Hildebrand*, tab. 10, from the original coin in the Royal Cabinet, Stockholm. Two more Bristol pennies have on the *obverse*, profile to the right, crowned, with sceptre in front. Legend, + EADPARD REX. *Reverse*, a double cross, with a pyramid terminating in a pellet in each angle; all within an inner circle. Legend, + CEORL ON BRVCC, or IELFPINE ON BREC.[1]

56. Eight centuries have been insufficient to erase all remembrance of the great English family of Godwin from Bristol, or to eliminate their names. The Earl's Mead and Leofwyne's or Lewin's Mead still remain to remind us of the period when Sweyn was Earl of Gloucestershire and Lord of Bristol, and his brother Leofwyne was the governor of its earth-walled castle.

Harold II., the elect king of the English people and the idol of the nation, fell on October 14th, 1066, at Senlac, pierced to the brain by an arrow, dying gloriously for his native land and the people whom he loved, and thus the way was opened by one single blow for the stark Duke of Normandy to ascend the throne.

57. The Bristol pennies of Harold II., 1066, are rare, his reign was too short, so that very few are known. The name of the town is spelled *Bri-cstow*, *Brycistow*, and *Brycstow*. The moneyers' names are *Ceorl*, *Æthelwine*, and *Leofwine*, the first of these names occur

[1] Henfrey, 345.

on the money of Edward the Confessor, the others are new. There is only one of these pennies in the British Museum, it bears on the *obverse* the king's profile to the left, crowned, with a sceptre in front of the face. Legend, + HAROLD REX ANG. *Reverse*, the word PAX, between two dotted lines across the centre of the coin; all within a beaded inner circle. Legend, + LEOFPINE ON BRI. Another is said to be in the Hunterian collection at Glasgow University, and is engraved in Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, plate xxvi., No. 2. *Obverse*, profile to the left, crowned; no sceptre. Legend, HAROLD REX ANRI. *Reverse*, the word PAX, between two straight lines, within a plain inner circle. Legend, CEORL ON BRVCI. In the sale of the Rev. J. Martin's cabinet, May, 1859, were two Bristol pennies of Harold. The first had on the *obverse*, bust to right, with sceptre. Legend, HARALD REX. *Reverse*, the word PAX across the field. Legend, + ÆLDPINE ON BRVC. The other was similar in type to that engraved in Ruding, but the two legends were: *obverse*, + HAROLD REX ANGL. *Reverse*, + LEOFPINE ON BRI.[1]

58. The boundary of the fortified town which the invaders found here in the 5th century may be easily traced by its murivant, which we can follow throughout its circuit to this day. Starting from St. Nicholas church, which stands partly upon the site of the ancient wall, we traverse Nicholas street, the houses between this and Baldwin street stand on the wall and its fosse, which together measured in width 28 or 30 feet. Crossing Corn street we enter St. Leonard's lane, keeping always in our peregrination the site of the wall on our left hand, its course being between us and St. Stephen's street; we now cross Small street into Bell lane; throughout the whole of this portion, a mill leat, which was cut from the river Frome, formed the fosse, through the hill at the junction of Corn street and Clare street, along St. Stephen's and Baldwin streets to the King's mill on the Avon. From Bell lane, still following the murivant, we cross Broad street into Tower lane, passing Blind gate or Dove's tower, where the wall was ten feet in thickness. Between the Blind gate and the top of the Pithay,[2] William Wyrcestre says there was a large square tower, and at the junction of the Pithay with Wine street there was another gate; all of these have disappeared. On the outside of this portion of the wall upon the slope of the hill reaching down to the river Frome was a strip of land of considerable breadth. Here the suburb known as Aylward street or the Pithay grew up under the fortifications, to be hereafter enclosed by a second wall. The wall from the Pithay was carried along the edge of the hill on the north side of Wine street. In 1820 some portions of this wall were uncovered, and it was found to be six feet in thickness; it was 19 feet from the street front. It then crossed the top of Union street (a modern roadway) and ran along Narrow Wine street, turning apparently at a right-angle to Ald gate (St. Peter's church), near the Avon it again angled, following at a distance of 70 feet the course of that river to St. Werburgh's gate (St. Nicholas' church), which completes the circuit. In the 13th century this wall was destroyed, and the secular clergy (imitating the policy of the friars, who had domiciled themselves outside the walls so as to command all the roads into the town) built their churches on the sites of the ancient gateways. Thus, St. Werburgh's gate became St. Nicholas; Baldwin's gate, St. Leonard's; North gate, St. John's; Ald gate, St. Peter's, this last was destroyed when the castle hill was walled around its base and Newgate was erected at its foot on the castle ditch. Aylward's gate in Wine street, also being no longer necessary, made way for the Pithay gate at the bottom of the hill. These were the chief entrances to the town; over Blind gate, in John's lane, there was a house, and at the bottom of Small street stood St. Giles's church, with its gateway. These two were, we think, merely postern gateways. The open space upon the Avon bank was the Quay, and here the butchers' shambles were placed according to our earliest records. The natural course of the river Frome was not by St. Stephen's and Baldwin streets, but down Skadpulle (Scatterpool) street, now Marsh street, from whence it wound its way to the Avon by Crow lane. Be it remembered that the part of the floating harbour, known as the Broad quay and Narrow quay, was not excavated until after 1247. The above wall was embattled, and was strengthened by towers between the several gates. One of these, Ricart says, stood midway between St. Leonard's and St. Nicholas; another Wyrcestre mentions (the Nightingale tower) between Blind gate and Aylward's gate. The area within this wall was 19 acres.

59. The outer natural defences of this mural line were by no means insignificant in an age destitute of artillery. The rivers Avon and Frome engirdled the walls for more than three-fourths of their circumference. For one half at least of this distance the banks were high, and the hill steep, whilst the rivers were tidal with a deep bottom of mud. The lower or western front was equally well defended by a marsh liable to overflow, which extended outside the Frome, from Crow lane to Brandon hill. The hill on the east was the site, we believe, of the castle of which the Confessor made

[1] Henfrey, 345-6.

[2] Pithay, *in Norman* "La haia du puit," *in English* "Well close."

Leofwyne governor in 1049, which itself was a survival most probably of the Roman prætorium, this hill was walled around its base by Geoffrey, and strengthened by the Great Earl of Gloucester.

The three other mural additions to the town we shall have to mention subsequently, but the above is, we believe, a correct plan of its fortifications at the commencement of the Saxon era. Redcliff, Thomas, Temple and Bedminster, all on the south side of the river Avon, were not then within the jurisdiction of Bristol. But we have some reason to conclude that there was communication with the Somerset side of the river by a bridge of wood. If the Thames could be spanned by such an erection, and we know that it was, the narrower Avon would offer no insuperable difficulty. Besides, the very fact of one of the main streets of the town leading down to a gateway abutting on the river at that spot is a *primâ facie* proof of the existence of a roadway carried over a tidal stream that could otherwise have been crossed only by ferry at high water.

The burgh was governed by the system of Frankpledge under the burhgerefa (borough reeve) chosen by the burghers, but subject apparently in certain matters to the governor of the castle, who again would be responsible to the ealdorman (duke or earl) of the shire (Gloucestershire).

60. Frankpledge (Freoborh, free pledge, originally Frithborh, the pledge to keep the king's peace) would be better understood by its Yorkshire name "Ten man tale;" by it all the men of a town were divided into tens, who were mutual guarantors, so that if one man offended, the other nine were his security, if he fled they were allowed thirty-one days in which to find and produce him, then he was to repair the damage he had done, out of his own property if he could, if that were beyond his power justice was to be done on his body. If they could not catch the delinquent the head man of the ten, had with two of his best men to call together from his three neahborhs, three men from each, making in all twelve men, to clear himself and his frankpledge both of the offence and the flight of the malefactor. If he could not do this then compensation was to be made as far as possible out of the property of the wrong-doer, if this were not sufficient it had to be supplemented by his fellows in the frankpledge. The other nine men (neahborhs) had to make oath that they had no part in the offence, and all were bound if possible at any subsequent time to bring the offender to book, or to tell the justice where he was to be found. These frankpledges were again united in larger numbers; in the country as tythings, ten tythings forming the hundred; in towns into gilds, and these into the commonalty under the gerefa, or sheriff.

By this system each man had an interest in the administration of justice, and to it we owe in a great measure that submission to the authority of the law that characterises us English people. Relics of the system survive in our midst. My neahborh is my neighbour, the *venue* where an action is laid is where the witnesses are at hand; the witness to character is a descendant in law of the Saxon neahborhs; the municipal feasts grew out of the gild monthly meetings, and the fine levied on the hundred in which riotous damage has been done to a man's property is another survival of this age.

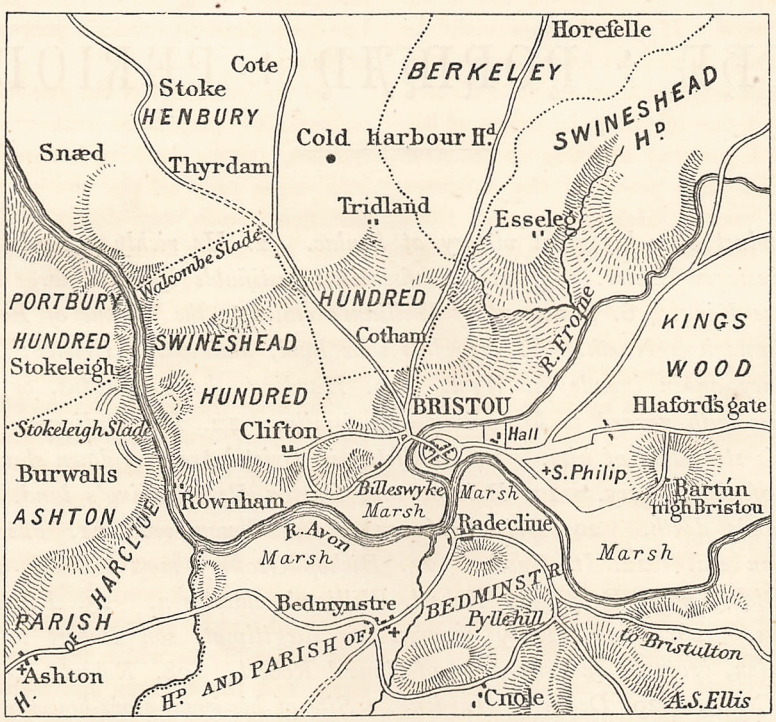
Of the buildings of the pre-Norman period there are no remains, they were without doubt all "*treen*," *i.e.* wooden. Stone dwelling houses and stone castles came into vogue only on the eve of the Norman conquest, and then made way slowly. The stately edifices of Rome had never been planted in Caer Brito, which was walled around by Constantine at too late a date for their erection, but the Mistress of the World left us as a precious legacy her laws, her arts and her admirable municipal local self-government.

To these the Anglo-Saxons added a love of personal freedom, a regard for individual rights, a chivalrous respect for the female sex, the chastity, and domestic virtue of the Teuton home. Woman repaid by affection the attention paid her by man, and shared his perils as well as his pleasures, so that the names of virgin, wife and mother were held most sacred; whilst the Keltic admixture gave to us that keen practical readiness and versatility in which the modern Germans are deficient, and the Vikings and Berserkers infused into our Bristol blood an adventurous love of the sea, which in boldness of maritime enterprise, whether as discoverers, merchants, colonists or fighting sailors, has never been surpassed, although it has been doubtless equalled by many of our countrymen.

61. Whatever may be the opinion held with regard to our previous history, this seems certain, the Normans found Bristol a wealthy, prosperous, fortified burgh, subject to law, claiming a prescriptive right to choose from amongst themselves their own magistrates to administer justice, and their own Governor or Præpositus to regulate commerce, subject only to the dues and customs claimed by the Lord of the Honour, to whom the land and the houses belonged. On the east the Earls possessed the manor of Barton (Barton Regis), which comprised the site of the Castle, the parishes of St. Peter and St. Philip. Towards the north Broadmead, the Horsefair, the site of St. James' church and

Lewin's Mead. Westward they owned the manor of Billeswic, which comprised College green, Canons' Marsh and the Marsh of Bristol at the confluence of the two rivers (Queen Square), which by deed of 1240 we learn was claimed by the townsmen, *i.e.*, the lord's tenants, as common land, whereon from time immemorial they had a right to take their pastime. Bedminster and the sites of Temple, Thomas and Redcliff parishes belonged also to them, so that Harold or his dependents apparently owned at the time of the Conquest most of the land in and around Bristol.[1]

62. "Clifton belonged to King Edward the Confessor, and was held of him by Sewin, the reeve (provostpræpositus, the Norman scribe wrote) of Bristou, with the special privileges of being non-resident if he chose, of not making any return in the way of rent, providing a night's entertainment, or rendering any share of the produce as feorm." Mr. Ellis concludes the manor to have been Sweyn's, not of right as portreeve of Bristol, but as a royal reward for some special service, or an estate of inheritance, held of the king, rather than of the crown, and with privileges not common even to freemen. He quotes from Domesday, 1085-6, vol. I., folio 170, column 2:—"LXXV. Land of Roger Fitz Ralph. In sines hoved hundred. Roger Fitz Ralph holds one manor, by name Clifton (of the King in Capite), which Sewin, the provost of Bristou, held of King E., and had been able to go with this land where he wished (*i.e.*, to be non-resident), nor did he owe thence any feorm. There are 3 hides. In demesne are 3 plough teams, and 6 villanes, also 6 bordars, with 2 plough teams. There are 3 serfs, and 8 acres of meadow. It was worth (in King Edward's time) 100*s.*, now 60*s.* (Villans were farm servants or servants of the *villa*, *i.e.*, the agricultural inhabitants of the vill—the villagers—but who were unable to leave without the Lord's consent; bordars were cottagers, '*bords*' cottages, in Roman times)."[1]



THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BRISTOU about the time of the Norman Conquest.

Roger Fitz Ralph was, Mr. Ellis considers, a son of Roger de Berchelai, who farmed the King's Barton of Bristol, and also the great royal estate of Berkeley, where he resided. The reduction in the value shows the very unsettled state of the country 20 years after the Conquest. There is no mention in Domesday of church, priest, or wood; but William de Clifton gave this advowson in the following century to the Abbey of St. Augustine. In the time of King Henry I. the manor was held of the Honour of Gloucester.

Here we pause, we have endeavoured to elucidate the History of Bristol out of the obscurity that veils the whole kingdom during the first ten centuries of the Christian era.

We have shown that at least five distinct peoples have occupied its site, and as a result of this mingling of race we find the town early tenanted by men prone to a maritime life, and possessing an aptitude for commercial affairs which enabled them to make Bristol the second mart in the kingdom for foreign produce.

[1] Seyer, I., 275.

[1] A. S. Ellis Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Proceedings, I., 213.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NORMAN PERIOD.

1. *William's conduct after his great victory at Senlac.* 2. *He richly rewards his medley array of partisans.* 3. *He besieges Exeter.* 4. *His confiscations justifiable by the law.* 5. *The Lordship of Bristol escheated to the King.* 6. *Statement of William's claim to the Throne of England.* 7. *Terrible condition of the contumacious North.* 8. *Harold's sons land, and attack Bristol; Ednoth defeats them in Somerset.* 9. *They again invade the West.* 10. *Harding, the Præpositus, or Chief Magistrate of Bristol.* 11. *Theories with regard to his origin and family.* 12. *His Pedigree.* 13. *Brictric, Lord of Bristol. Romantic story told of him.* 14. *Wulfstan in Bristol preaches down slavery.* 15. *William's avarice.* 16. *State of the country.* 17. *Bristow and Barton Regis, King's land.* 18. *Jewry outside Bristol.* 19. *William's death.* 20. *Bristol Money of the Conqueror.* 21. *The walls and gates of Bristol in the Norman era.* 22. *Its Castle.* 23. *Bishop Geoffrey most probably its builder, sketch of his life.* 24. *The Bishop holds Bristol for Robert, William's eldest son.* 25. *Fitzhamon made Lord of the Honour by Rufus.* 26. *King Henry marries his illegitimate son Robert to Mabel, Fitzhamon's daughter.* 27. *Position, property and character of Consul Robert.* 28. *Robert, ex-Duke of Normandy, imprisoned in Bristol Castle.* 29. *Death of Harding. Site of his great stone-house at Bristol.* 30. *King Henry at Berkeley.* 31. *Bristol Coinage, &c., of Henry I.* 32. *Bristol Castle enlarged and its Great Tower built by Consul Robert.* 33. *Ground plan thereof.* 34. *Architectural remains.* 35. *The Castle Bridges, Gates, &c.* 36. *Stephen claims the throne, and seizes on Bristol Castle.* 37. *Robert re-conquers it.* 38. *Bristol, description of, from a MS. of that date.* 39. *Character given of the Bristowans by contemporary writers.* 40. *Plan for damming up the Avon and drowning Bristol.* 41. *Robert's bold ride to Bristol.* 42. *Robert takes Worcester, and Fitzherbert seizes on Malmesbury.* 43. *Bristol and all the West favourable to the Empress. Stephen a prisoner in Bristol Castle.* 44. *Maud fails to make friends.* 45. *She besieges Winchester, and is herself besieged. Consul Robert is taken prisoner.* 46. *Stephen exchanged for Robert, who fetches Prince Henry from Anjou.* 47. *Maud's escape from Oxford.* 48. *Prince Henry educated at Bristol.* 49. *Battle of Wilton, Stephen defeated; great spoil brought to Bristol.* 50. *The vale of Gloucestershire and the town of Bristow described by a writer of that age.* 51. *Robert and the Bristowans relieve Tetbury Castle.* 52. *The Consul builds Farringdon Castle.* 53. *Cruel treatment of Roger de Berkeley.* 54. *Death of Consul Robert. His character.* 55. *Prince Henry lands in England and renews the struggle.* 56. *He and Stephen come to an agreement.* 57. *The war of Bristowa, dates of the principal events.* 58. *Stephen's Bristol Coinage.*

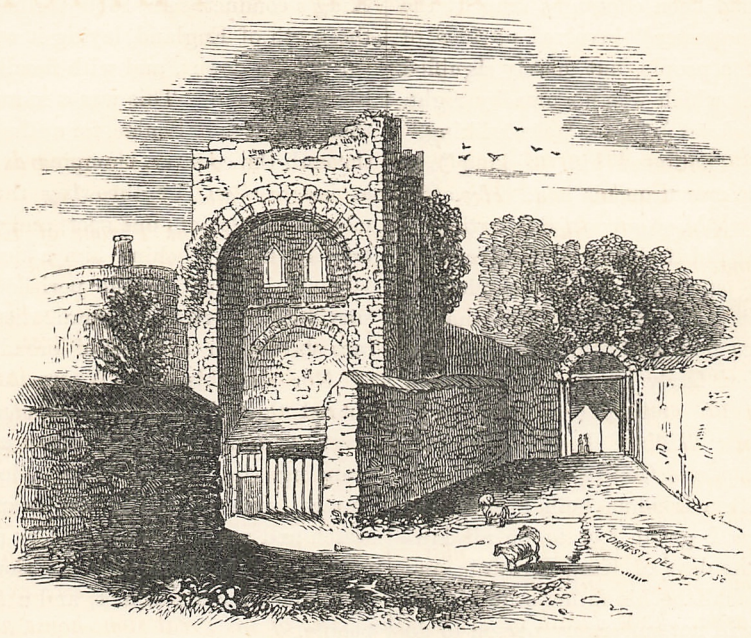
WILLIAM, the master spirit of the age, after the death of Harold, had by his great victory at Senlac, on October 14th, 1066, prostrated the English people, and won for himself the crown, but some years elapsed ere he conquered the whole of the kingdom.

"He made diligent enquiry after those who had sided with Harold, and confiscated the property of such of them as had fought against himself. Those who were doubtful, as well as those who from force of circumstances had been unable in time to join the English standard, were for the most part despoiled of their possessions, but a hope was held out to their children that if they continued loyal to the new dynasty some portion of the family heritage might revert to them."[1]

The booty thus acquired was immense. The king claimed for his share all the lands of Edward the Confessor, which it is said consisted of fourteen hundred and twenty-two manors, and the immense estates of Godwin, Harold, Algar, Edwin, Morcar and other great Saxon earls. He took also the treasure of the kings, and the church plate, nor did he spare the rich shops of the merchants. He was thus enabled to redeem his promises to the mercenaries who had joined his standard at Dive.

2. With a liberal hand he showered his gifts. Ten Normans alone received between them two thousand eight hundred and twenty manors; those who had stipulated for gold had their coffers well filled, whilst many a well dowered Saxon maiden whose father, or widow whose husband, had fallen at Senlac, became the prey of a successful soldier. Midas like, these men turned all they touched into gold; the foot soldier cast away his ragged quilted coat to don a silken cloak with knightly baldric. "Flemish weavers and drovers from Gascoigne, such as Œil de Bœuf, Front de Bœuf, Bonvilain, Ivo de Taillebois, Longue Epee, Hugues le Tailleur, &c., &c., assumed the style of gentleman and the title of nobleman by right of their victory and foreign birth." Then

> "William de Coningsby
> Came out of Brittany
> With his wife Tiffany
> And his maid Maufras
> And his dogge Hardigras."[1]



Ruins of the Castle of Rougemont, Exeter.

Whilst Normans of low degree, in flocks both lay and clerical, crossed the Channel to share in the rich plunder, and to aid in the reduction of the unconquered portions of the realm. Their chiefs (for it must not be thought that the Normans were all *canaille*) became the king's liege men, and before they took possession of their fiefs put each of them a hand into that of the king and swore to lower their own flags and to raise the three lion banner of their lord the king at his first command.

Rapidly building strong castles on their newly acquired domains, they then demanded from their dependents a similar oath of fealty and homage, and this system was enacted through all gradations of rank down to the archers and grooms.

3. William soon found work for their willing hands. On December 6th, 1067, he had hastily to return from Normandy. Gytha, the mother of the late king Harold, had taken refuge in the important walled city of Exeter, the burgesses of which had thrown up fresh intrenchments and built additional towers for defence. In January, 1068, William by a rapid march appeared before their walls and summoned them to surrender.

[1] Thierry's Nor. Conq., I. iv., 190.

[1] Thierry's Nor. Conq., I. iv., 198, 233.

From their answer we gather the semi-independent position occupied by the great trading towns in the Anglo-Saxon period. They said "we will neither swear allegiance to the king nor admit him within our walls, but will pay him tax such as we have been wont to pay." For eighteen days they bravely defended their city, until it was treacherously yielded by their Thanes. The king acted with moderation, and saved the city from pillage, but he pulled down forty-eight houses and built the castle of Rougemont to overawe the citizens.

4. It is indisputable that in the confiscation and distribution of property William at first kept fairly within the ancient law which he in full Witan had sworn to observe. He had been chosen as king by the nation. The term "Conquestor" involved no idea of the forcible subjection of a people, but merely signified that he had obtained that which was his own by right. His chaplain says he was *electus in regem*, "elected king," and Archbishop Aldred "hallowed him to king" at Westminster, putting the crown on his head only after he had sworn "that he would so govern this nation as any king before him best did if they would be faithful to him." Hence these spoliations were justified as being the necessary punishment of rebels. The nation it is true did not at once become faithful to him, but that William meant to deal fairly by them is instanced by his moderation at Exeter, and his charter given to London, wherein he says, "William the King friendly salutes William the Bishop, and Godfrey the Portreeve, and all the burgesses within London, both French and English. And I declare I grant you to be all law-worthy, as you were in the days of King Edward; and I grant that every child shall be his father's heir, after his father's days, and I will not suffer any person to do you a wrong. God keep you."

5. We imagine that Bristol was dealt with in a like manner. The king had received the Lordship by escheatage, but he does not appear to have altered the civil government of the town, or to have exercised any other power than that pertaining by right to him as its lord. The Honour of Bristol had passed from a subject of the highest rank into the hands of the monarch, who held it for his wife, and every burgess paid fealty to him as his lord. The monstrous fiction that the king was the owner of all the land in the country had as yet no place in the mind of either king or people.

6. The state of affairs was simply this. William had claimed as his inheritance from Edward the English crown, and by force of arms had obtained possession; following the ancient custom he then caused himself to be duly elected, and had sworn to govern the nation by English law; there was no annihilation of the constitution, changes many and great there were, most of the men of rank and wealth were swept out of his path; there was a new dynasty and a new nobility, some of whom were no doubt of a higher grade than their predecessors. The rank and file, *i.e.*, the great bulk of the English people, remained, and that, too, in such numbers that they retained their own language, borrowing, it is true, a considerable and refined vocabulary from their new lords; and a greatly needed grace and politeness in their daily life, their laws and their literature.

7. Returning, however, to the early struggles of the Conqueror, we soon find a great alteration in the King's conduct. In 1069 William began to devastate the north of England, laying it waste, making the fruitful place a desert, and with fiendish fury destroying the life of the land. This was a more evil year for England than that even of Senlac, for as the great general marched through the country, stamping out the isolated attempts at insurrection, by throwing the greatest number of men available into one spot, and so striking swiftly and heavily, he left behind him a desolation. Upwards of 100,000 innocent people perished by famine, and the survivors resorted to cannibalism or sold themselves into slavery for a morsel of bread.

Nor was this all. Where the pillaged towns were spared the inhabitants were compelled to aid in the erection of the terrible Norman castle on the most commanding site, whose stately donjon, tall, solid and square, with its bailey and warlike appliances, kept watch and ward over their every movement, and formed at once a safe shelter for the Conqueror's garrisons, a storehouse for his armies, and a menace to the English people.

How strange a phase this page of history presents as contrasted with the present order of things. Where for one hundred miles by William's orders not a man was left alive, there is now the densest population perhaps in the world; where his soldiers marched through a desert, distressed with floods and torrents of rain, there are beautiful valleys, with countless steam engines, and mill wheels on every stream, and from the hollows of the hills on either hand, there rise the dense clouds of smoke that tell of the tireless industry that is busily producing an amount of national wealth, compared with which all the plunder of the Normans would be but as the small dust of the balance.

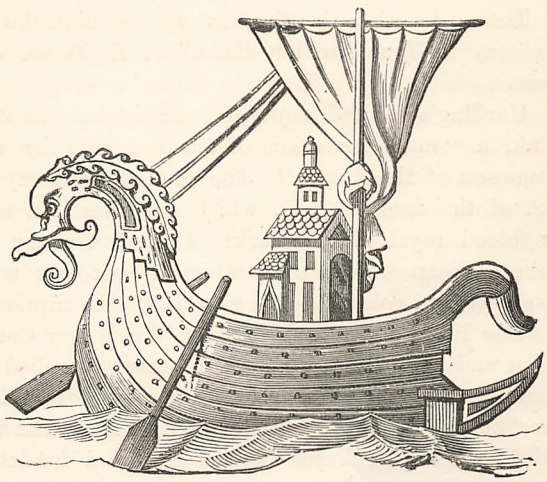
8. While William was indulging in his outbreak of savagery in the north two, some say three, of the sons of the late King Harold landed with a large army at the mouth of the Avon and marched upon Bristol.

They had reason to expect a welcome; the town had been for many years connected with Godwin's family, who had been its lords, and it had evidently been well affected to Harold in the time of the Confessor; but either the ravages of the Irish Danes of the invading army, who pillaged the country right up to the walls of Bristol, disgusted and alarmed the burgesses, or the Norman power within the burgh overawed them; the result was that the townsmen closed the gates, manned their walls, and so stoutly defended their town that the assailants were glad to retreat with their plunder to their ships at Shirehampton, whence they sailed down the Channel, landed in Somerset and marched into the country, hoping to excite a general rising in favour of themselves, as being English princes. The men of Somerset joined them in large numbers, and, stimulated by their hatred of the Normans, the Britons of Devon and Cornwall rallied around the standard of the dragon.

The Norman forces were commanded by Dreux de Montaign, to whose aid William sent a large body of Englishmen under the command of Ednoth, who had been Master of the Horse to King Edward the Confessor, and after him to King Harold. These men were put in the fore-front of the battle, "William foreseeing a great relief to himself whichsoever should conquer. Nor was he deceived in this supposition; for both parties of English having fought with each other for some time left the king a victory without any exertion of his own. The strangers were driven to Ireland; the king's army purchased the empty name of victory by a very great slaughter of their men and by the loss of their general, whose name was Ednoth, a person famous in the time of the English at war and at home, the father of Harding, who still lives." [1] Ednoth was sheriff of Hants, and probably also of Somerset.

Hollingshed mentions him as "Adnothus, that had been master of their father Harold's horses, whom they slew with a great number of others." Another historian names him "Eadnoth, who had been King Harold's *stallar*, &c.," so also Hoveden, William of Malmesbury, Stowe and others. In Domesday, Ednoth is said to have been "*Stallarius*" to Edward the Confessor, and by Florence of Worcester, to have been so to King Harold. In the Saxon Chronicle he is termed "*Stallere*," which is translated "Mayor of the Palace," and also "Master of the Horse."

9. Not accepting their defeat as final, two of the brothers, Edmund and Godwin, again sailed from Ireland about Midsummer in the same year (1069), and landed in the Taw, between Barnstaple and Bideford; a nearly contemporary writer says, "Two sons of Harold, King of England, had fled to Dermot, a king of Ireland. By him and the chiefs of his kingdom they were assisted; and having collected a fleet of sixty-six ships and put an army on board they landed at Exeter, and going forward up the country they began boldly to waste the country, and raging with fire and sword they endeavoured to commit the utmost mischief. Brian, son of Eudo, Earl of Brittany, came upon them unexpectedly, fought two battles in one day, slew over 2000 men and the bravest of their officers; and the sons of the late king regained their ships with difficulty (only two it is said remained to them) and fled to fill Ireland with mourning." [1] Both of these accounts are we think correct. Their first landing was made between Bideford and Barnstaple; foiled there, the army sailed round the Land's End, and in the estuary of the Exe met with their crushing and final defeat.



Norman Ship (shortened).

10. There was a wealthy and celebrated man whose name has been incidentally mentioned above, one Harding, who it is said was at this time the "Præpositus" or chief magistrate of Bristol. When he was first appointed is doubtful, one MS. says in the reign of Edward the Confessor, but no authority is given.

Smyth, the historian of Berkeley, writes that "he settled in Baldwin street (*i.e.* just outside the walls of Bristol) and that the Conqueror conferred upon him the government of the town, which he held by the name of Patricius, Maior, Alderman, Præpositus, Consul, and the like attributes, as several writers have diversely styled him and his place of office in several ages." He adds that by Patricius he understands a nobleman of England, and by Consul he means Earl. Here again we have a lack of proof, the earliest references to the

[1] Will. Malmes. "Gesta regum Anglorum," par. 254.

[1] Ordericus Vitalis Lib., IV., 513, Seyer, I., 55.

titles being of the 15th century, which give us no warrant for the statement that Harding was ever Earl of Gloucester.

11. With regard to the family from which Harding descended there are several widely different theories:

That he was a younger son of the king, or of a king of Denmark, or at least to have been of royal descent.

That he was the son of a Danish viking or sea rover—half pirate and half merchant.

That he was the son of Ednoth, the Stallere above mentioned.

There are other theories, but as we think the true one may be found within the above limits we omit them.

Harding's alleged royal descent is not, as some think, a "mere invention of modern date by some hanger-on of the family." The earliest testimony is a MS. of the date of 1351, which describes him as of the blood royal of Denmark. Leland, Camden and Robert Ricart accept this statement, but that which gives greatest colour to this view is the inscription on the fine Norman gateway between the Upper College green and the Lower, this, if it could be relied on, would be very strong evidence. It reads, "Rex Henricus Secundus et Dominus Robertus filius Hardingi filii Regis Daciæ, hujus Monasterii primi fundatores extiterunt" (King Henry the Second and Robert, son of Harding, who was a son of the King of Denmark, were the first founders of this monastery). This by many would be deemed conclusive, but inasmuch as the whole of the superstructure of this noble gateway is most probably a restoration of the late 15th century, it cannot be accepted as satisfactory evidence. The great, and, to our minds, insuperable objection to the theory of royal descent is this—that Harding never is shown to have claimed such a connection, his descendants never asserted it, but they sign their charters invariably as his sons (Fitzharding). The sinister bar in their escutcheon would have been deemed an honour in the consecutive reigns of kings whose great ancestor, William, the patron of their family, was himself illegitimate.

Seyer concludes that Harding was the descendant of a Danish viking, or sea-rover, "a class who to piracy added the practice of merchandise, carrying their plunder to various countries, where they exchanged or sold what was not suitable to their purpose. Harding or his father," Seyer thinks, "frequented the port of Bristow for disposal of his plunder, and growing rich, settled there perhaps under the protection of his countryman Knut the Great, and quitting his piratical habits, retained his merchandise."[1] He adds, in confirmation of this theory, this free translation of a passage in the "Annals of Margam":—"A fleet of piratical merchantmen from the Baltic came to Bristol in the autumn of 1124, as they had often done in former years, and staid here during the winter, long enough to dispose of their merchandise and reload their ships." Harding inherited the fortune of his father, and by the same occupation acquired great wealth, so tradition asserts; this and his local influence procured him the appointment by Knut or by Edward the Confessor of præpositus of Bristol, and William, finding him an able man, and not of Saxon family, continued him in the office.

We shall consider this argument still further in connection with the two other theories, viz., that of Ednoth, the Stallere, and Alnoth, the sheriff of Dorset. The evidence is strong that these represent one and the same person. In Domesday the name is spelt variously as Alnod, Ælnod, Elnod and Ednod, and it is certain that in five counties Hugh, Earl of Chester, succeeded to this Thane's estates, viz., Somerset, Wiltshire, Dorset, Devon and Berkshire. Elsewhere we find the same man's name spelt Alnoth, Elnoth, Eadnoth, Ealdnoth, Ældnoth and Ælfnoth. Orthography was but little studied in those days, and proper names were entirely at the mercy of the transcriber; allowance also must be made for the difference in dialect in various parts of the kingdom. That this is not an isolated instance of orthographic difference we see in the case of Eadric, the traitor, whose proper name, Entris, has undergone a still greater transformation into Edris, Edrich, Edric and Eadric.[2] So in Seyer Eadnoth becomes Alnod or Alnoth.

This great Thane was Stallere (Master of Horse) under three kings—Edward the Confessor, Harold and William the Conqueror.

12. Mr. A. S. Ellis, in a pedigree carefully studied (which is set forth in full on the opposite page), deduces the descent of Harding from Alnod, and shows that Robert Fitzharding did not inherit his father's estates, simply because he was not the eldest, but a younger son. The grandsire Alnod's estates were given to Hugh de Abrincis (Earl of Chester) when Alnod fell opposing the sons of Harold in Somerset in 1068 (not at all, William of Malmesbury thinks, to the sorrow of the Conqueror). One strong argument in favour of the Hardings' descent from the Stallere, Mr. Ellis shows, is this, that Robert Fitzharding and his Suzerain, Rannulf (Earl of Chester), gave Fifehide Magdalen, an estate in Dorset, which had belonged to Alnod, to the abbey of St. Augustine, at Bristol *(circa* 1142).

[1] Seyer, I., 313-15. [2] Freeman, Nor. Conq., I.



SEAL OF ROBERT FITZ HARDING.

PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF ROBERT FITZ HARDING.

COMPILED BY A. S. ELLIS.

ALNOD [Ealdnoth, staller, or horse thane, under King Edward the Confessor, and afterwards under King Harold and the Conqueror. Slain in the autumn of 1086 at the head of the men of Somerset, in an engagement with the sons of Harold, when devastating the sea board of that shire, after their repulse at Bristol.] = .. NOTE.—William of Malmesbury (§ 254) in recording the death of Ealdnoth, the staller, adds that "he was the son of Harding, *who yet survives*, a man more accustomed to kindle strife by his malignant tongue than to wield arms in the field of battle." This was probably written about 1140. Smyth gives the date of Harding's death about 1115, but this is too early. Harding, son of Eadnoth, held land of the abbey of Glastonbury, which he refused to surrender, until Abbot Herlewine (1101—1120) obtained judgment against him. Robert fitz Harding gave to the abbey he founded, Fifehide (Magdalen) in Dorset, which it seems he held of the Earl of Chester, and *which had belonged to Alnod in the days of Edward the Confessor.*

HARDING, SON OF ALNOD, held in 1085-6 a manor in Meriet, co. Somerset (Godwin's in the time of King Edward), and the manors (Tovi's in King Edward's time) in Lopen, Bradon, Capland, Buckland and Dishcove. The father of Nicholas fitz Harding enfeoffed in the time of Henry I. William fitz Osbert in two parts of a knight's fee and Wimund in the third part, and gave lands to Baldwin and Hildebrand. Harding, the father of Robert, died 6th Nov. (*See Note.*) = ..

NICHOLAS FITZ HARDING = .. son and heir of Harding, having inherited his fief which he certified in 1166 to be two knights' fees and a half in Somersetshire. He also held one knight's fee of the old feoffment of William, Earl of Gloucester. Must have been 76 at least in 1166; dead 1171.

ROBERT FITZ HARDING of Bristol, Provost of the town, apparently a merchant there of great wealth and influence in the reign of King Stephen, but partisan of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, on the side of the Empress Matilda, obtains grant of Berkeley harness in fee from her son Henry; from the Earl the manors of Billeswick juxta Bristol and Bedminster; held lands of Humphrey de Bohun and William, Earl of Warwick, 1166. Founder of the Abbey of St. Augustin in 1142, became a canon therein, and died on the feast of St. Agatha, 5 Feb., 1170; bur. between the stalls of the abbot and the prior. = EVA, dau. of .. .. .. had a brother named Durand, founded a priory of nuns on S. Michael's Hill, Bristol, wherein she took the veil, and died prioress 12 March, 1170, but was bur. with her husband.

ELIAS FITZ HARDING, ? of Bevington in Berkeley, had lands from his brother Robt. in Combe: witnessed the foundation charter of the abbey. = .. MAURICE

AGNES wife of Hugh de Haseley.

MAUD.

CECILY.

JORDAN (? of the Weir in Bristol, and father of Jordan "de Were," David "Were," of Bristol, and Arthur, nephews of Robert fitz Harding. Ancestor of the Lords de la Warr.) = ..

HENRY DE MERIET = ... gave a virgate of land at Meriet to the Kt. Templars before 1185. Paid scutage 1171: in the roll as "Henry fitz Nicholas."

HENRY, a priest, dean of Moreton, dio. Exeter, after arch-deacon of Exeter, named after Henry fitz Empress. (?)

MAURICE FITZ ROBERT FITZ-HARDING, or "de Berkeley," died 26 June, 1190, bur. Brentford ch., Middx. = ALICE dau. of Roger de Berkeley of Berkeley.

MATILDA wife of Otho fitz William who had lands in Dursley with her ? god dau. of the Empress.

ALDENA wife of Nigel fitz Arthur, of Clapton, Som., who had lands in Kingscote with her.

HELENA wife of Roger de Berkeley of Dursley, brother of Alice, d. 12 Jan. . . .

NICHOLAS FITZ ROBT. of Tickenham, co Som. gave the advowson to the abbey, died 1189. = ALA, dau. and coh. of Guido fil. Tecii, of Tickenham, who was living 1158, had lds. in Elmore.

HAWISE, dau. and h. of Robt. de Gournay of Barrow, widow of Roger de Clare and (?) of Roger de Baalun: dead 1168.

1 = ROBERT 'de Were,' co. Som., had his father's manors of Billeswyck, juxta Bristol, Kingswesston, Redwick, Beverston, co. Glou.: dead 1195.

2 = AVICIA d. of Robert de Gaunt and heiress of her mother, Alice Paynel, ob. v.p. 1192.

THOMAS, a priest archdeacon of Worcester.

NICHOLAS DE MERIET, of Meriet, 1205, died 1229, "held Meriet in capite *by descent from the conquest*" (Testa. de Nevill, p. 163), also the lands in Lopen, and a knt.'s fee of the Earl of Gloucester. = .. JULIANA dau. of William de Pont de l'arch, niece of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke.

The Meriets of Meriet.

1 = ROBERT de Berkeley, of Berkeley, born about 1165, constable of Bristol Castle, founder of St. Katherine's Hosp., Bedminster, died s.p. 13 May, 1221, ? effigy in Redcliff Church.

2 = LUCIA dau. of ..... re-mar. Hugh de Gournay.

THOMAS de Berkeley, of Berkeley, brother and heir of Robt. 1221, died 29 Nov. 1243, bu. S. aisle of the Abbey Church. = JOAN dau. of Ralph de Someri, marr. about 1216.

MAURICE de Berkeley.

WILLIAM de Berkeley.

HENRY and RICHARD said to have gone to Scotland.

.....wife of Osbert Giffard.

The Berkeleys of Berkeley.

HENRY died s.p.

ROGER FITZ NICHOLAS, of Tickenham, died 1230, held a knight's fee of the honor of Berkeley 1205. = .. JORDAN ALA wife of Ralph Bloet.

The Fitznichols of Tickenham.

EVA 'de Gournay,' sole heir of her mother, had Barrow and English-combe, co. Som., died in her half brother Maurice's lifetime. Marr. 1 Thomas de Tilly, of Richmont Castle, in Somerset; 2 Roger de Peauton.

1 = MATILDA only child of Henry Doyly of Hooknorton, co. Oxf., but died 1219, without issue in her father's lifetime.

2 = MAURICE 'de Gaunt,' once occurs as 'Paynel,' came of age in 1207, an immense inheritance fell to him through his mother, the great Barony of Paynel, chiefly in Yorkshire and Linc., died s.p. at Portsmouth, 30 April, 1230. Founder of St Mark's Hospital and of the Domician Priory.

MARGT. dau. of ..... widow of Ralph de Someri. She survived Maurice, and was living in 1247.

HENRY de Gaunt, a priest the first "master almoner" of St. Mark's Hospital resigned through infirmity 1268; bu. in the chapel.

"The first definite notice that we have of Harding, the son of Alnod, is in the Somerset Gueld inquest of 1084, where in one place he is called Hardin de Meriot, in other places Harding Fitzalnod. Two years later—1086—Domesday, whether describing him as Lord of Meriott, or as an Anglo-Saxon Thane, endowed by the Conqueror with other Somerset estates, calls him uniformly Harding filius Elnod." [1]

That Harding, the son of Alnod, was recognised and patronised by King William sixteen years after his father's death is clear, but we have our doubts as to his being the father of Nicholas and Robert Fitzharding. It seems to us that one link is lost, and that those notable men who in 1166 made the ordinary return of their tenures *in capite* Nicholas in Somerset and Robert in Gloucestershire were probably the great grandsons of Alnod the Stallere, and not his grandsons. We are inclined to the opinion that the Hardin de Meriot, or Harding Fitzalnod, is the man who was præpositus of Bristol in 1066, who is said to have died November 6, 1115, who was the powerful man and lawyer from whom Herlewin, the abbot of Glastonbury (1100–30), recovered certain lands,[2] and that he had a son who succeeded him as præpositus who was the father of the before-named Nicholas and Robert Fitzharding, and who, from the return made to the Feodary of 1166, is spoken of twice as though only recently deceased. The question as to whether the term "fitz" was not loosely applied thus early to the grandson as well as to the son of an eminent man until it grew into a permanent prefix is worthy of consideration. If this were so, William of Malmesbury's statement *(circa* 1140) that Harding Fitzeadnoth was a successful forensic contemporary with himself would create no difficulty.

Robert Fitzharding was born in 1085; he was, as we have seen, a second son, and one of a family of eight children. If Alnod, Stallere to Edward the Confessor, was the father of the Harding præpositus of Bristol in 1066, and Robert Fitzharding was the son of the latter, it seems almost impossible for him to have been a successful contemporary of William of Malmesbury. But if the lawyer of 1101 and the burgess, Harding of Bristol, to whom Brictric mortgaged lands in Wheatenhurst (Domesday, 1085), are identically one and the same person, whose son Harding (called by Leland Robert Fitzharding, and spoken of as living in the reign of William the Conqueror[3]) was the father of the Robert Fitzharding founder of the monastery, 1148, the difficulty disappears.

Before Harding became the recipient of King William's favour, there is little doubt that he was a wealthy man; he had inherited a large property, was engaged in profitable mercantile affairs, which the revenues of his office as præpositus enabled him considerably to augment. Seyer contends, on the authority of a MS. chronicle, that Harding was made the chief magistrate of Bristol in the reign of Edward the Confessor after Sewin, and that he was continued in office by Harold, and after him by William. He identifies the office with that of high bailiff, and as such Harding would be the elect of the burgesses; but under William he became the "custos," or provost, who, when a town belonged to the King, levied the feorm, issues, and other debts due to the King, superintended the estates, and raised the revenues for his lord the King. To this day the mayor of Bristol (Harding's successor) is the King's escheator within the county of Bristol.

Harding married a lady named Livida (according to Smyth), by whom he had issue five sons—Nicholas, Robert, Elias, Jordan and Maurice—and three daughters—Agnes, Maud and Cicely. He acquired great wealth and reputation in a lengthened career as the chief magistrate of the second commercial town in the kingdom. From him sprang the noble house of Berkeley, now represented by Lord Fitzhardinge. It is stated that he lived in a great stone house, the foundations of which were discovered in 1823; it stood on the south side of Baldwin street, and its gardens were evidently very extensive.

13. Brictric, the descendant of Aylward, was at the time of the Conquest, we think, Lord of Bristol, and Harding was probably his subordinate officer. Like most of the other English nobles, Brictric's power and wealth made him obnoxious to the Conqueror. A romantic story is told of his having refused the offered love of Matilda, the daughter of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, when he was ambassador to that court from Edward the Confessor, and that Matilda, who had now become the wife of the Conqueror, in revenge for his rejection of her suit, with all an angry woman's vengeance, excited her husband against him, got him arrested at Hanley,[1] and thrown into prison at Winchester, where he lingered until his death.

Even if this story be true, which we greatly doubt, William could scarcely have given it as the cause of Brictric's disgrace, and the confiscation of the whole of his property. But there was little difficulty in finding a sufficient reason. Brictric was possessed of vast domains; he was an Englishman, and the pillage of England had been the bait which had drawn so many

[1] Rev. R. W. Eyton in Notes and Queries, 6th Series, 20.
[2] Seyer, I., 308. [3] Leland Collect., II., 912.

[1] Leland says near Salisbury, but it was most probably on his Manor of Hanley, in Worcestershire.

warriors to the standard of the invader. Matilda's name was one of the first inscribed on the partition roll, and William dowered her with all the lands of Brictric.

Seyer, enumerates them from Domesday as follows: In DORSET: The Manors of Devrel, Litelfrome, Cranbourn, Wimburne and Aishmere, all of great extent and value. In SOMERSET: Winescombe, and the Church of St. Andrew in Givilchestre, also lands at Curry. In DEVON: Levia, Halgewelle, Clovelie, Bedeford, with a fishery, Liteham, Langtrev, Edeslege, Sandforde, Winchelie, Aisse, Slapeford, Bichentone, Morchet, Holcumbe, Mochelsberie, Halsbreton and Aisbertonne, these were most of them manors. In CORNWALL: Conarditone, Gudeford, Bennartone, Melled hame and Carewrge. In WORCESTERSHIRE: Biselege and Burgelege. But the chief of his possessions lay in Gloucestershire, and were so numerous that Seyer says it would require a separate treatise only to name them; the chief were the extensive Lordship of Tewkesbury, with its very great dependencies, Hanley, Turnberie, Sopebury, Aveninge, Fareforde.[1] The Queen thus became the feudal possessor of what was afterwards styled the Honour of Gloucester and the Town of Bristow, and received all the rents and profits of Brictric's estates, farming them out according to the custom of the time, which, for many centuries, formed a precedent for settling the Lordship of Bristol as the dower of the Queen of England.

14. In the year 1080 William was at Berkeley, where he confirmed a grant of lands to the church of St. Peter, at Gloucester, by Walter de Lacy.[2] There is little doubt but that the king visited Bristol, as it was somewhere about this date that he abolished the abominable traffic in slaves to which we have elsewhere alluded. In the life of Wulfstan it is said "to have been a very ancient custom, which had fixed itself so firmly in their minds that neither the love of God nor of King William had hitherto been able to abolish it. . . . This custom, so inveterate, transmitted down from their forefathers, Wulfstan by degrees abolished. For, knowing that their obstinacy could not easily be bent, he abode in their neighbourhood often two or three months, going there every Lord's day and sowing the seeds of divine preaching, which so far gained strength among them during the intervals that they not only renounced this crime themselves but were an example to others throughout England to do the same. Finally one of their number, who opposed the Bishop's exhortations more obstinately than the rest, they drove out of the town, and afterwards deprived him of his eyes; in which instance I commend their devotion but disapprove of the transaction, nevertheless no force of reason can subdue the minds of clownish persons when once tainted with vice." A notable instance of lynch law this, probably the first recorded in England. Wulfstan has been described by some as a weak, irresolute prelate, but this self-sacrificing act of his, which would win him little fame amongst the powerful, and which was opposed to the interests of the king, who dearly loved money and derived a revenue from such sales, stamps the bishop as a worthy follower of Him whose evangel was one of liberty to the captive, and love to men of every degree.

William of Malmesbury elsewhere divides the honour of abolishing the traffic between Wulfstan and Archbishop Lanfranc. "To which of them the glory of the deed belongs I cannot certainly determine whether I shall impute to Lanfranc or to Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester. Both had great difficulty in persuading the king to this measure, who complied at last reluctantly on account of the profit arising from the duty which was paid to him on the sale."

But although the traffic in English slaves was abolished in Bristol at this period, it was carried on in other parts for a century or more, for Giraldus Cambrensis informs us that in 1172 the Irish had great numbers of English slaves among them which had been sold to them not only by pirates and robbers but by traders. "For the people of England by the common wickedness of the nation used to expose their children in the public market, and to sell their own sons and relations into Ireland, even before they suffered any want or any pressure of hunger."[1] From Bromton's Chronicle, 1069, we learn that there was scarcely a house in Scotland that was without a man or a maid-servant of English race. These were captives of war, and so probably were many of those held in slavery in Ireland, for one of the pretexts used by Henry II. for his invasion of Ireland was that the Irish had landed in England and had carried away some English as slaves. Bristol has, and not undeservedly, been stigmatised as clinging to the last to the African slave trade to supply the West Indian plantations, of which her citizens were large holders; let credit be given to her for having had amongst her townsfolk men who were not, as is generally thought, the last, but amongst the first in the kingdom to abolish a system which, by the precedent custom of many centuries, had been deemed to be neither nefarious nor illegal.

In 1083 Matilda, the Queen, died on the 3rd of November, and the King took full possession of the

[1] Seyer, I., 269. [2] Dugdale's Monas., I., 116.

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis, 1–18.

Lordship of Bristol, intending to hold it for his son Henry, then a lad of thirteen years of age.

15. William, says the Saxon chronicle, "had fallen into avarice, and greed he loved withal," having screwed the English to the utmost, he now undertook the more difficult task of raising a revenue from the men who had been his stepping-stones to the throne. His first act was to exact sixpence in silver from every hide of land, without respect of persons. He thus raised from the barons money enough to equip a new army. In order to have a fixed basis for this demand, the King,



Norman Soldiers.—Archer and Crossbowman.

in full Witan at Gloucester in 1085, determined to have a register made of all the land, the people and their possessions. At Lammas, he was at Salisbury, "where to him came all the great landowners of the kingdom, who became his men, bowed to him and swore to him an oath of fealty against all other." The wily King had got completely the upper hand of his barons; he claimed all property of which he had not divested himself by a formal deed "*par lettre et saisine.*" Few nobles, if any, had thought of thus securing their grant, they consequently were at the King's mercy. He further claimed that all lands which had paid rent or service to the Confessor should now continue the same to himself. Many of the Normans struggled, but in vain, against this decree; the idea of their becoming taxpayers was peculiarly abhorrent, and to render personal service for their lands was intolerable. "Stark he was to them that withstood him, none dare resist his will." When no officer could be found bold enough to arrest Odo, bishop of Bayeux, his half-brother, who was aspiring to the Papacy, and had collected arms, money and men, the King did it himself, and laughingly said, "I arrest, not the bishop, but the Earl of Kent." Nevertheless, he kept him in prison to the day of his death.

The case of the English was far worse, of course, than that of the Normans. All titles to property previous to the invasion, were declared null and void, and every transfer of land by an Englishman after that period was voided, unless the King had ratified the same; if he had not, it was escheated to the Crown. The people were reckoned by the head, were sold, given, lent, exchanged or divided amongst the Normans. Those who by the most abject servility obtained a small portion of their inheritance were obliged to pay for the same by the most degrading service, or to receive the land as an almsgift.

16. Let us briefly gather from Domesday the classes of men by whom the land was occupied. First we have the Norman Barons, and the Saxon Thanes. These were free men, but many of the latter, if not tenants of the King, were forced to place themselves under the protection of some Norman Baron. There were also some few free women; then came the socmen, an inferior class of landowners, who owed suit in the Lords' court, but had a permanent tenure, with defined service. Next to these we have the villans who could hold no territorial property or goods, but who were allowed to occupy land at the will of the lord on condition of undefined services often of the most degrading nature; there was still a deeper depth, which was filled by the slaves. The townsfolk were divided, amongst other occupations, into lawmen, mediciners, carpenters, smiths, goldsmiths, farriers, potters, armourers, bowyers, fishermen, millers, bakers, salters, tailors, barbers, moneyers, mariners, minstrels, watchmen, &c., &c. Amongst the rural occupations were those of falconers, foresters, hunters, ditchers, ploughmen, beekeepers, shepherds, neatherds, goatherds, swineherds, &c., &c.

The corn-growing land was measured and valued; so also was the meadow and pasture land; the fens paid their rent in eels. The woods were estimated by their amount of pannage, *i.e.*, the number of hogs which the fallen acorns and beechmast would fatten; but the great woods were claimed by the King as part of the royal demesne, for the Conqueror "loved the high deer as if he had been their father." Hence the stringent and cruel laws he made to protect the game: whoever killed a stag was to have his eyes picked out; wild boars and hares were also protected. The Kingswood and Horewood (Horfield) had both been claimed by William as Crown land, and no man, whatever his degree, was allowed to hunt in either without the King's permission. One hundred and fifty years after this date all the lands of Hugh Gurney were ordered to be seized

because he had hunted in Horewood without the King's leave. We shall see in the course of our history a special connection between the early charters of Bristol and these fearful laws.

17. In 1086, when Domesday Book was compiled, we find that the King still held the Lordship of Bristol (it is inserted as Kings-land, 162-3), and to him belonged all the revenues. Such revenues were then in most of the towns farmed out at a certain rent, *i.e.*, some wealthy man bargained to give the lord a certain yearly sum of money for all his privileges and the revenues which he derived from the town, such as reserved rents, fines for renewals, licenses to trade, customs on merchandise, the third penny, tolls on mills, &c., &c.

The sum returned as paid for the manor of Barton Regis and the town of Bristow amounted to £101 6s. 8d., from which we may deduct £16 for the Barton manor, leaving £85 6s. 8d. as the rental of Bristol, a larger sum than any other town in England was valued at except London, York (£100), Lincoln (£100), Norwich (£96). The name Kingsland is still retained by the district adjoining Barton hill.

It seems to us almost incredible that any historian with this fact before him, and patent to the whole world, should yet have ventured to assert that Bristol was unknown until 1063, that is, twenty-three years before the date at which it was rated as the fifth town in the kingdom, or including the Barton as the Second. The passage in Domesday that relates to Bristol has been translated thus by Seyer:—"In Barton at Bristow were (heretofore) six hides; in demean, three caracutes and twenty-two countrymen, &c. But when Roger (de Berkeley) received this manor from the King he found there (only) two hides and two caracutes in demean and seventeen countrymen, &c. On this land a (or the) church of Bristol holds three hides. . . . This manor and Bristow pay to the King 110 marks of silver (£73 6s. 8d.). The burgesses say that Bishop G. (Geoffrey) has thirty-three marks of silver and one mark of gold besides the King's rent." A Norman silver mark was 13s. 4d., and a mark of gold 120s.; the sum, therefore, paid to Bishop Geoffrey was £28, which was his salary as Constable of the Castle.[1]

18. During the last decade of William's reign, there landed in England a strange race of men some of whom speedily found their way to Bristol. They were men of swarthy complexion, strongly marked features, with eyes that sparkled under dark penthouse brows, black glossy hair, and speaking a most ancient language. Boasting of a genealogical tree which they could trace to its root in Adam, of a long line of ancestry the elite of mankind, they were, indeed, the world's true aristocracy, the oldest and purest in race and descent of all the nations of the earth, and from them sprang (although they owned him not) Jesus of Nazareth "the unspeakable gift of God." Two thousand five hundred years before their arrival in England a prophet of their race had said that, under certain conditions, they "should be scattered among all people from one end of the earth even to the other," and in unwitting fulfilment of the prediction, after spreading themselves over the continent some of them had recently reached England, of whom a portion settled down outside Bristol on the vacant spot known now as Quay street and the Stone bridge, between the town and the river Frome, just below the wall. The laws of the burgh prevented their residence within its boundary; that, under the system of frankpledge was a thing impossible to a stranger, seeing that the man who could dwell within the walls for a year and a day became a freeman or burgess. Their first home was long known as Jewry lane, and the office in which this work is printed stands as nearly as possible upon the site of their first synagogue. When the second wall of the town was built the Jews still kept on the outside of it, and built themselves houses on the Broad weir, and later on in the centuries they congregated at Jacob's wells, having their burying ground on the spur of Brandon hill which is now occupied by Queen Elizabeth's hospital (City School).

Many gravestones with Hebrew inscriptions were discovered when that building was about to be erected, which led our Wits to assert that whatever else the boys lacked, they would always have a good Hebrew foundation.

William derived large revenues from these Jewish traders, they were under his immediate protection, the Jewry was (like the king's forest) exempt from the common law. The Hebrew was a royal chattel, and both life and goods were at the king's mercy, he was too valuable to be left to the will of hungry trader or greedy baron. A royal justiciary secured law to the Jew who had as an alien no *locus standi* in court. His bonds or "*starrs*" were kept in a royal chamber at Westminster (hence the term star chamber), he was protected from popular hatred, and allowed the use of a synagogue and the choice of a chief rabbi. Castles and Cathedrals were chiefly built by loans from Hebrew capitalists.

Dwelling for safety in houses of stone, the Jewish example gradually displaced the wooden hovels of the English; they introduced the practice of medicine from the East, and mathematics from the schools of Cordova. The chief traffic in oriental luxuries was in their hands,

[1] Seyer, I., 322-3.

and the wealth accumulated by their industry made them, as they remain to this day, the chief financiers of the kings.

19. William's stern rule was now rapidly drawing to its close, and men soon learned to regret the loss of the iron-handed man who had "made the good peace in the land, so that a man might fare over his realm with a bosom full of gold."

His was a strange and anomalous character; one can scarcely realise that the same man who had desolated the northern portion of the kingdom, was utterly averse to the shedding of blood by process of law. He formally abolished the punishment of death, and only one single execution stains the annals of his reign.

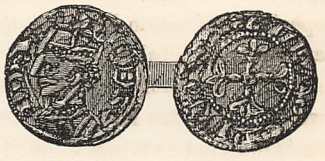
William died at Rouen on the 9th September, 1087, and with his death began a new phase in the Lordship of Bristol.

The use of seals and sealing of deeds was, during his reign, introduced into England as a practice, surnames became general, and every lord of a manor was a baron. The armour of the Norman knights was composed of rings of steel, it was called mail armour; the helmet was a conical iron cap with a straight bar down in front of the nose, to protect the face; the weapons were long swords, battleaxes, spears and iron maces; for the foot soldiers bows and arrows and pikes; the shields were kite-shaped, but sometimes circular.

The custom of covering up all fires in the town, in the summer at sunset, and in the winter at eight or nine o'clock, at the ringing of the curfew bell, "*couvre-feu*," was introduced by William, and from the tower of St. Nicholas church it has continued to boom out its warning every night down to the present time. It is a curious but most useful survival of the Norman age.

20. "The Bristol money of William the First consisted of silver pennies similar in weight, fabric, and fineness to those of Edward the Confessor, the weight is about 20 to 21 grains to each penny, and the standard is that called 'the old standard,' which indeed was continued until the reign of Henry VIII. The Bristol pennies of William I. and II. are numerous, but it is uncertain to which of these two monarchs many of them belong. The first coin on the following list is the only one that can be assigned beyond dispute to William the Conqueror:—

"The name of the place is spelled on these pieces *Bricstol*, *Brec*, *Brice*, *Brici*, *Bric*, or *Bricustol*. The blundered forms *Brieso* and *Briesopi* also occur. The moneyers' names are *Brihtworth*, *Brunstan*, *Cædwulf*, *Colbac*, *Leofwyne*, *Lifwine*, *Oter*, and *Swegn* or *Swein*. No. 1, *obverse*, profile bust of the king, crowned to the left, with a sceptre in front of the face. Legend, + PILLELMV REX. *Reverse*, a cross having each limb terminating in a large trefoil within an inner circle. Legend, + CEDPL ON BRICSTOL. Another penny, no doubt minted by the same moneyer, is exactly similar, except in the legend of the reverse, which reads EEDPL ON BRIESTOL. Another type has, *obverse*, full face bust crowned, with a sceptre on each side, all within an inner circle. Legend, PILLEM REX ANGLO. *Reverse*, a cross like that on No. 1, but surmounted by another cross saltire, all within an inner circle. Legend, + LEOFPINE ON BRICI. Another has, *obverse*, full-faced bust crowned, with a star on each side, all within an inner circle. Legend, + PILLEM REX AN. *Reverse*, an ornamented cross within a tressure of four arches; all surrounded by an inner circle. Legend, + LEOPINE ON BRIES. The commonest type of all is the following:— *Obverse*, full-face bust crowned, with sceptre in right hand, inner circle on both sides. Legend, PILLELM REX. *Reverse*, a large cross, with the letters PAXS, each in a circle in the angles. Legends, BRIHT POD ON BRIC, BRIHTPORD O NBRI, BIHTPORD O NBRIC, BRVNSTAN O NBR, BRVNSTAN ON BR, BRVNSTAN ON BRI, BRPODE ON BRIESO, COLBLAC ON BRC (a fine specimen in the possession of W. Brice, Esq., Town Clerk of Bristol), COLBLAC ON BRI, COLBLAC ON BRIC, COLBLAC ON BRICC, COLBLAC ON BRICV, LIFPINE ON BRICSI, LIFPINE ON BRICST, SPEGN ON BRICSTO, SPEIN ON BRICSOPI. The pennies of the last type have obverse, full bust of the king, crowned, holding a sword in his right hand, inner circle. Legend, + ILLELM REX. *Reverse*, a cross over an ornamented tressure of four arches, within an inner circle. Legend, + LIFPINE ON BRIC. Another coin of this type reads correctly PILLELM REX on the *obverse*, and LIFPINE ON BRICSI on the *reverse*. Another penny is exactly similar to this latter one, but has OTER ON D BRECST on the *reverse*."[1]



Bristol Penny of William I.



Silver Penny of William, from the British Museum.

21. We now turn our attention to the second line of defence that became necessary to protect the enlarged and rapidly growing burgh. Seyer, Barrett and Evans, all held different opinions with regard to the two walls that defended the town upon the northern side. Barrett thought the outer, or Frome, wall was the earlier of the two, and that the portion (which we have already

[1] Henfrey, 346-7.

described) which ran from Small street *viâ* Tower lane and Wine street was a later wall added, repaired or enlarged by Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, who, at the death of William, was left governor of the castle, and held it for Robert, the elder son of the Conqueror, against William Rufus. Evans contends that the wall on the Frome was built in the reign of Athelstan, A.D. 930, probably by Aylward, and was the second or outer wall. Seyer, however, we think more correctly, ascribes this outer defence to a period posterior to the Norman Conquest; he points out "that it is the work of a people improved in the military art beyond those who constructed the plain wall, without bulwark or bastion, round the original town."[1] This secondary, or Frome, wall and its bastions may therefore be attributed to the time of the Conqueror, and the enlargement of the castle to the close of his reign. Aylward, or the Pithay gate, bridge and street only show that Aylward was the owner of the land; indeed bridge, gate and street might have existed a hundred years before the outer wall, which enclosed the suburbs, was built. But if the Norman character of the work stamps it as being erected after the Conquest, the fact that the castle defences of Robert the Red Earl overlapped the end of this wall at its junction with the castle, proves also we think incontestably that the wall itself was erected half a century before his day. We should assign its date as probably between 1069 and 1100. The necessity for such a defence was shown when Harold's sons in the former year ravaged Gloucestershire, and were only repelled from Bristol by the strength of its wall and the courage of its burgesses. Doubtless much of the plunder with which the invaders retreated to their ships, was the spoil of the inhabitants of the suburbs in the valley of the Frome outside the fortified town on the hill.

The area enclosed by the first, or, as we think, the Roman wall, was about 19 acres, that comprised within the second, or Norman wall, was, if we include the castle and its precincts, 42 acres, that within the whole of the walls Redcliff and King streets, *circa* 1247, 136 acres, and we may as well add in this place that the area of the present municipal city boundary comprises 4,683 acres.

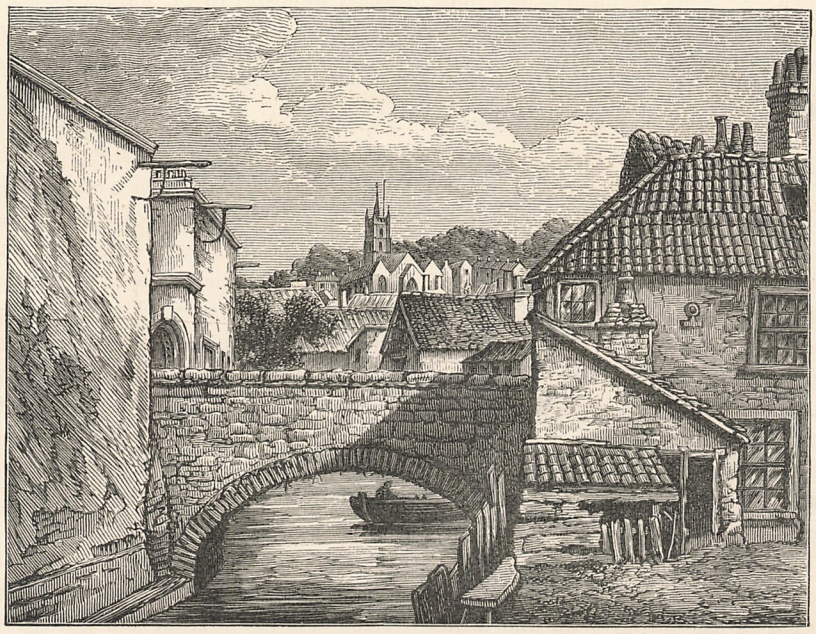
The second, *i.e.* the Frome or Norman wall of defence, commenced at the new gate, at the foot of Newgate hill, adjoining the castle wall (the open space over its fosse may be seen between the houses, the ditch by a diagonal line leaves the hill and rejoins the river Frome, which runs under Fairfax street), it then skirted the southern side of Fairfax street to the Pithay. Here at the foot of the modern steps leading down from the west side of Union street was a square tower, having a semi-circular bastion projecting over the river, this tower was twelve feet in diameter, and there was a roadway through it under its first floor. From hence the wall ran to Aldrych gate or the Nether Pithay gate, by some named Aylward's gate. Portions of this gateway and of the Pithay bridge were disclosed when the foundations of the factory of Messrs. Fry were laid. This bridge, like the great bridge of Bristol, had houses built upon it, so that it could not be distinguished from a street. Two semi-circular towers strengthened the wall between the bridge and the Bridewell, one of these was destroyed when Nelson street was made, the other stood opposite to St. James's back (between these two in 1656 another bridge was built over the Frome, which was appropriately designated by the citizens "Needless bridge"). The tower last-mentioned was destroyed in 1879 to make room for the new office for the magistrates. Its walls on the ground floor were between nine and ten feet in thickness, it had a stone ceiling groined without ribs, and a stone staircase led to an upper story. Adjoining this there was originally another smaller square tower with walls three feet thick; then another semi-circular building which contained an oven nine feet in diameter, and then the Bridewell (Central Police Station) "a square building, being a tower with many chambers, a strong place for keeping prisoners." The road to Gloucester passed over the bridge between this and another similar building, and the whole of these erections formed evidently a formidable outwork capable, when garrisoned, of maintaining a lengthened defence. The town wall east and west of this fortress was from eight to ten feet in thickness, its distance from the river averaged from ten to twelve feet, and it still skirted the southern bank of the Frome. Between the Monken bridge (so called because it was the principal way into the town for the monks of St. James' Priory) and Frome bridge there was first a small round tower which stood opposite to the Choir of the Franciscans, in Lewin's Mead, then a public "latrine" (traces of which still exist at the back of the St. Helens Glass Warehouse), then another and larger square tower opposite to the church of the Franciscans, and lastly another square tower at the end of Christmas street, adjoining the Frome gate and bridge. Under this tower there was an archway with thirty steps leading down to the river. Seyer is in doubt as to whether the wall was extended to St. Giles' gate, Small street, to join the ancient wall *viâ* the Stone bridge, or whether it turned at a right angle *viâ* Christmas street and joined it at St. John's gate. We think there is little doubt but that the latter was its course, inasmuch as we find that

[1] Seyer I., 272.

the Jewry was in this outer corner, and also at a later date the churchyard of St. Lawrence. Moreover, the inhabitants of Christmas street paid a quit rent to the city, for back doors and windows through the city wall. This must have been on the west side of Christmas street; for in the time of the Commonwealth, those who escaped from Boucher's house (which was on the west side of the street) dropped from one of the above mentioned windows into the mud of the Frome and so got away.

William Wyrcestre gives the length of this wall from the lower Pithay to Frome gate as 1,000 steps.

Frome gate was an important item of the defences, and had to play a prominent part in the future history of the city. It consisted of two separate gatehouses built at the ends of the bridge; the gates were eight yards asunder, but buildings as usual covered the whole length of the bridge. The inner or town gatehouse was eight yards long; it was arched and ceiled with stone, and had a chamber over it; beneath this house were two gates, which were secured with chains. The outer gatehouse was close to Lewin's mead; it was six yards long, and had a chamber over it. The folding gates leading from it to Lewin's mead survived the destruction of the gatehouses, which were removed in 1694 by order of the Mayor and Corporation, in order to make the roadway more commodious. They were shut to keep out the mob of colliers in 1762, and were standing in 1765, they now may be seen in Lewin's mead; the great gates are hung at the entrance to the yard of Messrs. Slater, and the two small gates are hung, one at No. 19 the other a few doors to the west of the Messrs. Slater's premises. There was a cellar and a porter's lodge to each gatehouse, as will be seen from the following account:—



Monken, or Bridewell Bridge.

"A cellar under Frome gate, rental ... ... 6*s.* 8*d.*
A great tenement over Frome gate, rental ... . 20*s.* 0*d.*
Quit rent of a tenement within Frome gate going into Lewin's mead, for the beams standing in the arch of Frome bridge ... ... 4*s.* 0*d.*
A tenement and porter's lodge, formerly paid by the Sheriffs of Bristol ... ... 20*s.* 0*d.*
The great tenement and cellars between the two gates on the south side ... ... 4*s.* 0*d.*"

In 1520 the yearly wage of the porter of Frome gate was 13*s.* 4*d.* The Pithay gate was taken down to widen the roadway in 1763.

22. The time of the foundation of the Castle of Bristol is fairly open to conjecture. We have elsewhere given our opinion that it was the site of the Roman prætorium, such a position agreeing perfectly with their system of castrametation. That it was not of Saxon origin is we consider manifest for reasons already given, still we think it possible that it was utilised and strengthened by that people. But that the hill was occupied by a fortress when the town itself was walled, seems to us absolutely necessary for the defence thereof. The east was the weakest side of the burgh. Nature, by the confluence of the rivers Avon and Frome, had protected the town elsewhere; just here however the hill was higher than the site of the town, and a transverse wall running across from river to river, could only have had a dry fosse, and would have formed but a slight defence. Hence the necessity of an outwork or fortress on this spur of the hill to guard the burgh from an attack on its weak eastern side.

We cannot imagine that such powerful and warlike lords as Sweyn, Lewin, Harold and Brictric should have had no fortress in which to reside, or at least in which to take shelter if needful. It is possible, as we have hinted, that this was the site of the castle which Edward built in A.D. 915, which would be little if anything more than a camp with an earthen vallum, for at that time castles with walls of stone were unknown in England.

That the castle had grown in importance during the reign of the Conqueror is certain, for William held it in his own possession, and at his death Geoffrey, the fighting Bishop of Coutances and of Exeter, and sheriff of Gloucestershire, was, as we have shown, constable thereof at a yearly salary of £28, paid to him by the burgesses of Bristol. This sum being one-third of the rental of Bristol with the Barton, it may be that the Bishop held it by the usual constable's fee of the third penny for himself, the other two being for the king his master. The probability is that Geoffrey strengthened and walled the castle at the same time as he, we think, constructed the second, or Frome, wall. William knew the value of such fortresses. One of the conditions which he had exacted from Harold when he detained him on the Continent was that he should wall or fortify Dover Castle and deliver it up to him.



Supposed Effigy of Bishop Geoffrey.

We learn from a contemporary writer that Bristol was a "very strong castle, which now became the head quarters in a rebellion against King William Rufus, and a safe depository for the spoils of a ravaged country."[1]

Stress has been laid upon the omission of the castle by name in Domesday Book; but although that survey records the names of 49 castles known to have been built by William or his feudatories for the purpose of overawing and so securing the obedience of the great towns, there are some most notable omissions. London, with its White Tower, and Winchester are not even mentioned in the record; Bristol Castle is most probably omitted because, like those, it was royal property.

The repeated insurrections in the west of England in 1067–8–9 must have made the King desirous of securing the safety of a town of such importance as Bristol, and we therefore conclude, with Seyer, that this was the period when the outer stone walls of the castle were built by Geoffrey at the command of the Conqueror.

Tradition favours this view. The old gateway which adjoined the castle wall, although it was of far later date than the period we are considering, had in its outer face two niches, and in one of these was a statue which held in its left hand a building supposed to be a model of a castle, but which, with deference, we think is much more like a church without a tower: in his right hand was a purse, and a cross-handled dagger or sword hung on the same side. The other niche contained a statue of an ancient man in ecclesiastical garb in the act of taking off the cover of a chalice. These have always been considered to represent the great Earl or Consul Robert Fitzroy, the builder of the great tower or keep, and Geoffrey the Bishop of Coutances.



Supposed Effigy of Robert Fitzroy.

From the connection of this gate with the castle, from which it was the chief outlet into Gloucestershire, we grant there may be some probability for the above tradition; but without being hypercritical, we think it much more likely that the effigies represent the fact, that Robert built the Priory and the church of St. James, and that the abbot of Tewkesbury watched over the erection thereof and consecrated the same.

The historian tells us that "Robert had with him every Sunday the abbot and twelve monks as long as he lived;" also that he was so religiously inclined that he gave every tenth stone which had been brought from Caen wherewith to build the great tower in the castle, to the building of the church of St. James. These figures

[1] Florence Worc., 489.

were both of them on the outside of the gate, facing the site of the church.

23. Geoffrey was a great favourite with the Conqueror. Descended from a noble Norman family, he had fought by William's side at Senlac, and, in conjunction with Archbishop Aldred, of York, he assisted at the coronation of William in Westminster Abbey—the one representing the Normans, the other the English. Far more ready to wield the sword than to handle the crozier, the warlike bishop, on the invasion of the sons of Harold, gathered together the garrisons of London, Winchester and Salisbury, and swept down upon the insurgents in Somersetshire and Dorsetshire, to whom he showed no mercy. He is indiscriminately called Gosfridus, Gosfryth, Geoffrey, Galfrid, and Godfrey. In 1074 he and Bishop Odo crushed the rebellion of Roger, Earl of Hereford, and Randulph, Earl of East Anglia. William rewarded his military service with 280 manors: more than 100 of these were situated in Devonshire, above 80 were in Somerset, and nine were in Gloucestershire. Those in our immediate neighbourhood were Hutton, Harptree, Clutton, Timsbury, Norton, Farmborough, Weston, Sandford, Easton St. George's, Portbury, Wraxall, Twerton, Littleton, Cameley, Acton, Hambrook, Wapley and Alveston. During William's reign Geoffrey held high rank. When the great dispute about the Primacy between Canterbury and York was determined at Windsor in the presence of the King and his nobles he signs the instrument thus:—"*Ego Gosfridus Constantiensis Episcopus unus ex primatibus Angliæ consensi.*" He presides in the King's place in the court of justice, and determines the plea between Bishop Lanfranc, and Odo the King's brother, bishop of Bayeux; he assists at a council in St. Paul's; he is one of a commission in 1080 with Odo and Haymo to adjudicate in the matter of lands belonging to the church at Ely; he is specially commissioned by the King to try the great cause between Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, and Ægelwine, abbot of Evesham; he was also a baron of the Exchequer. In the last year of the Conqueror's reign he not only held Bristol, but he was also earl or consul of the Northumbrians; and in 1087 we find him present and assisting at the King's obsequies in Rouen.



Supposed Effigy of King Edward III.

Faithful to his great chief and to the trust committed to his charge, Geoffrey withstood Rufus in favour of Prince Henry, until that King, who had the hearty support of his English subjects, was victorious, when the bishop retired to his diocese of Coutances.



Supposed Effigy of King Edward I.

This confessedly great man played so important a part in the early history of Bristol that we must devote a few sentences to delineate his position and character.

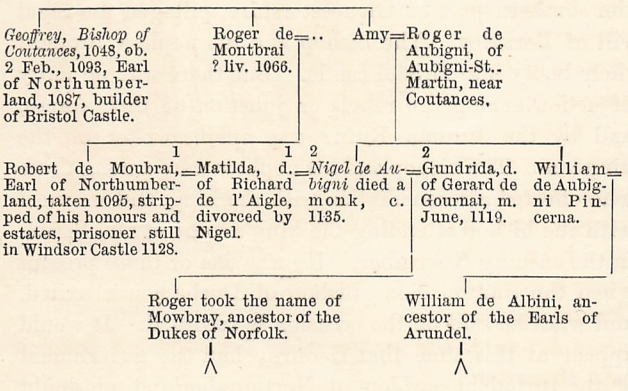
Geoffrey was Bishop of Coutances, a town in Normandy which may be seen on a clear day from the cliffs of Jersey. One of our talented Bristol men has said of him, in contrast with the character of St. Bernard, that "he left but a battered effigy to decorate the stable of a gentleman in Brislington."[1] But, with deference, we think he left much more, viz., the walls surrounding

[1] Lucas's Illustrations of Bristol, 7.

the castle, and also a history that at least will serve "to point a moral" if it will not "adorn a tale." When the Newgate was demolished it was erected at Brislington, in the grounds of the strange looking edifice which Horace Walpole designated "the Devil's Cathedral" (from the black slag that was used to a great extent in building its walls). In this gateway the two statues supposed to represent Robert, Consul of Gloucester, and Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, occupy niches in the inner face. Two similar niches on the outer face are filled with statues supposed to represent the Kings Edward I. and III.; they were brought from Lawford's gate.

A part of the castle wall remains; it must not be confounded with the low outer wall which in Castle ditch rises from the pavement, *i.e.*, the inner edge of the ditch; this, it is evident, has been built in detached portions and at different periods, by those who enclosed their portion of frontage to the property which they had acquired within the castle. Geoffrey's wall is, we think, the high wall built upon the edge of the sandstone rock, a portion of which remains overlooking the site of the castle mill and pond at the junction of Lower Castle street and Castle ditch. This wall is admirably built, so firmly are its stones cemented that when in 1878 a doorway was opened through it, they broke in pieces before the mortar would yield. We should ascribe the castle ditch and fosse that runs under Lower Castle street also to Geoffrey. The following sketch of this great man is from the able pen of Mr. A. S. Ellis:

PEDIGREE.



"Geoffrey, 'Bishop of Coutances,' in Normandy, member of a noble and powerful family, and brother of Montbrai, Lord of Montbrai, in the Canton of Perci, is also once styled in the survey 'Bishop of St. Lo,' and so designated witnessed the king's charter to the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury, 1070-5. St. Lo, it appears, had been the episcopal seat of his predecessor, Robert, in whose time the re-building of the cathedral of Coutances was begun with the assistance of the Duchess Gunnora and the canons at St. Lo. Geoffrey, when a very young man, was nominated to the see, consecrated at Rouen, 10th April, 1048, and immediately set about collecting money and other things to help to complete the cathedral, going to Apulia even, to get the assistance of his cousin, Count Robert Guiscard, a native of Hautville, close by St. Lo, and aid from the other Norman barons settled there. However in 1049, at the Council of Rheims, his election to the see was asserted to have been obtained by simony, but he declared he knew not that it had been bought for him by his brother, and had been himself unwilling to assume the dignity. Bishop Geoffrey having no residence in Coutances, bought half of the town for 300 livres, built himself a hall and offices, pushed on with the cathedral works, building the two western towers from the foundation and the tower above the choir, so that on the 8th December, 1056, the church was consecrated with great ceremony, in the presence of Duke William, by Maurilius, Archbishop of Rouen, himself and others. The bishop then removed the canons back from St. Lo to the mother church, and took up his residence himself at Coutances. Coutances is a town said to have been founded by the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, or in his time; hence its name, and Saint Laud, or Lo, himself was bishop there in the seventh century. It is evident from this, Bishop Geoffrey was a man of great energy and resource, and we shall be the less surprised at the active part he was to take in the great events which the near future developed. When, therefore, the expedition to England was decided on, he and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, accompanied it, attended by many priests and monks, acting as chaplains and confessors. He appears to have been present in the battle of Senlac, but took no active part in it, though no doubt belted with a sword and prepared to do so. When the Conqueror was crowned in Westminster abbey on Christmas Day by Aldred, Archbishop of York, it was Bishop Geoffrey who demanded of the Normans present whether they consented to have William for their king. The bishop was back in Normandy next year, for he assisted at the consecration of the abbey of Jumieges on 1st July, in the presence of the Conqueror. We next find him at Winchester, Easter, 1069, witnessing the king's charter granting Deerhurst, in Gloucestershire, to the abbey of St. Denis, near Paris.

"It would appear that the bishop had already received grants of many manors in Somerset and other western counties, for this same year when the men of Dorset and Somerset and their neighbours made a

combined attack on the Count of Mortain's castle of Montacute, near Yeovil, the bishop, commanding troops from Winchester, London and Salisbury, came upon them by surprise, slew some, mutilated the prisoners taken, and put the rest to flight. He probably thus prevented his own wide domains being harried and laid waste. The bishop had developed a new side of his character, and 'Ordericus' says he was more distinguished for military than clerical ability, better able to array armed soldiers for battle, than to teach clerks the offices of the church, and moreover prided himself upon his noble birth. But there is evidence that the Conqueror had great faith in him and his judgment, by appointing him to decide the dispute between Archbishop Lanfranc and Bishop Odo, these powerful parties having no doubt agreed to abide by the decision of one they mutually respected. The archbishop charged Odo with invading the rights and having possession of lands of the see. The trial took place in the locality, at Penenden heath, in Kent; it lasted three days, and Geoffrey gave judgment in favour of Lanfranc. In 1076 Bishops Geoffrey and Odo, the king being in Normandy, led a force to attack the rebellious Earl of Norfolk at Cambridge, followed him when retreating to Norwich, taking the castle there after a brave defence by the countess, which kept them three months before the walls. He was one of the king's commissioners in 1080, sitting at Kentford, inquiring into the lands of the see of Ely, and was sent into Worcestershire to try, with Urso, the sheriff, the cause between the bishop of the diocese and the Abbot of Evesham, about lands in Hampton and Beningworth, '*judicante et testificante omni vicecomitatii.*' In 1086 we find, by the Survey, the bishop in possession of lands in no less than twelve of the southern counties. His influence was evidently great on account of his holding Bristol castle, and having the royal burgh thus in his power. Bristol was, there can be no doubt, his chief residence, but no particulars about the borough are given in the Survey, probably because it was already privileged by royal charter. Of the manors of Barton and Bristou the bishop had the third penny of the customary crown rents, and this is all the Survey informs us about Bristol, except that ten houses in the town appertained to the bishop's manor at Bishport, in Bedminster parish. The bishop can hardly be called lord of Bristol, and he was certainly something more than the king's provost or portreeve of the town and castellan. Though the castle is not mentioned in the Survey, it was evidently this great builder who erected it, choosing for the site with great judgment that neck of land, the isthmus of the peninsula between the rivers Avon and Frome, on which the town stood, cutting off the only road into the town, and making a new route under the walls completely commanded by them, and so depressed that it and the castle meadows could be flooded, all having been carefully planned at one time. The keep was afterwards built by Earl Robert in the time of Henry I., but the bishop would have erected a hall within the fortified enclosure, and probably an oval shell keep on the site of which the later quadrangular one was afterwards raised. Barton, near Bristol seems to have been the farm of the royal hall there in King Edward's time, afterwards attached to the castle, its successor, 'Old Market street,' being the vill and market place of the Barton.

"The bishop had lands in the neighbourhood of Bristol on all sides, but kept none of his Gloucestershire manors in demesne. His vassal Ilger held Acton, called Acton-Ilger from him to this day.

"Bishop Geoffrey being in Normandy at the time of the Conqueror's death, was one of those who attended his funeral in the Abbey of St. Stephen, at Caen. With Bishop Odo, the Count of Mortain and the majority of the great peers, we find him next year espousing the cause of Duke Robert against Rufus, and immediately after Easter, having garrisoned and provisioned his castles, he took up arms. The bishop, though he must have been advanced in years, with his nephew Robert went to Bristol, 'where he had a very strong castle,' laying waste all the country as far as Bath, which they burned, then marched across Somerset, plundering as they went, to Ilchester, to which they laid siege but were repulsed. William de Ow simultaneously ravaging the southern part of Gloucestershire, pillaged the royal vill of Berkeley. The bishop and his nephew brought their booty into Bristol castle. But there was no unity of action among the rebels or junction of their forces, and by the autumn Rufus was again master of the kingdom. The bishop and his nephew were among those who effected a reconciliation with the king, and we meet with the bishop attending the king's court at Old Sarum in the ensuing November. He was one of those present when the contumacious Bishop of Durham was exiled, and what he said on the occasion is recorded. It would appear at this time that Geoffrey had the government of the turbulent earldom of Northumberland, no doubt by the late king's appointment as successor to Aubrey de Coucy. He is so described as present with other magnates at the foundation of St. Mary's abbey, at York, by Rufus, at the end of the year. This post, which required a younger and more active man, he seems to have resigned, with the king's sanction no doubt, to his nephew and heir, Robert de Moubray. We last meet with the venerable prelate at Dover, 27th January,

1090, witnessing, with many others who were attending the king, Rufus' charter 'giving' Bath abbey to the Somerset bishop John. Bishop Geoffrey was probably on the eve of crossing the channel for the last time. For three more years he lived, and at length, in the presence among others of Bishop Odo his old friend, he died evidently at Coutances, on 2nd February, 1093, having governed his see forty-five years less sixty-six days, and was buried according to his own desire not in the church but in the ground adjoining. Robert, Earl of Northumberland, his nephew and secular heir, succeeded it is said to all the bishop's lands, if so he enjoyed them but two years, for in 1095 he forfeited by rebellion all his honours and estates, was himself taken and sent to Windsor castle, where 'nearly thirty-four years after' he was still lingering in captivity. Rufus it is evident then seized the late bishop's lands and conferred all those in these parts, with the great lordship of Tewkesbury, on one who had given him his active support, Robert Fitz Hamon. This formed the nucleus of the Honour of Gloucester, constituted by Henry I. for his son Robert, when, having married one of the daughters of Robert Fitz Hamon, he was made Earl of Gloucestershire."[1]

Geoffrey, a man of undoubted talent and great bravery, attempted in accordance with the fashion of his time to combine in himself two antagonistic systems, the church and the world. He was a shepherd of souls, and a slayer of men; a priest of calvary, and a commander of cavalry; a professed adherent of the kingdom which is not of this world, yet the owner of lands won by the sword, equal to a German principality; marching under the orders "take nothing for your journey save a staff only, no bread, scrip, brass (money), &c.," yet holding as his own the abbacies of Ely and Malmesbury, the sees of Coutances and Exeter, the government of Northumberland, and of Bristol with its embattled fortress. Offices more incongruous and incompatible can scarcely be imagined. Well might Richard I. say of a brother prelate of Geoffrey a few years later, when Pope Celestius sent to him to demand the release of his son, the Bishop of Beauvais, whom Richard had taken in arms against himself, his legal lord, "Lo," sending him with happy conceit the bishop's hauberk, "this have we found, see whether it be thy son's coat or no." Nevertheless, for us to judge Geoffrey and his peers by our 19th century notions would be manifestly unjust. It was not until many years subsequent to his day that the church was divorced from the sword. Ecclesiasticism had succumbed to the feudal system; its leading priests by the tenure of their lands were transformed into barons, *i.e.*, men-at-arms, with a spiritual title; in many cases their lands have descended through their heirs, and but for the institution of celibacy the church would have lapsed into a fief, would have become entailed in its possessions, and lords spiritual would have been succeeded by their heirs male even as the hereditary titles and possessions of the lords temporal descend to this day. We need scarcely add that spiritual life would have become extinct, its high functions would have ceased, "a star would have vanished from the firmament, and a great light would have gone out among men." From this terrible degradation she was saved by the pious forethought of the men who, realising, however imperfectly, the motto of their Master "My kingdom is not of this world," set themselves to win a dominion over mind rather than matter, and to gain souls rather than to acquire lands or wealth. The laches of their followers should not lessen in our esteem, men who, like St. Bernard, St. Dominic and St. Francis, undertook the ungracious task of severing the golden chains that had bound together a living church and a dead world.

24. Bishop Geoffrey, as we have seen, held the Castle of Bristol in 1088 for Prince Henry by order of the late King, and, in conjunction with the greater portion of the Norman barons, he was in favour of the succession to the throne of England of the Conqueror's eldest son Robert, Duke of Normandy. The Commons of England, with a minority of the Barons, and Lanfranc, the Archbishop of Canterbury, sided with Rufus. Geoffrey and his nephew Robert de Mowbray hastened to Bristol, wasted the country as far as Bath, which they burned; plundered Somerset, Wiltshire and Berkeley, but were repulsed in their attack upon Ilchester. They stored the strong castle of Bristol with provisions and every necessary for enduring a long siege, intending it to be the headquarters for their army in the west.[1] Others of the party ravaged Leicestershire and Herefordshire, and amid fire and slaughter marched to the gates of Worcester, where they were repulsed with great loss of men by good Bishop Wulfstan, to their great discomfiture.

This was the turning-point of the strife. The English people had no love for their Norman oppres-

[1] From a paper "On the Landholders of Gloucestershire named in Domesday Book," in the 4th vol. of The Trans. Bristol and Glou. Archæol. Soc., the family of de St. Lo or S. Laudo was evidently descended from one of the vassals of the bishop, brought over by him from that place. The widow of Geoffrey de St. Laudo held lands in Winchester of the bishop of the see, 1148. (Winton Domesday). Newton-St.-Lo was the seat of this family. Sir John Sayntlowe, Constable of Bristol Castle (ob. 1448), was of a branch seated in the parish of Chew Magna.

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chron.

sors. Robert inherited Normandy, which he loved; Lanfranc brought the whole power of the church to bear in favour of the bold, arrogant and brutal Rufus, who was crowned King of England, to the exclusion of the elder brother. The old Saxon nationality, though subdued, was not extinct; and William was professedly more English than Robert, hence his popularity. An immense army rallied around Rufus; and the malcontents, headed by Odo of Bayeux and Eustace of Boulogne, being besieged in Rochester Castle, capitulated and retired to the Continent. Geoffrey appears also to have found his way thither; Robert de Mowbray was taken prisoner, and William II. reigned over all England.

25. The King granted, it has been said, the Honour of Gloucester, of which the town and castle of Bristol formed a part, with all the liberty with which Brictric held it, to his cousin, Robert Fitzhamon, who had right loyally upheld his claim to the English Crown. Hamon, the father of Robert, and of Hamon "dapifer," or steward, to the great William, was lord of Crenilly and Torigny, in Normandy. Robert, his eldest son, married Sybilla, sister of Robert Belesme, Earl of Salop, who bore him four daughters—Mabel, Haweis, Cicely and Amice.[1]

At the head of his own forces, and attended by twelve of his own knights, Fitzhamon invaded South Wales and conquered Glamorgan, which he held independently of the English Crown, and transmitted safely to his successors. He was a great benefactor, if indeed he was not the founder, of the abbey of Tewkesbury, giving to it the church of St. Peter and the tithe of the rents of Bristol, as proven by a charter of Henry I., 1106, and by subsequent deeds and charters.[2]

As lord of the honour of Gloucester, it might be expected that Fitzhamon would have fixed his residence in that city; but Gloucester was a royal burgh. William Fitzosbern, Earl of Hereford, had, when he was King's Lieutenant in the West, built the castle therein, probably about 1067–8, in obedience to William's command. After the death of the Earl and the rebellion of his son, the King kept Gloucester in his own hands. The sheriffwick and constableship of Gloucester were held by Roger, the Viscount; after him by Durand, his brother. To him succeeded Walter Fitzroger, who transmitted these offices to his son, Milo Fitzwalter, who was constable in the time of Earl Robert, whom he actively supported, and was rewarded by the Empress Maud with the Earldom of Hereford.[3]

Fitzhamon was with Rufus at Winchester the night before his death; when a monk from beyond the seas came and related to him a horrible dream which he had dreamt concerning the King. Fitzhamon, who, being the King's secretary, thought this ought not to be neglected, told it to Rufus, who laughed heartily, saying "he dreams for money, as monks do; give him a hundred shillings." Nevertheless, the King hesitated whether he should hunt in the wood as he had intended. That he decided to go and perished by the arrow from Walter Tyrrell's bow is well known. Prodigal and rapacious, perfidious, violent and tyrannical, William II. was yet able and courageous; he died unmarried. In this reign began the rise of the third estate; we first read of booksellers in 1100.

Gloucester was the place in which the King usually kept his Christmas. Rufus would go and return by way of Bristol, spending a few days there on his route. He was there in 1093, just before "he was taken sick at Alveston," a royal town, which had been a part of King Harold's property.

Robert Fitzhamon at William's death gave his allegiance to Henry, the younger brother of the late King, and continued steadfast when almost all the other nobles deserted him for Robert. He was at his Norman estate when King Henry visited the Continent in 1104, and in the following year, when war appeared probable between the royal brothers, the partisans of Duke Robert seized Fitzhamon and imprisoned him, with many others, in the castle of Bayeux. On the appearance of King Henry with an army, in 1106, he was set at liberty; but, alas, liberty had become but a small boon to him. He had received in battle a crushing blow on the temple from a pole, which had deprived him of his reason, and he died insane.

Fitzhamon was buried in the chapter house of Tewkesbury, but was in after years re-interred between the two pillars on the right of the presbytery. Robert Ricart says:—"At the instance and excitation of his wife, Dame Sibill, bi grace of the Holy Goost, he founded of the newe and newe billed, to the worship of God, and of His blessed Modre, Seynt Mary, the churche of Tewxbury, with all the houses of offices of the same." Leaving only daughters, his great fief, according to the law of the age, came into the hands of the King, as their guardian, until marriage.

26. The shrewd King Henry made Cicely Abbess of Shaftesbury, Haweis Abbess of Winchester, and married Amice to the Earl of Bretagne, but reserved Mabel, the eldest, as a wife for his own illegitimate son Robert.

This son was born at Caen, in Normandy, his mother being Nesta, a daughter of Rees ap Tudor, Prince of South Wales. Sometimes he was called Robert Rufus, because of his red hair, at others Robert de Caen, from the place of his birth. Henry proposed him to Mabel as her husband by virtue of his right as

[1] Lloyd's Cambria, 89–90. [2] Seyer, I., 342. [3] Florence Worc.

feudal lord over the children and property of a deceased tenant. Be it remembered, moreover, that this very property had been reserved for Henry himself by his father, the Conqueror, but had been unjustly bestowed by Rufus upon Mabel's father.

The uncouth rhymes of Robert, the rhyming monk of Gloucester, have been admirably metaphrased by Seyer, who narrates the circumstance of the marriage so graphically, that we give the passage entire:—"Mabel, the daughter of Robert Fitzhamon, was heir of all his land; and the King bethought him of her heritage, wishing to advance the fortune of his illegitimate son Robert by marrying him to her. When he made the proposal that she should marry his son she was against it, and long withstood it; and when the King often solicited her, she at last answered like a good and courteous maiden. 'Sir,' said she, 'I see plainly that your heart is set on me, more for the sake of mine inheritance than of myself. Having such an inheritance as I have, it would be dishonourable to me to have a lord who had not two names. My father's name was Sir Robert le Fitzhaym, and that inheritance ought not to be any man's who was not of his rank. Therefore, sir, for God's love let me have no man for a husband who has not two names whereby he may be known.'

"'Damsel,' quoth the King, 'thou sayest well in this case. Thy father's name was Robert le Fitzhaym, and I will take care that my son shall have one as fair, for his name shall be Sir Robert le Fitzroy.'

"'Sir,' said the maiden, 'that is a fair name and of great repute, as long as he shall live; but what shall his son be called or any other of his descendants? Unless care be taken of that, also, they may soon come to have no name.'

"The King perceived that the maiden said nothing unreasonable, and knowing that Gloucester was the chief place of her heritage, 'Damsel,' said he, 'thy lord shall have a fair, unobjectionable name for himself and for his heirs; his name shall be Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and he and his heirs shall be Earls of Gloucester.'

"'Sir,' quoth the maiden, 'then I like this well; on these terms I consent that I and all my lands shall be his.'

"Thus was made the first Earl of Gloucester since the Conquest. It was in the eleven hundredth and ninth year since our Lord came down upon earth, and in the ninth year of the King's crownment, that Robert, King Henry's son, was made first Earl of Gloucester by marrying the right heir—a man who for his good deeds deserves to be ever held in remembrance.

"And Bristow, through his wife, was also his, and he brought the town to great honour, as it still is; and there he built a castle with a noble tower, that of all the towers in England is esteemed the flower. He reared, also, St. James' Priory of Black monks, a little on the northern side of the town, where his body yet lyeth, for he was buried before the high altar there; that convent belongs to the house of Tewkesbury. And his son, the Earl William, who succeeded him, began and reared the abbey of Keynsham."[1]

27. Robert the Consul was about twenty years of age when he thus acquired a wife, immense possessions, and a title that made him the fellow of Royalty. As Earl of Gloucester, he received most probably the third penny out of all the royal revenue from the county. With his wife he received the Honour of Gloucester, which must not be confounded with the earldom which had been created for him by his father. This honour gave him the lordship over many manors, which according to custom he granted by "*subinfeudation*" to inferior lords, who held of him, even as he held his from his sovereign lord the King. This great barony was called the Honour of Gloucester, because it had been anciently royal property and held in person by the king. Hence the lord its possessor affected almost royal state; he had his chancellor, marshal, stewards, seneschal, provosts, constables of his castles, as well as subordinate knights. He levied taxes often without the royal assent, held courts of all kinds, had the power of life and death, granted charters of privileges in regal style, and coined money.

Besides this great barony or honour, Robert had also acquired through his marriage the Lordship of Glamorgan, which at that time it would appear was of far greater extent than the present county of the same name. Fitzhamon had conquered it, made Cardiff his capital, and many barons held of him in South Wales, and from this source Robert throughout his career drew large numbers of men and not a little money. The Conqueror had given the earldom of Kent as well as the Honour of Bristol to his Queen Matilda, designing it to pass with her other property to their son Henry. But Rufus had unjustly bestowed the whole of the late Queen's possessions upon Fitzhamon. These comprised the towns of Canterbury, Dover, and Leeds (in Kent), together with lands in Hampshire, Marlborough (in Wiltshire), with several castles which had descended in right of Mabel to Consul Robert, the son of the prince from whom they had been withheld. There were also vast landed estates in Normandy held by Fitzroy's wife's ancestor before the Conquest, to which King Henry added the land of Hamon, the uncle of Mabel.

[1] Seyer, I., 353–4.

"At Torigny, near St. Lo, the Consul built him a strong castle on a rocky mountain that was deemed impregnable, and therein watched over his town, which it is said was populous, prosperous, abounding in riches, and adorned with public and private buildings. Moreover, on his death bed King Henry ordered his son Robert the Consul, who was the keeper of his treasure, to take £60,000 (equivalent to upwards of a million pounds sterling) and bestow rewards and donatives on his servants and his mercenaries."[1]

Robert was therefore the richest subject and the most powerful baron of the age; his relationship to the King gave him politically the highest rank in the kingdom next to the throne, his bravery and chivalrous devotion to his sister and her son, his patronage of literature in an age when kings signed with a cross, and lordly barons made thumb marks on the wax serve for their seal and signature, stamp him as a man far in advance of his time. Geoffrey of Monmouth in dedicating his history to this earl, speaks of him as being critically acquainted with the Latin language. "To you, therefore, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, this work humbly sues for the favour of being so corrected by your advice that it may not be thought the poor offspring of Geoffery of Monmouth, but when polished by your refined wit and judgment, the production of him who had Henry, the Glorious King of England, for his father, and whom we see an accomplished scholar and philosopher as well as a brave soldier and expert commander, so that Britain with joy acknowledges that in you she enjoys another Henry." William of Malmesbury also dedicated his history to the Earl of Gloucester. "To you have descended the magnanimity of your grandfather, the munificence of your uncle, the prudence of your father. * * * You make it a peculiar part of your glory to pay attention to literature. This also I must mention that you esteem those learned persons worthy of your notice whom either the envy of fame or the slenderness of their fortune renders obscure. * * * Literary men therefore experience in you manners suitable to them, for you look upon them kindly, so as to put them beyond the apprehension of ill humour, you admit them pleasantly, you dismiss them munificently."

That he was eminently a religious man for his age has been shown in our Ecclesiastical History.

28. When the Conqueror's son Robert, Duke of Normandy, was defeated and taken prisoner at Tenchebray, 1106, he was, after being twenty years in the custody of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, transferred to the Castle of Bristol, from which he was removed to the Castle of Cardiff, where he died in the year 1134. The story that he was blinded by his brother is related thus by Matthew of Westminster: "The King caused him to be kept safely, but mindful of his relationship to him, he was kept in free custody without any want of food, with the benefit of light and with expensive clothes. He was also permitted to play at chess and at dice, and to wear the same robes as the King himself received; and he was permitted to walk about the neighbouring orchards and woods and pleasant places. One day while he was so wandering about he suddenly leaped on a horse which he had caught while his guards were unaware, and fled. The guards, raising a loud clamour, instantly followed him, and in a dirty field, where his horse sank to his belly, they caught him, and kept him close until the King was acquainted with what had happened. Upon which the King ordered him to be privately deprived of his eyes, still preserving the balls. After which the duke pined away with grief, and cursing the day of his birth he did not much prolong his unhappy life." "In the year of his death two moons appeared in the sky, and one day a comet was seen about three o'clock, distant about one cubit from the sun."

This cruel story is apparently a monkish invention. It is not mentioned by contemporary writers; indeed, a Welsh sonnet, said on good authority to have been written by the prisoner, mentions the pleasantness of the prospect from the windows of the Castle of Cardiff.

29. Robert the Consul had been in the possession of his earldom about six years when Harding the Provost died, 1115, and was succeeded by his son, Robert Fitzharding, in the position of chief magistrate of Bristol. Robert Fitzharding was born 1085 to 1095, and he would be now from 20 to 30 years of age. His first separate residence was in Broad street (Cider house passage, now the back of the Grand Hotel); he then, on his father's death, occupied for a while his residence in Baldwin street; "afterwards he removed to the great stone house which he built on the Frome, part of which house to this day remaineth undemolished."[1]

The site of this house is undetermined; one of our chroniclers thought that it was on the outer bank of the Frome, or mill leat, in what is now Baldwin street, about the site of the Back hall. This may have been so, but the remains of the building thought to have been portions of his house were probably the foundations of the mansion of Richard Spicer, built after 1247, when this leat was filled up. Seyer thought Fitzharding's house was about the middle of Baldwin street, and he seems to infer that it was perhaps the house called King John's

[1] Ordericus Vital.

[1] Old deed quoted from the Chartulary of St. Augustine, fol. 33; by Smyth.

(in Back street), or the house where Henry II. was educated (at the corner of the steps). This latter it could hardly be; there would be no room for a *large house* between Baldwin street and Nicholas street, for the wall and ditch occupied 30 feet of the width, which was less than 50 feet altogether. We rather incline to the opinion that it was on the Frome proper, somewhere about Nelson street.

Leland tells us that "there is a place almost against Hungroad, called Portchester, where Harding and Robert, his son, had a fair house, and another in Brightstow town." Seyer concludes that this was Sneyd park, Sea Mills. It is possible that the semi-circular bastions, if indeed they are not of Roman workmanship, may form a part of the defences of Robert Fitzharding's country seat. Near the time of his father's death, 1115, Robert Fitzharding married the Lady Eva. Smyth, on the authority of Glover, Somerset Herald, shows this lady to have been niece to the Conqueror. By Eva, Robert had five sons, Henry, Maurice, Robert, Thomas and Nicholas, and two daughters, Helena and Aldena; these married, one the heir of Roger de Berkeley, Lord of Dursley, and the other married Nigel, the son of Arthur, and Robert, her father, settled on them the manor of Kingscot, from which their descendants took their name.



Old House in Baldwin Street.

30. King Henry, who was an accomplished prince, highly educated for so unlearned an age, earned his title of Beauclerk from his translation of Æsop's fables. Shrewd and ambitious, he had by force seized upon the crown, his brother Robert's rightful inheritance, and as a matter of policy had married Maud, the niece of Edgar Atheling, which secured his popularity with the English people. By her he had two children, William, who was drowned, together with the flower of the Norman youth, off Barfleur, when returning to England, and Maud, who first married in 1118 Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, and on his death, in August, 1127, Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, by whom she had three sons, the eldest of whom afterwards became King of England, reigning as Henry II. Henry I. married for his second wife in February, 1121, Adelais, a daughter of Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine and Brabant, whom in the Easter he brought to Beorcla (Berkeley).

On Sunday, Sept. 29th, 1118, about three o'clock, whilst the people were at mass, a violent earthquake was felt in Bristol, Somerset, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, which greatly terrified the inhabitants. Another occurred on July 25th, 1122, which was very great in Somerset and Gloucestershire. On one of these occasions it is stated that the Thames was dry for three days.

31. The coinage of this reign (1100–35) consisted of silver pennies. Of these there are only two varieties known as being certainly coined in Bristol. On them we find for the first time the modern name of the town, showing that at the end of the 11th century it was known as Bristol. "One penny in the British Museum has *obverse*, full face bust of the king, crowned, holding a sceptre in his right hand; all within a beaded inner circle. Legend, + HENRICVS REX A. *Reverse*, a cross having each limb terminating in a huge trefoil, within a beaded inner circle. Legend, H. RTHIG ON BRIST. This coin is in bad preservation, and it is probable that the name of the moneyer was Harding the præpositus. A second piece has, *obverse*, full faced bust, crowned, with sceptre; a rose at the side of the head, and a beaded inner circle. Legend, HENRICVS REX. *Reverse*, a quartrefoil enclosing a cross of pellets with a star in the centre; four fleurs-de-lys in the angles. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend, + GERARD ON BRIST. The weight and fineness of

Henry I. pennies are about the same as those of William I. and II. coins."[1] His coins are ruder than those of his predecessors, and the portrait has generally a moustache.

Amongst the remarkable events of this reign we may name the following:—"Arabic figures were first used, brought from Spain, but were not common until two centuries later. Colonies of Flemings driven by floods from the Lowlands were settled by the king in Carlisle, and also in South Wales. The greater part of London was destroyed by fire. Priests were forbidden to marry. Long hair on men was deemed unlawful. Stealing was punishable with death. Wrecking was prohibited. The free use of fire and candle by night was allowed. Scale armour was introduced, supplementing the coat of ringed mail. We are indebted to Athelard, a mathematician of Bath, for our first Latin edition of Euclid's elements, 1127. The value of a sheep was four pence, of wheat sufficient for 100 men for one day one shilling."[2]

Henry's laws for preserving game were more stringent and cruel than even those of his father and brother. All dogs kept on the verge of the woods had to be mutilated by having one of their claws chopped off, and only a few people, amongst whom were some of the greater nobles and bishops and the burgesses of London, were allowed to hunt even on their own grounds.

32. This was preëminently a castle-building age. Robert the Consul built a castle in Normandy, he also built one at Cardiff,[3] and he so strengthened and improved that of Bristol, as to win for himself the renown of being its founder.

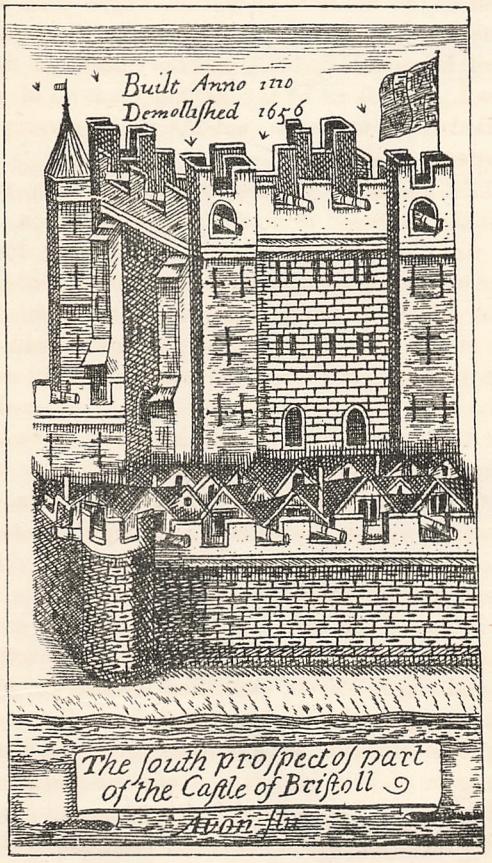
The rhyming monk says, "That Bishop Geoffrey with other chiefs had kept the castle of Bristol, '*such a castle as it then was*,' but Robert deserved the title of its founder because of the great additions to its strength which he made thereto, building especially the great dungeon tower, and making the castle his principal residence when in England. The stone for the building was brought from Caen in Normandy, Robert tithed these, giving every tenth stone towards the erection of the Chapel of St. Mary, near the Monastery of St. James, Bristol."[4]

The castle thus enlarged and strengthened gave to Bristol great importance in national affairs in the reign of Stephen. Seyer[5] thought that the position of the castle in the neck of the isthmus between the two rivers, proves that the design of its erection was hostile to the town, interfering, as it needs must have done, with the direct communication between the burgh and Gloucestershire, and forcing all traffic from that part of the county to pass under the wall by the castle ditch, and to enter Bristol by the gate which adjoined the castle wall, and which was in the power of the governor or constable of the fortress. The learned historian also thought it probable that the site of the castle was originally a part of the township of Bristow, but that it was withdrawn from the limits and jurisdiction thereof when the castle was erected, and was annexed to the hundred of Barton Regis, from which it is now locally separated, as is shown by the perambulation of Edward III., 1373, and the Charter of Sale of Charles I., as well as by the ground plan, all of which show that the town lands (not the walls) encompassed the castle on every side.

Whilst admitting the geographical isolation, we demur to the supposed originally hostile intention. The castle was, as we have shown, a necessity for the defence of the burgh, and stood in the fore front of the side on which it could most easily be assailed. A glance at our map of Worle camp (page 10) will show that in the earliest times a situation precisely similar was the part most strongly fortified. Just so do we believe this to have been an elongation in an easterly direction of the original fortification, which in or before the 11th century assumed the character of an independent fortress outside the walls of the burgh, and became attached to the King's or Royal Barton. Its circumvallation was as follows:—Commencing at the river Avon, it crossed the west end of Castle street; its barbican stood on the site of the house at the junction of Peter and Castle streets, extending towards St. Peter's church; between this barbican and the wall there was a deep dry artificial fosse crossed by a drawbridge. The bottom of this fosse was about the width of the second house in Castle street, it then ran down on the western front of the Bear and Ragged Staff and Catherine Wheel public houses; at the corner of Castle green, where the school house now stands, it bent round to the N.E., both fosse and wall being continued through the Newgate on the hill, at the bottom of which there was a drawbridge. This bridge was over a leat of the river Frome, which had been brought to the foot of the hill to form a ditch. About ten feet from the water's edge rose the lowest of the north walls to a height of from twenty to thirty feet, and from the inner edge of the platform within this wall rose another embattled wall of about the same height, so that here the castle presented a double terraced front, we believe of from fifty to sixty feet in height, reaching to and guarding the hill top. At the east angle of this wall where the hill had lowered considerably, the leat had

[1] Henfrey, 347. [2] Creasy's Great Events.
[3] Seyer, I., 372. [4] Leland, 6, 92. [5] Seyer, I., 373.

been widened to form a mill pond, in which stood the cucking-stool for fraudulent brewers and scolding wives; the castle mill was on the north-eastern or outer edge of the ditch and pond. From thence another deep artificial cutting led a portion of the waters under what is now the street known as Lower Castle street as far as the end of Old Market street. Here there was a small foot drawbridge, opening into a green (now Old Market street). From this bridge the moat and wall bent



Great Dungeon Tower of Bristol Castle.

obliquely round to the west; the covered moat still exists, and runs under the first four houses at the south-east end of Castle street, after which it emerges, and is continued as an open watercourse, passing under a bridge in Queen street until it joins the Avon in the angle where the river makes a great bend to the south. At this junction stood the water gate, guarded by five towers. The space thus enclosed by crenellated walls with towers contains about three and three-quarter acres. There was, however, outside this on the south-west the king's orchard, which contained two acres more; this was surrounded by a "bastyle," *i.e.*, an embattled wall without towers. This wall enclosed the land whereon St. Philip's National School now stands.

Strong and spacious as the great castle was for 600 years but few relics of its buildings remain, and its written records are almost as scanty. The surviving appellations of Castle green, Castle ditch, Castle precincts and Castle street designate certain portions of its locality, and a few underground cellars, arched doorways and dark dungeons will help us, with the aid of William Wyrcestre, to trace its principal buildings.

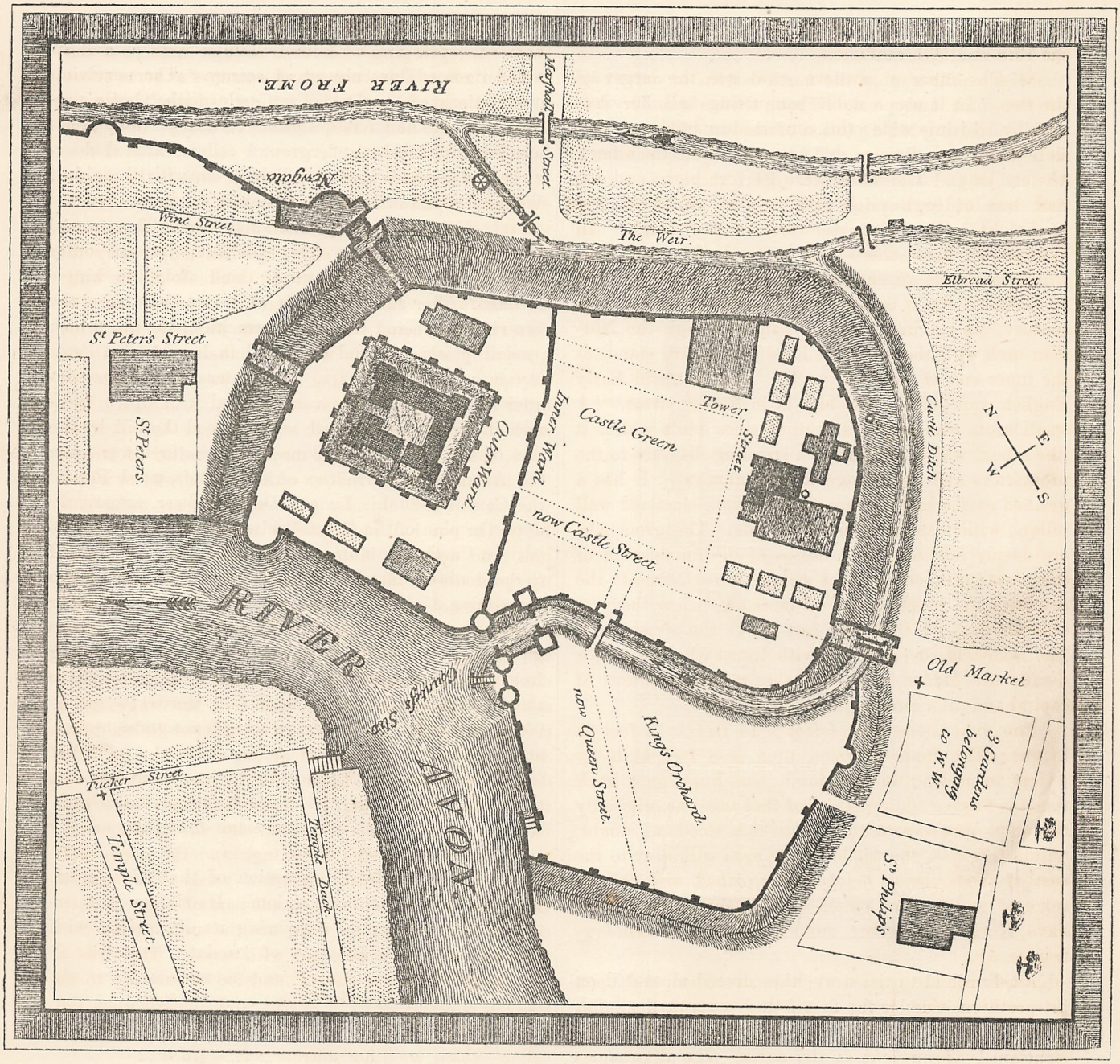
33. The ichnography was as follows: The ground plan was divided into three portions, 1st, the outer ward; 2nd, the inner ward; and 3rd, the king's orchard. The two first plots of ground, between the two rivers, covered the whole breadth of the hill which gradually widened and decreased in height from Peter street to the Old Market. The outer ward was separated from the inner by a crenellated wall which, commencing at the outer north wall, crossed the hill by the line of Cock and Bottle lane to the water tower upon the Avon. Nearly in the centre of this ward Robert the Consul built his famous Donjon tower, apparently upon the plan of the Great White tower of London; the present Castle street runs nearly through the centre of the site of this famous tower. Its walls were, in the foundation 25 feet in thickness, and at the top, under the lead covered roof 9 feet 6 inches. In shape it was a parallelogram, the greater length on the inside being from west to east 60 feet, the breadth from north to south 45 feet. Its outer dimensions were 110 feet × 95 feet. It was strengthened by four square towers, one at each corner. The south-west or "mightiest tower" was 30 feet higher than the others, and the thickness of its walls was there 6 feet. This edifice was all built (faced) of Caen stone brought specially from Normandy.

The keep, with the exception of that of London, was the largest in the kingdom. Its size and importance will be seen by comparing its dimensions with those built within 50 years of its date.

	Feet.	Feet.
"Tower of London	116	× 96
" Bristol	110	× 95
" Norwich	110	× 92
" Rochester	75	× 72
" Hedingham	62	× 55
" Guildford	47	× 42

The same general plan and distribution of the apartments was followed in each case, there being three floors besides the ground floor, and the top was surrounded by a high crenellated parapet."[1]

[1] Seyer, I., 381. These dimensions are at least doubtful. The towers at Bristol and Norwich were abnormal. The greatest modern authorities give as the earliest type, an oval shell keep on a mound, as at Berkeley.—Ed.



Ground Plan of the Ancient Castle of Bristow. From Seyer.

Beneath the keep was the great dungeon, to which air and light were admitted by an aperture in the roof, probably in the batter of the wall, where it diminished in thickness. The descent to this horrible pit was by a trap door and a steep flight of steps in the thickness of the wall. At the north-east corner but in the bailey outside the tower the great well has recently been discovered and emptied; it was a smooth cylindrical bore, 40 feet deep and 10 feet in diameter.

The entrance to this ward and its keep was by a drawbridge guarded by a barbican. At the north-west corner of the keep was a separate building—St. Martin's church. This church stood most probably on the north side of Castle green, in the western angle of the fortress.

To the south of the tower was the Constable's lodgings, but between it and the western walls in Millerd's view there are a great number of small houses,

which of course would be of later date, probably of the 15th and 16th centuries.

34. The inner or western ward was the larger of the two. In it was a noble banqueting hall, 36 yards long by 18 yards wide; this contained in 1480 a marble slab—the king's dining table—separate from the others, 15 feet long. The walls were 24 feet high, and the roof was of high pitch with wooden pillars 45 feet in height. The windows were 14 feet high. In Wyrcestre's time there was a porch 30 feet long, which served as an entrance to this hall. This is still in existence, but it is, we think, an addition of the 13th century, the original entrance being through the Norman arch with the dripstone label, which still stands at the inner end of the said porch. This beautiful Early English approach to the hall is in Tower street. [A small room was nearly a century since built within it like a box, which remains as a standing disgrace to the proprietors and an outrage upon æsthetics.] It has a groined roof, which springs from delicate clustered wall pillars, with tasteful foliated capitals. The groin ribs are deeply hollowed, with bosses at the intersection of the cross springers, a light string course connects the capitals; the bases of the columns are below the present flooring, which is two feet above the street level. The whole is so encrusted with limewash that minor details are hidden, and only the graceful contour of capital and arch remains to gratify the eye.

The dimensions are 24 feet × 14 feet × 13 feet in height. The inner Norman arch is 8 feet high by 8 feet in width; in the jamb one huge gate hook remains to give additional proof that this was originally the outer gateway to the hall which stood, no doubt, within this spot, the whole of the area within or to the east of the archway being honeycombed with cellars, some of which have recesses for lamps, whilst others have Norman freestone mouldings for the window-frames, &c.

Adjoining the portico we have described, and upon its northern side, there is another somewhat similar building both in size and shape, but of much ruder construction. The height is the same. The dimensions are 23 feet × 16 feet 3 inches. The groin ribs are larger and plainer; they spring from short clustered corbel shafts, with simple mouldings and an almost entire absence of ornament. The stone work is rough, and there is a want of finish that implies haste and an adaptation to circumstances about the whole of the room.

Here, too, the inner wall (a continuation of the east wall of the other portico, that with the large Norman arch) reveals two freestone door jambs, with short pillar shafts and capitals 15 feet asunder, and above them the springing of a semi-circular arch that connected them. This once grand entrance at some subsequent date has been divided into two smaller doorways, 4 feet 4 inches and 7 feet 8 inches in width; these have been roughly filled in.

In the northern wall of this room, close to the present entrance (which is a modern breach in the ancient wall), is a recess in the form of a small doorway; the top stone is bevelled to a feather edge, to admit apparently the ascent of a steep stairway in the thickness of the wall; 10 feet further in there is another doorway and two recesses, one being apparently an aumbry, the other a small piscina. This was, we imagine, the original way into the royal chapel, which was afterwards, by order of Henry III., converted into a hermitage. In a code of instructions signed at Berkeley, August 28th, 1249, the King enjoins the mayor and bailiff of Bristol "to lengthen three windows of his chapel, and to whitewash it throughout; also glass windows are ordered to be put in our hall at Bristol, a royal seat in the same hall, and dormant tables around the same, and block up the doors of the chapel beside our great hall there, and make a door in the chancel towards the hermitage; in that hermitage make an altar to St. Edward, and in the turret over that hermitage make a chamber for the clerk with appurtenances; also build a kitchen and a sewer beside the said hall, and find the wages of a certain chaplain whom we have ordered to celebrate divine service in the chapel of our tower there all the days of our life, for Eleanor of Brittany, our cousin, to wit, 50*s*. per annum."[1] These buildings were probably grouped together as at Berkeley, the chapel being, we think, between the hermitage and the north wall of the castle. In fact, some few yards to the east of this little chapel there still stands part of a newel staircase of Caen stone; so worn are the steps by use that they have lately been cased with wood. This was a portion of the royal chapel, and led apparently to its roof; it is about 30 ft. in height, and abutted upon the banquet hall. At the foot of these stairs there is a cellar, which tradition affirms was a prison.

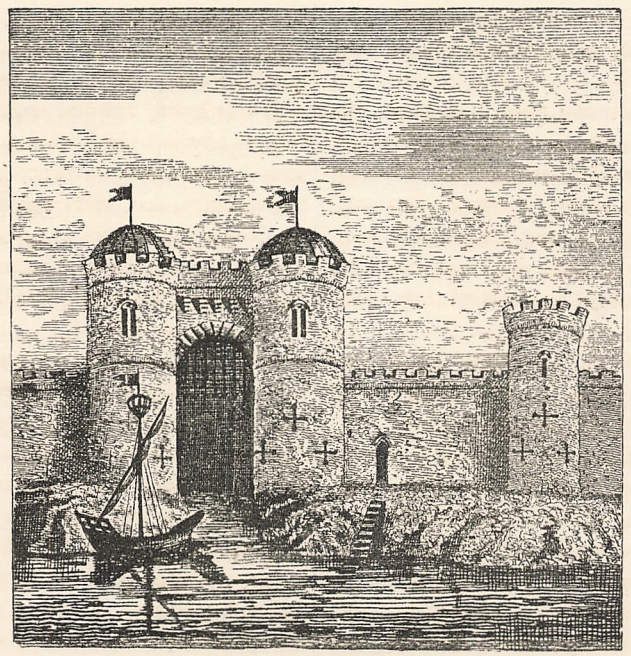
Near the chapel, which Wyrcestre calls "magnificent," but which Leland styles more truly "a pretty little church," were "beautiful chambers and lodgings," a small square embattled tower stood upon the site of the house in which Champion, the Bristol potter, dwelt; the cellars in the present building are evidently a part of the original edifice.

No doubt this portion is that which Wyrcestre and others term the palace. Here, also, was the inner or

[1] Parker Dom. Arch., I., 226.

castle green, which in 1480 was the great garden. The Prince's chamber stood on the site of Castle street, to the south of the great hall; it measured 54 ft. by 27 ft., the roof was supported by two wooden pillars described as being very old in 1480. Of this building not a vestige remains above ground.

At No. 56 Castle street, a rough stone stair in the wall leads down to a large wagon-roofed room overlooking the south ditch, but about 20 feet above its level. It is evidently a portion of the early fortress, and has apparently from its resounding floor some kind of apartment beneath. From the description given of the room in which the Independent church in Castle green was formed, and held its first meetings 1660-70, we judge this to have been the spot. In the early part of the last century it was turned into a salt manufactory. On this side of the castle the lodgings for the soldiers, &c., were chiefly situated. In the north wall, overlooking the mill pond and about 14 feet above the water, are two large stone-vaulted rooms of great wall thickness, the floors reverberate to the tread with a hollow sound, and doubtless conceal some subterranean dungeons. These rooms, which are accessible from the road which now covers the Frome ditch, are about 7 feet above its level, a recent doorway driven through the wall proves the masonry to be of very early date indeed. There are some curious remains of a narrow stone stair in the wall between two of the rooms, which seems afterwards to have been converted into a "*gardrobe*." A large stone-ceiled room in Castle green, now used as an iron store, is another remainder of the earliest building.



Water Gate to Bristol Castle.

35. A drawbridge crossed the moat into the market just where the present Castle street now joins it. Here in front of three gardens which belonged to William Wyrcestre, on the south side of the green, stood the Stallenge or Market cross. At this bridge began the bastyle or embattled wall of the third portion of the castle, known as the king's orchard. Its fosse forms now a part of the roadway leading to St. Philip's church; opposite the south corner of the churchyard the fosse and wall turned to the south until it joined the Avon, enclosing one hundred square yards, or a little over two acres of ground.

This was an addition to the original fortress; it lies outside the artificial ditch of the Frome, which was brought round to strengthen the defence on the weakest point, the south-east. Access was given to this plot by a bridge still standing in Queen street. On the moat between the bridge and the Avon stood the water gate, which was defended by 4 towers, and on the south side there was also a fifth, evidently designed to keep watch and ward over the Countess-slip ferry. No dependence can be placed upon the often repeated assertion that the seals of the city represent this, the water gate of the castle, the style is simply a conventional one, common to the age in which the seal was granted, and is similar to that granted to many other cities and towns. From the water gate an embattled wall skirted the Avon as far as the south-west corner of the fortress, where by a strong semi-circular bastion it joined the wall and ditch, with which we began our description of the circumvallation.

From the fact of there being a western and also an eastern drawbridge, it is probable that there was a way right through the castle, but one that certainly was not open as a highway for the public. The Ald gate, William Wyrcestre says, was in Narrow Wine street at the end of Checquer lane. This was destroyed when the new gate was built with a tower of defence on either side; that on the west was on the hill opposite to Little Peter street, which afterwards became the city gaol, or Newgate; its defence on the southern or castle side was a portion of the castle, on its site now stands the National school. New gate (William Wyrcestre speaks of them in the plural as gates) was 4 yards wide and 9 yards long; underneath the roadway was a deep vault or cellar, and over it was a room, which at one time was used as a

chapel, at another a grammar school was kept there by Master Robert Lane, principal grammarian. The gate was taken down in 1766, and was re-erected at Brislington.

There was no doubt a drawbridge over the moat at the foot of the hill and outside the gates. The fosse or mill leat followed the conformation of the hill. The houses which stand on the site of the old mill, at the junction of Castle ditch, Philadelphia street, the Weir, Ellbroad and Lower Castle streets, are very ancient, but it is very doubtful if any of the remains of the first mill exist in them. Earl John, by his charter of 1189, permitted the townsmen to grind their corn where they pleased other than at the lord's mill, which was therefore standing at that time. In the Chartulary of St. Augustine, fo. 178-9, the castle mill is called the mill of Bristol.

With the help of the ground plan, on page 76, the above description will, we think, enable our readers better to understand the historical events that characterised the fierce internecine strife between Stephen, who had usurped the throne, and the Empress Maud, on behalf of her son, Prince Henry, who was heartily assisted and counselled by Robert the Consul, her half-brother.

36. Stephen, son of the Count of Blois, by Adela, third daughter and eighth child of the Conqueror, finding that the party of the Empress was unprepared, seized on the throne of England, in 1135, on the 3rd of December. The bishops gave him their allegiance, and Robert the Consul, on his return from Normandy to England, did homage "on condition that the King should fully maintain his dignity." The truce between usurping king and powerful earl was a hollow one; more than once Stephen endeavoured to ensnare the Consul, who was forewarned by the men employed for that purpose.

The heart of the great earl was with his sister, and he was fully determined, on sufficient cause, to break with Stephen, renounce his homage, and take up arms on behalf of Maud and her son, his nephew, Prince Henry. At Midsummer, in 1138, Geoffry Talbot, who had been driven out of Herefordshire by Stephen, took refuge in Bristol, and both he and his men claimed protection from Robert against the usurper.

Robert, in June of the same year, whilst in Normandy, renounced by letter his homage to Stephen, whom he accused of violating his promise to himself and his oath to his sister, to whom Stephen had heretofore sworn fealty. Whereupon the King deprived him of all his possessions in England. The chief cause of offence appears to have been that Stephen had already seized upon Bristol, over which he had placed Sir Bartholomew de Courcill as governor.[1]

37. This breach of faith roused the latent anger in the breast of the Red Earl; he raised his banner in Normandy, flew to arms, and became thenceforth the leader of the Empress' party. The alterations in the Castle of Bristol were scarcely finished, but he recovered it, and, secure in the possession of the strongest fortress in the west, backed by the wealth and power of Fitzharding and the goodwill of the burgesses, he sent and summoned his men and forthwith defied the King. Before the leaves had fallen Stephen, who lacked neither bravery nor activity, had encamped before Bristol. Calling a council of war, his barons advised him as the most certain way to reduce the refractory burgh to submission to fill in the channel of the Avon at St. Vincent's rocks, and to submerge the town. Stephen's will was good, but the engineering power was wanting. Others advised the building of small castles before each gate in the walls, so cutting off all communication with the country, and starving the town into a surrender.

Neither was this expedient practicable, so the King broke up the siege and marched against Robert's castles in Somerset, Harptree and Castle Cary, which he carried by fire and sword.

38. The best account of the occurrences of these times is that given in a MS. entitled "*Gesta Stephani*," written by a Norman ecclesiastic named Robert de Bec, or Robertus de Monte. He was a firm partisan of Stephen, apparently a personal friend, and from the minuteness of his narrative was probably an eye witness of great part of what he relates, but he was not attentive to chronological order,[2] and was, moreover, bitterly prejudiced against Maud's party, whose exploits are branded as acts of ferocity against a lawful king.

We have seen that the church was on the side of the usurper, and as all the historians of the day were ecclesiastics, bitter denunciations, unscrupulous stories, and fiendish cruelties are without scruple ascribed to those who made war upon their anointed king.

After a defect in the MS., which appears to have been of considerable length, the author proceeds:— "In this manner, the conference between the King and the messengers of the Earl being ended, they departed. The King went to London, and the messengers going to Bristow, the Earl's especial seat, carried orders to his subjects there very calamitous to the kingdom of England; namely, that they should plentifully store the castle there with an abundance of provisions; that they should admit the company of all (military men) who

[1] Little Red Book in the Council House, Bristol.

[2] Seyer, I., 406.

should resort to them; and should immediately commit every act the most severe and hostile which they could against the King and his subjects, as against the Earl's enemies. Bristow is a city nearly the richest of all the cities of the country, receiving merchandise by sailing vessels from the neighbouring and from foreign countries; placed in the most fruitful part of England, and by the very situation of the place the best defended of all the cities of England.

"For as we read of Brundusium, here a certain part of the province of Gloucester, being narrowed into the form of a tongue and extended a long way forms the city, two rivers washing two of its sides, and meeting together in a great abundance of waters on the lower side where the land itself is defective (*i.e.* about the mouth of the Frome, Queen square, Marsh street, &c.). Moreover, a quick and strong tide ebbing and flowing abundantly night and day, causes the rivers on both sides of the city to run back upon themselves in a wide and deep sea; and forming a port very fit and very safe for a thousand vessels, it binds the circuit of the city so nearly and so closely that the whole seems to swim on the water, and to sit on its banks. But on one side, where it is esteemed more exposed to a siege and more assailable, a castle, raised on a considerable mound, fortified with a wall and bulwarks, towers and various machines, prevents the approach of assailants. Into which they brought together such an inundation of horsemen and footmen, the Earl's dependents, or, I might say more truly, so great and wonderful a number of robbers and plunderers, that it seemed not only great and fearful, but even horrible and incredible to all who viewed them, because coming out of different provinces and districts they flocked thither so much the more readily and in greater numbers, inasmuch as being under a rich lord and in a well fortified castle they were permitted to do whatever came most readily into their minds in the richest part of England. Among the rest that Geoffry Talbot was there, who, as is mentioned above, having been banished out of England, determined to breathe out his poison in every place, and to do whatever cruelty his wicked mind was accustomed to conceive.



Houses built on the Frome Wall.

"But his wickedness by God's judgment was turned upon himself, for while he was deliberating how to murder some and condemn others, he himself, being caught first and firmly held in bonds, nearly suffered the sentence of condemnation. . . . There is a city xii. miles from Bristow where, through hidden pipes, fountains throw up water warmed without human skill and art out of the bowels of the earth into a receptacle ornamentally arranged with chambered arches, and form baths in the middle of the city warm and wholesome and delightful to be seen.

"The city is called *The Bath*, because sick persons from all England are used to meet there for the sake of bathing themselves in those wholesome waters; and those who are in good health also, for the sake of seeing those wonderful eruptions of warm water and of bathing in them. This city, therefore, because it was easy to fortify, the Bristowans endeavoured to gain over to their side; for which purpose, having got together a body of men, they unexpectedly approached it at the dawn of day, bringing ladders with them and other machines for mounting the wall; and being collected together in a neighbouring valley, they waited a little while until the situation of the city and the mode of taking it being examined by their spies they might altogether rush upon it." To shorten and simplify this part of the story, it seems that Geoffry Talbot and his relative, Gilbert de Lacy, were appointed to spy out the city, but were pounced upon by the soldiers of the bishop. Lacy managed to escape, but Talbot was seized, bound and thrust into prison.

The Bishop of Bath was induced, says the narrator, on the promise of a safe conduct to leave the city to confer with the besiegers, but was treacherously seized and exchanged for Talbot, who thus undoubtedly saved his head at the expense of the consciences of his friends. Robert was in Normandy with his sister; he only arrived in England on Michaelmas day, 1139, so that the charge of bad faith and of the atrocities of which his partisans were guilty ought not to be laid to his charge; but making every allowance for the author's prejudice against Robert's faction, enough remains to prove that the state of society here in the West must have been something fearful.

39. Still red-handed war is much the same in every age, and it is to us very doubtful whether the conquerors of Badajoz, Cawnpore, Ulundi and Cabul are entitled to throw the first stone at the uneducated mercenaries of the 12th century. Let us borrow, then, the description of the manners of these men, so graphically given by our author: "The Bristowans, therefore, being let loose to every crime, wherever they heard of any lands or possessions of the King, or of those who favoured him, like a hungry pack of dogs, thither ran eagerly and early and seized and carried off, sold and wasted yokes of oxen, flocks of cattle, everything desirable which either the eye saw or the ambitious heart wished for. And when they saw that all things which were in their own neighbourhood, and as it were at hand, were brought into that den of perdition (the castle) and annihilated; wherever they heard of any monied or wealthy men in all parts of England they quickly went there, and seizing some by force and seducing others by fraud they carried them off, binding up their eyes with a fillet, and stopping up their mouths either with a lump of something forcibly pressed upon them or with a certain small machine in the form of a bridle with a rough bit and toothed, and at last they brought them into the middle of Bristow, as we read of the robbers of Elisha (2 Kings vi. 20), and either wasted them by fasting, or by inflicting punishments on them they squeezed from them whatever they possessed, even to the last farthing.

"Others contriving a more crafty method, went where England was more quiet, peace more abundant, and the people more inclined to ease and security, and there journeying in the daytime sometimes in one place and sometimes in another along some beaten and frequented road, they concealed their name, their persons and their employment, they showed no arms nor any remarkable dress, they used no impious and extravagant expressions as robbers usually do, but they pretended a humble look, a moderate gait, a smooth and gentle conversation, and so far acted the hypocrite until they had obtained their purpose, either by meeting some rich man accidentally or privately carrying one off from any place, whom they conveyed to Bristow, that stepmother of all England. And this mode of deceit, this fiction of hypocrisy, was so common through almost all parts of England that there was scarcely a city or a village where they did not practise these fraudulent contrivances, where they did not leave traces of this infamous robbery. Hence it came to pass that men could not pass along the roads of the King's peace securely as they used to do, nor could man trust himself to man confidently as they used, but whenever one person on a journey spied another he trembled all over, and in fear fled out of his sight either into a wood or to some bye-path, until at last by recovering his spirit he might proceed on his journey more safely and more boldly." Miserable enough all this, it is true; but admitting the principle "that all is fair in war," there is little, if anything, that was not probably done also by the King's party.

40. Stephen, as we have seen, hastened to relieve Bath, raised the walls higher, strengthened the defences and increased the garrison, and then brought his army to Bristol.

Robertus de Monte does not conceal here his chagrin that the King did not throw into the river "a vast heap of large stones, wood and turf at that place where the mouth of the port of the city is contracted by a narrow pass, so that the entrance being blocked, the aid which the citizens received from the river by the labour of the rowers on which they principally depended might be intercepted, and the rivers which flowed around the city by having their reflux intercepted might rise upon themselves, and being collected into a wide and deep lake like a sea might threaten the city with immediate submersion." He says those who frustrated this plan, and that other to which we have alluded of building castles before each gate, were men who were fighting treacherously and favouring the earl, that the advice was sound and good, nor does he believe their statement "that it was a useless labour to attempt to obstruct an abyss of the sea with materials of wood and stone, since it was most evident that whatever should be rolled in there would either be swallowed up in the depth, or would all be consumed by the tide rushing vehemently against it."[1]

Stephen's faith, however, was not one that "laughs at impossibilities, and cries 'it shall be done.'" It would be a tough job even now with the aid of dynamite and gunpowder to blast the rocks and form a breakwater that should stop a head of water 40 feet high, but to do this with axe, spade and crowbar, and to support a large army while it was done, and that, too, in the face of continued sallies from a well-fed and powerful foe, were elements that do not seem to have entered into the contemplation of our warlike-minded ecclesiastic. We may mention here that the height from the bed of the river to high water mark is about 40 feet, that a backwater 12 feet above high water level would drown out the inhabitants of the lower parts of the town, but that a barrier reaching almost half way in height to the Suspension bridge would be necessary

[1] Seyer, I., 410-11-12.

before the waters could be forced to run through the Ashton valley to Clevedon.

Meanwhile Stephen's Queen, Matilda, by the aid of her father's fleet from Boulogne, besieged Robert's castle of Dover by sea and land until it was surrendered, and later in the year the King himself besieged and took Robert's castle of Eslede or Leeds, in Kent.

41. These great successes, together with the battle of the Standard, which Stephen's troops won from the Scotch king, who had espoused the cause of the Empress in Northumberland whilst Robert was in Normandy, were to Stephen more disastrous than a defeat; he changed his placable demeanour and became so overbearing and tyrannical that many bishops and barons deserted his cause, and invited the Empress to cross the sea and put herself at the head of her party. She came with a strong body of soldiers. The earl accompanied her; he, making a desperate push with ten archers on horseback and a few soldiers, rode through the country that favoured Stephen, from Portsmouth to Wallingford, and thence to Bristol, leaving his wife and his baggage at the castle of Arundel, in charge of the countess who was the widow of the late King Henry. Thither also came the Empress Maud, which when Stephen knew he left the siege of the castle of Marlborough and with great speed invested that of Arundel. With a degree of chivalry not inconsistent with the character of the age, or with his own disposition, Stephen drew off his army and suffered his brother, the Bishop of Winchester, to conduct the Empress safely to her brother at Bristol. From Bristol, after a stay of two months, Maud went to Gloucester, where Milo held the castle for the earl, whilst Stephen with a great army of Flemish mercenaries, "who flocked in crowds to England, and like hungry wolves did annihilate the fruitfulness of the English soil," followed the Earl Robert. He called in the Welsh to her aid, who to the number of upwards of 10,000 spread over England, destroying the churches and ravaging the land.

"There were at that time," says Bromton, "as many kings in England as there were lords of castles, each having his own coinage of money and judging his subjects in a regal manner."

Maud's presence had great influence on her party; the people flocked to the standard of one whom they were pleased to term an English princess, and the barons in large numbers finally declared in her favour.

42. On the 7th of November, 1139, Robert placed himself at the head of his men and took the city of Worcester, from which he carried off much plunder and many prisoners; and shortly after Talbot succeeded in taking Hereford and its castle, the King, who sought to relieve the place, "departing without honour," but he nominally deprived Milo of the constableship of Gloucester, which he bestowed on William de Beauchamp.

An attempt was made at Whitsuntide in 1140 to heal these lamentable contentions. Robert, as delegate from the Empress, met the Legate at a spot near Bath, and also the Archbishop, who represented King Stephen, but they could arrive at no agreement.

Meanwhile a dashing Fleming in the Earl's pay, Robert Fitzhubert (said to have been the ancestor of the family of the Morgans, long and well known in Bristol), seized upon the castle at Malmesbury, and there withstood an eight days' siege by King Stephen and his army, making eventually his own terms on delivering it up to the royal authority. The same bold soldier then made a raid by night from Bristol on Devizes. The royal castle, which is said to have been one of the finest in Europe, surrounded by an impregnable wall, he carried by surprise by means of ladders of leather, which he attached by hooks to the battlements. A few of the King's party, aroused by the noise, escaped into the tower, but being without provisions had speedily to surrender; the rest were taken prisoners in their sleep.

Earl Robert, hearing of this success, sent his son with a numerous body of soldiers; but Fitzhubert turned traitor, drove him from the gates with ignominy, declaring that he had taken the castle from the King not to deliver it up to one more powerful, but to keep it for himself. He then sought to entrap John, the governor of Marlborough Castle, who listened to his proposals for a league of amity between them for their mutual benefit; and craftily enticing the traitor within his fortress, shut the gates upon him, thrust him into prison, and then sallying out upon the forces, with which Fitzhubert had hoped to obtain possession of the place, he defeated them, taking many prisoners and pursuing the fugitives to the very walls of Devizes.

John surrendered his prisoner to the Consul, who carried him to Devizes, where he hanged him and his two nephews in sight of his men, who still held the castle. Hervey, the son-in-law of the King, induced them to yield it to him for Stephen, and he bravely held it until being surrounded and besieged by all the people of the neighbouring country he was forced to abandon it and to fly the kingdom. The fearful internecine strife was carried on for months with varying success in different parts of the kingdom, but the brunt of the war was in our own neighbourhood, and in it the garrison of Bristol generally bore a part.

43. By the end of the year the Empress' cause was

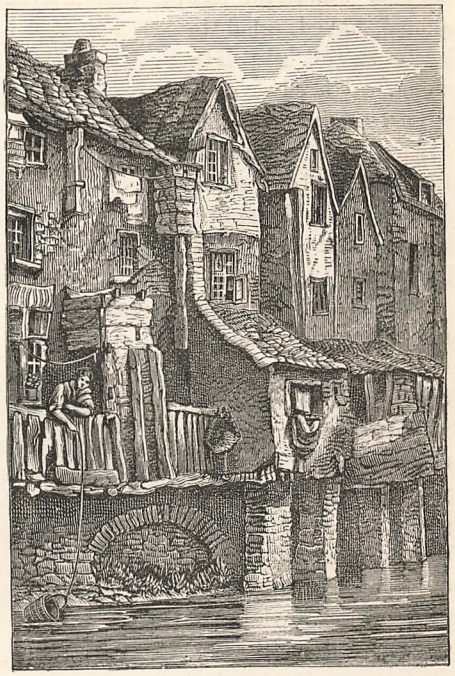
in the ascendant in the West of England; Bristol and Gloucester became the head-quarters of her army, and, together with many other parts of the kingdom, acknowledged her as Queen, but London remained firm in its allegiance to Stephen.

On February 2nd, 1141, a great battle was fought at Lincoln, in which Stephen was unfortunate. "He fought like a lion as long as he had three fighting men about him; but at last being left alone, and the handle of his battleaxe being broken, he called upon the Earl of Gloucester and surrendered to him."

Several reasons are given why he was not put to death, notably this one—that prisoners being the property of their captors, Robert was too generous to put him to death or to surrender him to the vengeance of Maud. Scandal, however, averred that the Empress had been the paramour of Stephen, who was in reality the father of Prince Henry. It is but just to say that there is no warrant for the insinuation, nor need we look further we think, than the close bond of consanguinity between the chief factors to account for the King's life being spared. He was brought before the Empress at Gloucester, and from thence conveyed to the tower of Bristol Castle, where he was confined. "He was at first treated liberally; but afterwards, on account of the insolence of some persons, who said openly and reproachfully that it was not right for the Earl to keep the King otherwise than as they chose, and likewise because it was said that he had been found more than once beyond his appointed custody, especially by night, his guards being either deceived or gained over, he was secured by iron chains."[1]

44. The true reason for this indignity appears to have arisen from Maud's own haughty and overbearing conduct; it seems to have been an innate propensity in the blood of the Rollos to be incapable of bearing success prudently. The whole kingdom, except Kent, had after the battle of Lincoln acknowledged her as Queen. London threw open its gates to her, and invited her thither to be crowned; but her insufferable hauteur and arrogance and her extortionate demands for money alienated the citizens. All the bells of the city rang out. "Clubs! 'prentices! Clubs!" was the cry, and the insurrection became sudden and general. Maud was just sitting down to dinner when the clamour and din alarmed her; she and her barons flew to horse, and had scarce passed the walls when the infuriated people broke into their hotels, which they plundered and destroyed on finding that their prey had vanished. The Empress, attended by her brother, escaped with difficulty to Oxford, and thence to Gloucester to her friend Milo, whence she immediately sent orders to load Stephen with chains. Gathering an army, she went towards Winchester, and on her way, at Oxford, in acknowledgment of the many services she had received at the hand of Milo, created him Earl of Hereford. The patent, which is supposed to be the first specimen of that kind of creation, is printed in Rymer's Foedera, and it gives as a reason that it is granted "as a reward for his services, particularly because by his assistance she holds King Stephen prisoner in Bristoll." The witnesses to the patent are David (King of Scotland), Robert (Earl of Gloucester), &c., &c. Stephen's queen, with William d'Ypres, his general, had on Maud's flight from London marched thither and assumed the command.

45. Meanwhile imperious Maud would, against her brother's judgment, march on Winchester to be revenged on the bishop who had, as might be expected, deserted her cause for that of King Stephen, his own brother.



Remains of supposed Latrine on the Frome Wall.

The bishop escaped on a racehorse at the further gate as the Empress entered the royal city; she then besieged his strongly fortified house and castle built in the centre of the town. The earl came to her assistance, and being master of the royal castle and the town, they surrounded the bishop's fortress and vigorously assaulted it.

Ere they could take it Stephen's queen, with her army supplemented by a thousand Londoners armed with helmets and coats of mail, engirdled the city. Here was a strange spectacle, an army within a town besieging a fortress, but itself besieged from without by a superior force. The bishop's men in defending their position unhappily set fire to the town, and two abbeys were involved in the destruction.

[1] Will. Malmes., II., 187.

So strictly was Maud blockaded that no provisions could be brought in, and after enduring a siege for seven weeks, being unable to take the bishop's castle, she determined to force, if possible, a passage. Her retreat was interrupted, her forces dispersed, and Robert was taken prisoner and placed in the castle of Rochester. Maud fled to Ludgershall Castle, and thence, dressed as a man, on horseback she reached the castle of Devizes, but even there, not considering herself safe, and being almost dead with fatigue, she was laid out on a bier and tied down like a corpse; and so escaping the notice of her enemies she reached Gloucester.

"Milo, the constable, after having been surrounded, made a wonderful escape, and arrived at Gloucester almost naked, glad to have saved his life alone." His silver seal, thrown away in his flight, was found in 1795 in a field near Andover, in a direct line between Winchester and Ludgershall.[1]

46. Maud in her extremity, was glad to exchange the captive king for Earl Robert. Stephen left in Bristol as hostages for the safe return of the consul his queen, son, and two of his leading men. On his arrival at Winchester he released the earl, who left his son with the king as security for the safe conduct of his queen and her party from Bristol. At Midsummer of 1142, Robert crossed to the continent to solicit from Geoffry of Anjou, Maud's second husband, succour for her failing cause in England. Anjou was, however, in an unsettled state, and the earl, who had no great affection for his wife, was indisposed to commit himself to a foreign war. He allowed his eldest son by Maud—Prince Henry—to leave for England with his uncle, in order to form a fresh rallying point for the adversaries of Stephen.

47. The young prince, who was about nine years of age, landed at Wareham in November, 1142, and the consul immediately commenced operations by besieging its castle, hoping thereby to create a diversion and relieve the Empress Maud, who was closely besieged in the castle at Oxford by Stephen himself. Stephen was, however, too wary to be thus drawn from the prey which was all but in his power. He knew that the garrison was straitened for provisions and fuel, and that there was every probability of an early forced surrender, so he declined the challenge.

In her extremity Maud had recourse to another daring exploit. It was Christmas time, the ground was covered with snow, so dressing herself and three soldiers in white linen garments they ventured through the enemy's guard, crossed the Thames on the ice, and on foot, clambering over hedges and ditches, she reached the castle of Wallingford, twelve miles distant, the same night. One cannot but sympathise with a woman so fertile in expedients, so resolute in adversity, and so courageous in the midst of defeat and disaster.



Entrance to Old Berkeley Castle.

48. The Consul Robert was soon by his sister's side, cheering her with a brief visit from her son, whom he conveyed for safety to Bristol, as the strongest place in his power. Although literature was generally despised by the barons, who deemed reading and writing mere frivolities only fit for ecclesiastics, Earl Robert, who was a man far in advance of his age, and a friend to men of letters, placed his nephew, Prince Henry, in the house, and under the care of, Matthews, a schoolmaster, "to be instructed and trained up in civil behaviour." The house which tradition pointed out as the residence of the prince was on the south side of Baldwin street, and near to, if indeed it was not, the residence of Robert Fitzharding. There is every reason to believe that the great intimacy which afterwards existed between Henry as king and Robert Fitzharding commenced when the prince was at school in the house just outside the south fosse of the town. Hoveden says that the prince was educated in the court of David, King of Scotland, and Seyer thinks it probable that the royal lad may have visited that country and spent a short time with the

[1] Seyer, I., 439.

king, who was his mother's uncle. But it will be remembered that Milo's patent as Earl of Hereford was witnessed at Gloucester by King David, and this could scarcely have been done by proxy. It is probable that the Scottish king remained here long enough at least to welcome his grand nephew, and that hence arose the report.

According to general estimation, Robert Fitzharding, was at this period busily engaged in building the monastery of St. Augustine ; at its consecration Prince Henry was not present, being in Anjou.

Smyth's supposition that the founder of the Berkeley family and his future king were school-fellows must be discarded ; the discrepancy in their ages is too great. Robert Fitzharding's eldest son, Maurice, was, we believe, 25 years of age when Prince Henry came to Bristol. It is quite possible, however, that some of the younger branches of the family may have been his school-fellows, certain that they would be his daily companions, and not at all improbable that their house was the home of the prince during his four years' sojourn in Bristol.

Robert Fitzharding was rich ; he held the first position in the town, was in high favour with the Empress and her brother the Consul, and his material support of their cause both in money and men deserved the recognition and honours which were afterwards bestowed upon him by a grateful sovereign.

49. And now the bitter strife between the contending parties acquired fresh force, until in July, 1143, Stephen was thoroughly defeated in a pitched battle at Wilton, and the Earl of Gloucester returned victorious with great spoil and innumerable prisoners to Bristol. Chief amongst his captives was William de Martel, whom he committed to close confinement until he forced him to surrender the castle of Sherborne, of which he was the lord.

Victory having once more sided with the Empress, Robert, assisted by his active and courageous sons, reduced the southern and western half of the kingdom, and Bristol flourished as the metropolis of the West.

50. From a work written by a Norman ecclesiastic in 1140, we learn that, ruinous as the war was to many parts of the country, the prosperity and trade of Bristol and its neighbourhood were very great. The author was bitterly opposed to the party of the Empress, and his statement is therefore not likely to be overcoloured. Speaking of the vale of Gloucestershire, he says :— "The whole land is rich in corn and abundant in fruits, in some places by the favour of nature only, in other places by the skill of cultivation, so that it holds out an inducement to labour, even to the idle, where the produce is likely to be hundredfold. You may see the public ways covered with fruit trees, not planted, but growing by the nature of the soil alone.

"The ground naturally throws itself up into fruits, and those far surpassing others in appearance and flavour, most of which do not decay before the year, but do their duty until the time of their successors. This county is thicker in the number of its vineyards *(vinearum)*, richer in their produce and pleasanter in taste than the other provinces of England, for the wines do not distort the mouths of those who drink them with bitter sharpness, for they yield little to the French wines in sweetness. There are innumerable towns, excellent abbeys and frequent villages, to all which is added as its glory the river Severn, than which none in this country is broader in its channel, more violent in its flood, more abounding in fish by art. In it the daily fury of the waters, which I know not whether to call an indraught or a whirlpool of waves, comes in with great force, sweeping up the sands from the bottom and piling them in a heap ; but it does not extend further than the bridge (of Gloucester), and sometimes it even overflows the banks and retires victorious, after having violently surrounded part of the land. Unlucky is the ship which it strikes on the side. Skilful sailors, when they see this *hygra* coming, for so they call it in English, turn their ship towards it, and cutting it in the middle, avoid its violence. In the same valley is a very celebrated town by name Bristow, in which is a port, the resort of ships coming from Ireland, Norway, and other countries beyond sea ; lest a region so fortunate in nature's riches should be destitute of the commerce of foreign wealth."[1]

This is evidently the testimony of an eye-witness. The graphic description of the tidal influences is true to the letter ; but either climatic influences have changed, or the vine whose fruit would sufficiently ripen in the open air of this part of England, has died out, for at the present day we question if a single bottle of drinkable wine could be made from all the grapes that ripen out of doors throughout the whole county.

51. The next item of importance pertaining to our history is the relief of Tetbury castle, which was besieged and its outworks captured by King Stephen, when Earl Robert, at the head of a large body of cavalry and a "cruel and unconquerable army of infantry, composed of Welshmen and Bristowans, relieved it. The barons who were with the King, hearing that such a numerous swarm of enemies was come together against them, and fearing the uncontrollable

[1] Gul'. Malmes'. de gest'. Pontif'. Angl'., lib'. 4, f'. 161, sect. 50. Seyer, I., 446.

barbarity of the Welshmen and the disorderly multitude of the Bristowans, a wonderful number of whom the Earl of Gloucester was leading in close array to fall on them, dropped prudent counsel into the King's ear, and advised him to break up the siege for a time and remove his army to some other place where it might be wanted, because it was inadvisable to expose his squadron of cavalry to such a host of prize-fighters on foot, for whom it was not a match, &c., &c." We can understand the prudence of the suggestion. "Discretion was evidently the better part of valour," but we cannot quite comprehend why a squadron of knights in mailed armour should retire before a *disorderly multitude*, or how this mob of disorderly Bristowans could be correctly described as being led in "close array" and presenting so formidable a front that the royal army dared not to stand their approach.

The Earl had made Philip, one of his sons, governor of the castle of Cricklade, in which he had placed a strong garrison. This young man is described as being "outrageously violent against the King's party, rash in things that ought not to be attempted, and consummate in all kinds of wickedness."[1]

52. He persuaded his father to build a castle that should overawe Oxford, which was then held by Stephen's forces. The Earl, collecting a large body of cavalry and a sufficient force, went to Farringdon, and built there a strong castle with walls and bulwarks, in which he placed the flower of his army. The Royalists at Oxford finding their supplies cut off, and themselves straitened for provisions, sent to the King for aid. Stephen collected an army, besieged and by treachery took the new fortress, and once more his fortune was in the ascendant. Philip deserted his father's cause, renounced his allegiance to his aunt, received bribes from Stephen and did him homage, entering into his service, in which he became distinguished for his cruelty towards his former associates and the rancour he displayed towards his father's people and lands, wasting the latter by pillage until the fertile vales became a very desert.

The Earl of Chester, the Consul's son-in-law, also forsook the standard of Maud, and being in command of the North of England, made his peace with Stephen, and actively assisted him in the war; but the King having no confidence in the traitor, forced from him by imprisonment the surrender of the castles which he held, whereupon on the recovery of his liberty Chester returned to his allegiance to Maud. No man's word apparently could be taken; every one's honour lay open to suspicion; selfishness and greed, cruelty and murder, the might of the strong hand to take and to hold, formed the law of the castle-ridden districts in England. The barons were unlettered, ignorant and brutal, and neither king nor earl was able to restrain the atrocities of his followers, or to punish acts of lawless violence committed against his express command or in violation of his own plighted word.

Philip, for instance, seized during a truce, Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, when he was on his way to accompany the Empress to an interview with King Stephen, which had been agreed upon in the interests of the kingdom; and the King, greatly offended as he justly was, had much difficulty in inducing him to set his prisoner at liberty.

53. On the other hand, Walter, the brother of the Earl of Hereford, lay in wait for Roger de Berkeley, a quiet, harmless man, connected with himself by marriage, whom, seizing unawares, he stripped naked, and so brought him, bound with cords, before his own castle of Dursley, where, fastening a cord around his neck three times, he hung him up, to give him a foretaste of the death he should die unless he consented to surrender his castle. Unable to obtain his wish, Walter carried off the half-dead body of his prisoner to endure the further torment of a prison.

54. Robert, the great Earl, like Saul among the prophets, stands out nobly above his contemporaries; his one great crime in the minds of his ecclesiastical accusers was his deliberate, consistent and heroic defence of the interests of Maud and her son, Prince Henry, against the usurper Stephen, whom the Church for reasons of its own considered the Lord's anointed. It is surprising, considering their hatred of the man, and their consciousness that all opposition to Stephen would have been futile but for Robert's great talents, his vast possessions and his unbounded sacrifices in men and money to maintain his sister's cause, that comparatively so little obloquy has been thrown upon his name, and that his memory is not blackened by their prejudiced pens to a much greater degree.

Grown weary of the turmoil and ingratitude of children and so-called friends, and seeing that Stephen's cause was once again successful, Robert accompanied his nephew, Prince Henry, in 1146, to the castle of Wareham, where he delivered him into the hands of a body of soldiers whom Geoffry of Anjou, the Prince's father, had sent to receive him. The Earl hastily returned to Bristol, where he was seized with a fever which proved fatal on the last day of October, 1147. He was by his own direction buried in a stone tomb of green jasper in the choir of the priory of St. James, which he had founded at Bristol. He had many children, but most of them turned out ill. His eldest son

[1] Gesta 'Steph.'

and heir, William, is, however, mentioned by all writers with approbation.

Maud having lost her right hand by the death of her devoted brother, weary of war, ceased the struggle for a barren and blood-stained crown, joined her husband in Normandy, and the land had rest. The strife between the two great rivals for the throne was for the time over; but the barons on both sides held their castles and towns independently of either Empress or King, and lived upon the services, the contributions and the plunder of the country round about them, so that it is doubtful whether the country people fared any better for the change.

55. Prince Henry, invited over by the barons of his party, crossed from the Continent in May, 1149, and England was once again filled with the noise of war; but after receiving the accolade at the hands of his great uncle, David, King of Scotland, at Carlisle, he and his knights returned to Normandy, having been in England about eight months, part of which he spent in Bristol.

He landed once again with a fleet of thirty-two ships and a large army, in the Octave of Epiphany, 1152, and made Bristol his head-quarters, arranging his plans and gathering his friends. His father, Geoffry, was dead, but his mother, Maud, being still living, he merely claimed as heir to the throne under his correct titles as Henry, Duke of Normandy and Earl of Anjou. The war now broke out, at first with all its old virulence and ferocity; but, happily for Bristol and the wasted kingdom, the chief barons had grown weary of fighting, and they forced a reconciliation between the contending princes.

56. A general assembly of the nation was called at Wallingford on the 7th November, in which the king acknowledged Duke Henry's hereditary rights to the throne, whilst the duke consented to Stephen's reigning for his life; this was confirmed by the oath of both princes, and ratified by the bishops and chief barons.

By the conditions it was enacted that all possessions seized by invaders should return to the old and lawful possessors as in the days of good King Henry, and that the castles, to the number of 126, erected during this civil war should be destroyed. The king and duke then made a pacification with public entry into London, Winchester, Oxford, Dunstable, Canterbury, and Dover, from whence Henry crossed to his dukedom in Normandy.

Thus terminated the miserable strife which was as detrimental to the prosperity of the kingdom as the Danish raids, or the Norman invasion had proved in earlier days. Nevertheless, the period is particularly interesting to the citizens of Bristol, because the town was for years the seat of government and the principal residence of one of the contending princes. For it may be said generally, although with some exceptions, that from the first breaking out of the war to the end of the conflict, the eastern part of the kingdom with London for its metropolis adhered to Stephen; while the western part maintained the cause of Maud and her son, having Bristol for its capital; insomuch that King Stephen himself in his convention[1] with Duke Henry acknowledges this division of the kingdom. "It is agreed," he says, "that I shall execute the office of royalty in the whole kingdom of England, as well in the duke's part as in my own part."

57. One historian[2] calls the war "*the war of Bristowa;*" and it seems probable that if this state of affairs had continued much longer under so incoherent a government as that of Stephen's was, something like another Heptarchy would have been established by the earls and barons of that age. At least we may say, that had there been a mountain barrier capable of conversion into a scientific frontier between the eastern and western portions of the realm, England would have been converted into two separate and independent kingdoms. The following table of dates we take from Seyer, I., 462:—

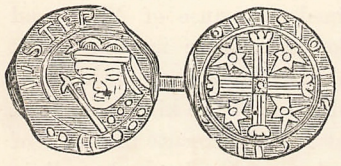
1.	The first year King Stephen's reign begins	December 26, 1135
2.	The empress with her brother came to Bristol	September, 1139
3.	After two months and more she went to Gloucester	1139
4.	Stephen brought prisoner to Bristol	Feb. 1140-1, *i.e.*, 1141
5.	Consul Robert taken prisoner	September, 1141
6.	The king and earl exchanged	November 1, 1141
7.	Prince Henry, 9 years old, came first to England	November, 1142
8.	He quitted England after four years' residence in Bristol	1146
9.	The Earl of Gloucester, Consul Robert, died	November, 1147
10.	The empress quitted England	1148
11.	Prince Henry, 16 years old, came into England after an absence of two years and four months	May, 1149
12.	He returned to Normandy	January, 1150
13.	He married Queen Eleanor of Guienne at Bordeaux	Whitsuntide, 1151
14.	He returned to England as Duke of Normandy	January, 1152
15.	He was at Devizes	1152
16.	Peace between Henry and Stephen	November 7, 1153
17.	Henry quitted England	Easter, 1154
18.	Stephen died	October 25, 1154

The first six and the last six dates are certain, there is but little doubt as to the correctness of the remainder.

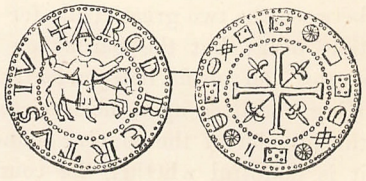
58. The Bristol pennies of Stephen are rude, imper-

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, 1153. [2] Annals Waverley.

fect in execution, and very scarce, as might be expected; his hold on Bristol was so brief, that the wonder is that we have any monetary token of his existence in connection with the town. "One penny in the British Museum has *obverse*, full face bust of the king, crowned, holding a sceptre in his right hand. Legend, + STIEFNE. *Reverse*, double cross with pellets on the ends, and a pellet in the centre; all inside a tressure, with fleurs-de-lys in the angles of the cross; a beaded inner circle around. Legend (imperfect), ... LM. N BR. Two other pennies of Bristol were found near Dartford, Kent, in 1826. The first bears, *obverse*, profile bust to the right crowned, a sceptre in front of the face. Legend, SH . . . . RE . . . *Reverse*, a cross within a tressure fleuree, enclosed by a beaded inner circle. Legend, + FA BRIST. The other penny is similar to the last, but reads on the reverse VRDAN . . . . B . . . S. There is also a coin of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, which is the earliest example of an English coin with a figure on horseback, in a conical bonnet, armed with a sword, which is rather expressively though quaintly executed. It has the legend ROBERTVS . . . . ST . L. *Reverse*, a cross patée, upon a cross fleuree the letter D and a number of ornaments in place of the legend. This coin, which we believe to be of Bristol manufacture, is extremely rare, only two or three specimens being known. There is a very curious coin of this reign in existence, which is generally supposed to represent Stephen and Henry. Hawkins thinks Stephen and Matilda shaking hands, with a sceptre between them; on the reverse, instead of letters there are only ornaments, such as roses round the ordinary cross. This coin is exceedingly rare, and there is nothing to prove where it was struck.



Silver Penny of Stephen.



Robert's Penny.

There are also several varieties of the coins of Maud the Empress, which have, *obverse*, profile to the right with sceptre. Legend, + MA . ILD. IM(peratrix). *Reverse*, cross with fleurs-de-lys in the angles, within a tressure of four. Legend, TVRC . . L DE B . . . . L."[1]

[1] Henfrey, 348.

CHAPTER V.

THE PLANTAGENET ERA.

THE HOUSE OF ANJOU.—PART I.

1. *Change of Dynasty; some of its results.* 2. *The first Bristol Charter extant.* 3. *The Bridge of Bristow.* 4. *Intimate connection of Bristol and the West of England with Ireland.* 5. *Henry gives Dublin to his men of Bristow.* 6. *John, Earl of Mortain, and the unique Charter which he gave to Bristol.* 7. *Other Baronies than John's within the Burgh.* 8. *The ancient privileges of the Burgesses unpalatable to the Nobles and Clergy.* 9. *William, Earl of Gloucester, conveys land in Lewin's Mead and Broadmead.* 10. *Jewry. Sturmis, the Jew, and the Burgesses.* 11. *Bristol Pennies of Henry II.* 12. *A brief History of the Berkeley family.* 13. *Robert Fitzhardinge's wealth and manors; he becomes a feudatory Baron.* 14. *Berkeley Castle.* 15. *The alliance between the houses of Berkeley and Dursley.* 16. *Story of the witch of Berkeley.* 17. *The descendants of Robert Fitzhardinge.* 18. *Thomas, Baron of Berkeley, hunts in Kingswood Forest and on both banks of the Avon.* 19. *The third Thomas has the custody of King Edward II. at Berkeley Castle.* 20. *Maurice, the fourth Baron of that name, has a thrifty wife.* 21. *Their granddaughter Elizabeth claims the Castle and Manors.* 22. *Maurice, the fifth of that name, husband of a daughter of Philip Mede, Mayor of Bristol,* 1458-1461. 23. *Accession of Richard.* "*The fair Maid of Bristowe.*" 24. *Marriage of Prince John to Hawise.* 25. *John holds Bristol Castle against the King.* 26. *Character given of the citizens of Bristol and other towns and cities by a writer of that age.* 27. *State of the nation at the close of Richard's reign.* 28. *John succeeds to the throne.* 29. *He divorces Hawise; her further history.* 30. *John goes to war with his nephew Arthur and with Philip of France.* 31. *The King's visits to Bristol.* 32. *He loses his Continental possessions, and quarrels with the Pope.* 33. *The Interdict.* 34. *The King's repeated visits to Bristol.* 35. *The Scotch Princesses brought to Bristol Castle.* 36. *John tortures Abraham, the Jew of Bristol, and is guilty of other great atrocities.* 37. *He imposes an illegal tax on the Burgesses of the town.* 38. *The Pope excommunicates him.* 39. *John becomes "the Pope's man," and surrenders his crown to the Legate.* 40. *The Barons refuse to follow him to France.* 41. *He concludes an ignominious truce with Philip.* 42. *Archbishop Langton and William, Earl of Pembroke, call a Council, which adopts the Charter of Henry I. The Barons arm.* 43. *John sends for twelve of his liege men of Bristol to Trowbridge.* 44. *His concessions are too late.* 45. *He signs Magna Charta.* 46. *He is at Bristol fretting under the yoke.* 47. *The Barons offer the crown to Prince Louis of France.* 48. *John's death.* 49. *His house in Back street, Bristol.* 50. *His gifts of houses and land in Bristol to the Abbey of Beaulieu.*

WITH the death of Stephen, we arrive at the close of the direct line of the dynasty founded by the Conqueror. Henceforth the monarch would be as much English as Norman. Henry II., although the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, was the grandson of a niece of Edgar Atheling. The Norman nationality, which had characterised the throne and the nobility, was gradually, by intermarriage, assuming a more composite character. The dark hues that disfigured the victors in the 11th century, their unbridled lust, remorseless cruelty, unscrupulous craft, and brutal contempt of the English, had toned down. Chivalry began to shine in its fantastic splendour, the spirit of song awoke at the touch of the Troubadour, daring thinkers sought in school and cloister to dive into metaphysical and theological mysteries; courtly refinement, gorgeous pageantry, and architectural magnificence characterised the coming age. The Normans had given "kings to our thrones, ancestors to our aristocracy, clergy to our church, judges to our tribunals, rule and discipline to our monasteries, instruction to our architects, and teachers to our schools."[1] "They high-mettled the blood of our veins,"[2] and by their military prowess they freed the land from the cruel ravages of the piratical Northmen.

But amidst all the turmoil and tyranny of their earlier rule, the spirit of freedom was not wholly extinguished: the guilds, never suppressed, cherished it in the towns, and the assessors upheld it in the country districts. "We will only pay him (the king) such tax as we have been wont to pay" was the tenor of the speech of other burgesses than they of Exeter. The men of Bristol made their own return to Domesday, and then farmed the revenues for which the burgh was liable to the Crown. And those who read between the lines of the celebrated Charter, which John, Earl of Mortain, Lord of Bristol, gave to his burgesses (in which there is not the slightest reference to the sovereign), wherein the greater portion of the privileges are conceded as being rights antecedently enjoyed, and in which the principle of local self-government is abundantly recognised, will see that the Norman kings (except when they levied by force of arms) did not, as a rule, levy taxes in the towns at their own arbitrary will and pleasure. They speak of the "aid which my Barons gave me." They take a scutage of the knights, tallage of the commerce, and hidage and carucage from the land; and although the voluntary principle may have been little more than a shadow, yet it evidently existed. Debates did arise as to the taxation, Churchmen and Laics at times refused payment, and finally at Oxford, in 1207, King John yielded the claim for which he had striven and obtained from a *national Council*, a grant of an aid of a thirteenth of all chattels from the laity. So also in 1218 the merchants of Bristol *granted* to Henry III. six marks on the sack of wool, making no doubt a virtue of necessity, but asserting the principle, no taxation without consent. It was the same also in the country districts. There the jurors who assessed the value of the lands were chiefly old inhabitants (English), yeomen and churl; their local evidence formed the basis for local taxation. In effect the people of a district decided the amount of the taxation the district had to pay. In their corporate capacity these men would be more independent than as individuals they could venture to be; and as time rolled on, and holdings and rateable values changed, new jurors had to be sworn, until it became a recognised principle that the taxes of a town or district must be fixed by the "good men" living therein. This became the germ of the most liberal provision in Magna Charta. And herein we recognise the truth of the Laureate's beautiful verse, when speaking of Britain, he terms it

> "A land of settled government,
> A land of just and old renown,
> Where freedom broadens slowly down
> From precedent to precedent."
>
> *English Idylls*, 96.

Henry II. married Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France, and heiress of Guienne and Poitou. They arrived in England on the 8th of December, 1154. Henry was twenty-one years of age when his reign commenced on the 26th of October, and he was crowned at Westminster on the 17th of December, 1155. He commenced his career by renewing the charter granted to London by Henry I. It is a legitimate inference that he did the same for Bristol, the home of his boyhood. In a charter, *circa* 1160,[1] he refers to such existing privileges. "Henry, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Earl of Anjou, to all barons, justices, sheriffs and other his servants, English or Welsh, wisheth health. I grant that my men that dwell in my fee in the Marsh, near the bridge of Bristow, have their certain customs and liberties, and quittances through all England and Wales, as my burgesses, and '*namely, those in Bristow*,' *and through my land in the county of Gloucester, as my charter testifies;*

[1] Palgrave. [2] Campbell.

[1] Evans, 45.

and I forbid that anyone do them any injury or reproach upon this account."[1]

The originals of these charters, as well as that of Henry I., are lost, but from them it is clear that one of the king's first acts in Bristol was akin to the favour he had shown to the citizens of London.

2. The earliest charter extant in the Bristol archives bears no date, but being signed, amongst others, by "*Thoma Kantuarensi*," it must have been given between Whitsuntide, 1162, and Becket's quarrel with the king, which occurred very shortly after that date:—

"Henry, King of England, and Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, to archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, and all the men of his land, [sends] health. Know ye, that I have granted to my burgesses of Bristol, that they shall be quit both of toll and passage and all custom throughout my whole land of England, Normandy and Wales, wherever they shall come, they and their goods. Wherefore I will and strictly command, that they shall have all their liberties and acquittances and free customs fully and honourably, as my free and faithful men, and that they shall be quit of toll and passage and of every other custom: and I forbid any one to disturb them on this account contrary to this my charter, on forfeiture of ten pounds. Witnesses, Thomas [Archbishop] of Canterbury; William, the king's brother; Reginald, Earl of Cornwall; Roger, Earl of Hereford; Patrick, Earl of Salisbury; Richard de Humet, constable; Warin Fitzgerald, chamberlain; Walter de Hereford; John the Marshall. At Salisbury."

In this, as well as in subsequent charters, reference is repeatedly made to "the liberties, acquittances, and free customs," antecedently enjoyed by the "burgesses." One charter expressly mentions the fact, that these "liberties, &c.," had been theirs from "time immemorial." Goods in the 12th century were sold chiefly in open market or fair, and the vendor was liable to an arbitrary toll, imposed by the lord of the fee in which the market or fair was held, and so on in every lordship in which the goods were offered for sale. Passage, (landing dues) and consuetudines,[2] fees claimed by the king's servants, were heavy taxes upon commerce.

3. In 1164 Robert Fitzhardinge granted and confirmed "that my men, who dwell in my fee in the Marsh near the '*Bridge of Bristow*,' have their customs, liberties, &c., which the men of Bristow have, as our lord the king granted unto them; and I will that they remain to them whole and full during my time, and that of my heirs. Witness, Richard, Abbot of St. Augustine; William, prior;" &c., &c. This charter was confirmed by his son and successor, Maurice, who especially names these men in the Marsh as "his men of Redcliff."[3]

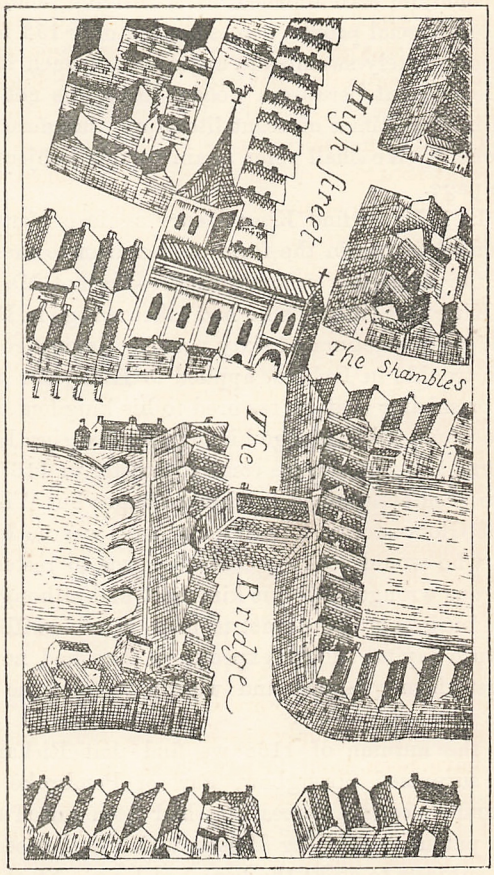
[1] Barrett, 663.

[2] "Consuetudines," customary payments, or dues, regal or ecclesiastical of various kinds, not quite analogous to our "Customs."

[3] Little Red Book in the Council House, fo. 12, b.

The foregoing proves that Bristol had charter privileges antecedent to those granted to the tything or township of Redcliff, and also confirms the opinion that a bridge of communication existed at the period in which these letters patent were issued.

The wooden bridge of London was re-built of stone, the work commencing in 1176 and was finished in 1205. If the above documentary evidence be not sufficient to prove that a similar structure of wood connected, in the



Bristol Bridge. From Seyer.

12th century, the opposite shores of the Avon, it is strongly corroborated in our opinion by a relic which was discovered when the first stone bridge, built 1247, was pulled down. The stone piers were solid and sound, in fact they support the present structure, but in examining them in 1747, the workmen, to their great surprise, found, embedded in the pier on the Redcliff side of the river, a sill of oak one foot square and forty feet long, with two uprights near each end, nine inches square and eight or nine feet high, morticed into the sill. These were, rightly we think, supposed by them to be portions of the old wooden bridge, which had been built in as binders to the stone work of 1247. It is neither a

forced nor an unfair inference to suppose that just as the Bristol burgesses of the 13th century copied within forty years the bridge which had been built in London, so their predecessors had copied the earlier structure of wood, which for centuries had spanned the Thames until it was burned in 1136.

The convenience of such a mode of connecting opposite sides of the river, the necessities of traffic, and of daily communication, and the ease with which such a work could be accomplished by a thriving, imitative, busy, commercial people, across a river only 153 feet in width, completely swamp the argument, if such it may be called, "that because a wooden bridge is not mentioned in those times of scant literature, therefore there was none." We shall refer again to this subject on a future page.

4. In 1172 we find King Henry again conferring a commercial favour in the form of a charter to the town under the following circumstances:—Dermot Macmurragh, King of Leinster, who had taken refuge in Bristol in 1167, with a retinue of sixty persons, having got into serious trouble in Ireland, applied to Henry for assistance, promising that, if restored to his kingdom by his aid, he would acknowledge him as his sovereign lord.

Dermot is said to have come to Bristol in 1167, and to have been entertained by Fitzhardinge; but William, Earl of Gloucester and Lord of Bristol, was no knight errant who would seek by force of arms to restore an adulterous wrongdoer to his kingdom, and although the Bristol burgesses appear not to have been unwilling to adventure capital in the expedition, they had no man amongst them qualified and willing to take the command.

In the autumn of 1168 we find that Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, took command of certain forces that had been raised under letters patent from King Henry, which authorised any of his subjects to assist the banished king. Strongbow was successful; he then married Eva, Dermot's daughter, and at his death he assumed the royal authority in Leinster.

It is a notable circumstance that the dialect of the West of England still lingers in certain parts of the counties of Wexford and Waterford. The soft z instead of the s may be recognised, as in *zay* (sea), *zeven;* the v, in *voure, veeve, brekvast;* the dh instead of t, in *dhree* (three), *dhen* (ten), *dhrashel* (threshold), &c. There cannot be much doubt but that this is a survival of the men who joined Strongbow in conquering and colonising that portion of Ireland.

Henry could not brook a rival; he commanded the earl and his adherents to return to England. The pseudo King of Leinster complied, and did homage to his liege lord, who, finding a fertile kingdom torn asunder by internal dissensions, and awaiting a master, determined to enter in and take possession.

In the year 1172 the king sailed for Ireland with a numerous and disciplined force; he took ship at Pembroke, and landed at Waterford. From thence he marched to Dublin, received the homage of the native princes, restrained his army from excess, and won the hearts of chieftains and people by his affability and politic *bonhomie.*

5. Henry's policy was not immediate conquest, but a display of power as their feudal superior, which should pave the way for his ulterior design upon the kingdom. Of the princes holding independent rule in Erin, those of Ulster alone refused him homage. Both in money and in men Bristol largely contributed to the success of Strongbow's expedition, and now they did as much for that of Henry. Hence the king, who seems to have taken possession of Dublin, in which he continued from November 11th until the following Lent, gave during his residence there as a reward to his "men of Bristow my city of Dublin for them to inhabit. Wherefore I will and strictly enjoin," he says, "that they may inhabit it, and hold it of my heirs well and peaceably, freely and quietly, wholly and fully, and honourably, with all the liberties and free customs which the men of Bristow have at Bristow and through my whole land." (Signed at Dublin.) This most singular grant has puzzled our historians. Littleton and Camden both think that from some cause Dublin had been drained of its population, and that Henry's policy was to people it with friendly and staunch adherents. Nowhere would he be more likely to find such than in the men who had known him as a boy, and who gloried in him as their king; the men who, with his attached and long-tried liberal friend Fitzhardinge, had adventured their means in his cause; and, above all, the men who for centuries had monopolised the trade with Ireland, and consequently must have been familiarised to the people of the seaboard.

Such a *point d'appui* as Dublin—Waterford being already secured by Strongbow—would, in the faithful friendly hands of the Bristowans, be invaluable for the success of the scheme Henry had in contemplation. Hence arose a still closer connection between Dublin and Bristol. Only twenty-eight years after the above date we find a Mayor of Dublin, John de Taylburgh, ratifying and witnessing the deed of sale of a house in Mercate street (Merchant street), Bristol, to Peter le Marte, of Bristol. "In Bristol, therefore," as Seyer says, "began the political connection of England with

Ireland,"[1] which has with many vicissitudes endured for seven centuries. Henry avowedly made no conquests, but on his return to England he produced from Pope Adrian IV. (Nicholas Breakspear, an Englishman, and a personal friend of the king) a special Bull dated December, 1156, under which he claimed to be sole monarch of Ireland. So that we gather that Henry's purpose had been long cherished, that he knew how "to bide his time" and seize upon the favourable opportunity as soon as it occurred, and that Dermot's appeal and Strongbow's success were, if not portions of a pre-conceived plan, at the least fortunate accidents converted by him into stepping stones to the assumption of the Irish Crown by the kings of England.

Henry made a formal treaty with the King of Connaught (Roderic O'Connor), whom he recognised as head of the Irish princes, and who consented to pay tribute to him. When Strongbow, who had been the buttress of the English strength in Ireland, died in 1177, Henry obtained from Adrian's successor another Bull, which enabled him to enfeoff either of his sons in Ireland as its lord. This honour he conferred upon his son, Prince John, who was then twelve years of age. We give an extract from this Bull of Pope Alexander:—"Following in the steps of the venerable Pope Adrian, we ratify and confirm the grant he made you of the dominion of the kingdom of Ireland, saving to blessed Peter and the most holy Church the annual pension of a penny from each house in Ireland also, as in England."[2] Henry, however, sagaciously selected Hugh de Lacy as lord deputy, who laboured most successfully to reconcile the Irish people to the interloping English.

De Lacy was recalled in 1185, and on the 31st of March in that year, in a council at Oxford, the king knighted his son Prince John, and invested him with the Lordship of Ireland. Pursuing a contrary course to that of his politic father, who had invited the chieftains to his table and treated them with marked courtesy, this vain young prince encouraged his extravagantly clad and shaven attendants to mock at the homespun dresses of the men who came to tender their fealty, and even to pluck at the long beards worn by the Irish. Such insolence met with its due reward. After squandering a vast sum of money and losing the best part of his army, John was obliged to return to England on the 31st of December, leaving John de Courcy as his deputy.

6. It was on this occasion most probably that Prince John, as Earl of Mortain and lord of Bristol, granted the unique and celebrated charter which defines so clearly the privileges of the freemen of Bristol, and which has served for the pattern of several of our subsequent charters.

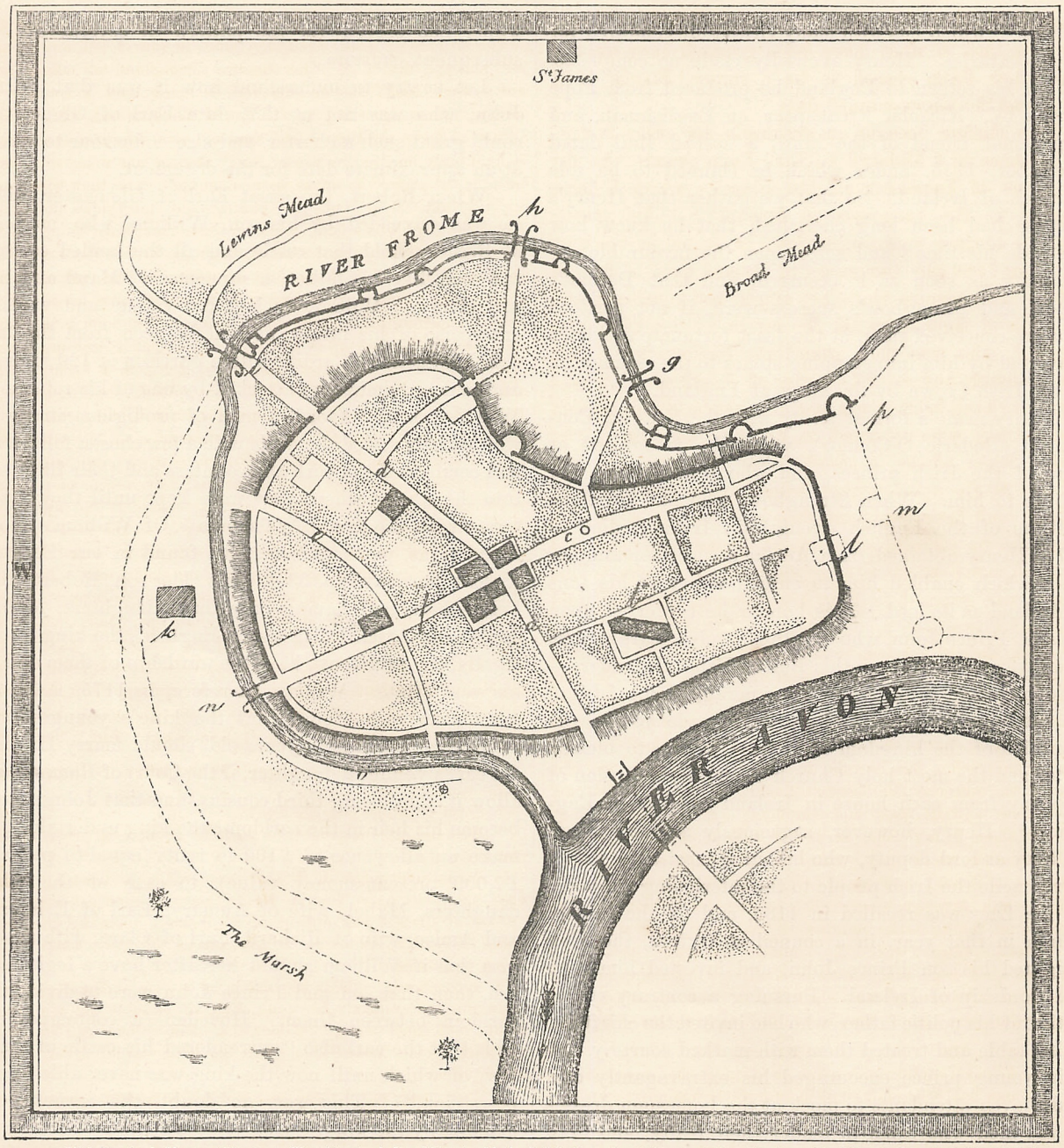
Let us try to understand how it was that Prince John, who was not at that date Earl of Gloucester, could grant such a charter, and also endeavour to arrive at an approximate date for the document.

When Robert, the great Earl of Gloucester, died, he was succeeded by his son, William, who, as Lord of Bristow, held that castle and all the landed estates, and was, like his father, a supporter of Maud and her son Henry. William lacked the vigour and warlike enterprise of his father, as will be seen from the fact that his Castle of Cardiff, with a garrison of 120 soldiers and many archers, was attacked by one of his rebellious Welsh vassals, "Ivor," a man of prodigious strength, who secretly scaled the walls with a few chosen followers, and carried off the earl, the countess and their little son into the woods, where they were kept until they made terms with the brave Welshman. Of William's pious foundations, particulars may be found in our Ecclesiastical History, pp. 33-4. His elder son, Robert, died before him, and having only three daughters, Mabel, Amice and Avicia[1] (Hawise in English), the king would legally, the earl knew, have the wardship of them and of his vast estate. William therefore, in 1175, made an agreement with Henry that the king's youngest son John, then about nine years old, should marry Hawise, the earl's youngest daughter, if the Court of Rome would allow it, they being third cousins, and that John should become his heir in the earldom; the king undertaking to make an allowance of £100 in rents (equal to perhaps £2,000 present money value), to each of the other daughters, Mabel, wife of Aumary, Earl of Evicreux, and Amice, wife of Richard, Earl of Clare, with a proviso that if William should hereafter have a legitimate son, then that son and Prince John were to divide the earldom between them. Hoveden (a contemporary) adds that the earl also "surrendered his castle of Bristow, of which until now the king was never able to get possession."[2] This was, no doubt, the earnest, demanded by the king.

Earl William died in 1183. Now, in the "Pipe Roll of Gloucestershire 31 Henry II. [1184-5] rot. 10 *b*.," we find that "Hugh Bardulf renders an account of £119 7*s*. 5*d*. from the issues of Bristou, and of the mills, and of the fairs; . . . and for hiring a house at Bristou, where the king's rents are received, 10*s*.; and expended in the livery of the clerk who collects the king's rents at Bristou, 60*s*. 10*d*.; . . . and expended in the repair of the castle of Bristou; and for hiring carpenters, and

[1] Seyer, I., 495.
[2] Creasy's Great Events, date 1172.

[1] Not Isabella as Seyer states.
[2] Hoveden, 544.



a. High Street. *b.* Maryport Street. *c.* Wine Street. *d.* Broad Street, with the Guildhall. *e.* Small Street *f.* Corn Street. *g.* The Pithay Bridge. *h.* Bridewell Bridge. *i.* Frome Bridge. *k.* Site of St. Stephen's Church, not then built. *l.* Present Site of St. Peter's Church. *m.* Castle built by William the Conqueror (conjectural). *n.* A Bridge at the bottom of Corn Street (conjectural, but certain). *o.* Baldwin Street. A Bastion, afterwards Newgate.

The Walls of the Burgh of Bristol in the time of John, Earl of Mortain. From Seyer.

for millstones, and in repairing houses throughout the manors, £14 and 5 pence, by the king's writ."[1]

The Tewkesbury MS. says Henry detained the lands in his hands six years,[2] another gives the period as eight years.[3] This refers, we think, to the Bristol castle and lands, which, if farmed to Bardulf for eight years, would bring us to about the period 1184-5, when, giving up possession to Prince John, he claims the above expenses from the crown.

The charter we have referred to was not signed by John, as Earl of Gloucester, but only by his title of John, Earl of Mortain, and is granted to "*his*" burgesses of Bristol, he must therefore have been Lord of Bristol, although, as we shall see, he was not Earl of Gloucester until 1189. Moreover the document is witnessed by

[1] Seyer, I., 503. [2] Monast., I., 155. [3] Lel. Itin., 6, 80-4.

Maurice de Berkeley, who died on the 16th of June, 1189, so that it must have been granted between the time when John ceased to be a minor, March 31st, 1185, and the above-named date.

This charter became an ensample for other towns, for instance in 4 Richard I., Earl John grants "to my burgesses of Lancaster all the liberties which I have granted to the burgesses of Bristol."[1] The reason why the charter was sought may be found in the fact that "in 1184 the burgesses of Bristol paid a fine of £50 to have respite that they might not plead without the walls of their town till the return of the king into England, who was then gone into Normandy,"[2] this was evidently before the charter of John, which would appear to have been given in consequence of this appeal to the king, who returned to England on June 13th, 1184. Seyer places it *about* 1188. We are strongly inclined to the opinion that John's futile expedition to Ireland and lavish expenditure in 1185, enabled the burgesses to obtain such ample concessions and acknowledgment of their long enjoyed privileges. The charter was granted to "my burgesses of Bristol," and runs as follows:—

"John, Earl of Moreton, to all his men and friends of France and England, Welsh and Irish, present and future, [sends] health. Know ye, that I have granted, and by this present charter have confirmed to my burgesses of Bristol, dwelling within the walls and without, as far as the boundary of the town, that is to say, within Sandbrooke, and Bewell, and Brightnee bridge, and the spring in the way near Aldebery of Knolle, all their liberties and free customs, as well freely and completely (or more so) as they ever had them in my time, or in the time of my predecessors. But the liberties which they granted to them are these, viz., [3] that no burgess of Bristol shall plead or be impleaded out of the walls of the town in any plea, except pleas relating to foreign tenures, which do not belong to the hundred of the town: and [4] that they shall be quit of murder within the bounds of the town: And [5] that no burgess shall wage duel, unless he shall have been appealed for the death of any stranger, who was killed in the town and did not belong to the town: And [6] that no one shall take an inn within the walls by assignment or by livery of the Marshal against the will of the burgesses: And [1] that they shall be quit of toll and lastage and pontage, and of all other customs throughout my whole land and power: And [2] that no one shall be condemned in a matter of money, unless according to the law of the hundred, viz., by forfeiture of forty shillings: And that the said hundred-court shall be held only once in the week: And [3] that no one in any plea shall be able to argue his cause in miskenning: And that they may lawfully have their lands and tenures and mortgages and debts throughout my whole land, whoever owes them [any thing]: And with respect to lands and tenures which are within the town, that they shall be held by them duly according to the custom of the town: And [4] that with regard to debts which have been lent in Bristol, and mortgages there made, pleas shall be held in the town according to the custom of the town: And that if any one in any other place in my land shall take toll of the men of Bristol, if he shall not restore it after he shall be required, the Prepositor of Bristol shall take from him a distress at Bristol, and force him to restore it: And [5] that no stranger-tradesman shall buy within the town of a man who is a stranger, leather, corn, or wool, but only of the burgesses: And that no stranger shall have a wine-shop unless in a ship, nor shall sell cloth for cutting except at the fair: And that no stranger shall remain in the town with his goods for the purpose of selling his goods, but for forty days: And [6] that no burgess shall be confined or distrained any where else within my land or power for any debt, unless he be debtor or surety: And [7] that they shall be able to marry themselves, their sons, their daughters and their widows, without the licence of their lords: And that no one of their lords shall have the wardship or the disposal of their sons or daughters on account of their lands out of the town, but only the wardship of their tenements which belong to their own fee, until they shall be of age: And [8] that there

[1] Seyer, I., 514. [2] Barrett, 664.

[3] The Tolzey Court exercises this privilege at the present time.

[4] If a man had been slain, and the murderer was unknown, the Lord imposed a fine upon the town; the innocent suffered whilst the guilty might possibly escape.

[5] A mode of trial introduced by the Normans to supersede the ancient method of trial by jury. Heaven was supposed by it to give the victory to the innocent; practically it gave it to the man most skilled in the use of arms. This law, from which Bristol was in 1185 exempted, was only repealed in the kingdom generally in 1819, by Act of Parliament.

[6] The old view of frankpledge by which the community to which a man belonged was answerable for his conduct was confirmed, and the king's marshall was prohibited from granting licenses by which men might open an hospitium, [boarding-house or inn], in which men might live in the town in defiance of the ancient custom. No other jurisdiction than that of the people was henceforth to exist within the walls. "This was local option."

[1] Lastage, payable on goods sold by the last, 4000 lb.; pontage, bridge toll.

[2] Forty shillings was the limit.

[3] Miskenning, misprision, a mistake or clerical error in the pleadings.

[4] Debts contracted in Bristol recoverable in Bristol. If toll were taken wrongly from a Bristol man in another town, the Provost of Bristol was authorised to distrain upon any property, found in Bristol, belonging to any man of the town wherein the wrong was done.

[5] A residence, within the walls, of a year and a day, would make him a Freeman. Hoveden says, in London the wine merchants sold their wines in their ships, or in cellars near the river, and that by the licence thus given the land was filled with drink and drunkards.

[6] Previously any Bristol man was liable to arrest in any town wherein any other Bristol man owed money.

[7] The Lord often exercised his right of forbidding his tenants, and mesne lords, and their families from marrying. He exacted a fine for his consent, and at times proposed some disagreeable marriage, in order to extort a fine for not enforcing its completion. When a tenant or mesne lord died, the Lord had the guardianship of their widows, children and property until they came of age.

[8] Recognitio; by which some understand there shall be no reopening of cases that had been settled in court; hence the rich man could not by repeated litigation oppress the poor. It would seem, however, to mean that there should be no Assizes held in the town, but that all pleas should be held, as had been customary, in the principal courts, under the Provost. See Stubbs' Constitutional History, I., 615.

shall be no recognition in the town: And [1] that no one shall take tyne in the town unless for the use of the lord earl, and that according to the custom of the town: And [2] that they may grind their corn wherever they shall choose: And [3] that they may have all their reasonable guilds, as well or better than they had them in the time of Robert and his son William, Earls of Gloucester: And [4] that no burgess shall be compelled to bayl any man, unless he himself chooses it, although he be dwelling on his land. [5] We also have granted to them all their tenures, within the walls and without as far as the aforesaid boundaries, in messuages, in copses, in buildings on the water and elsewhere, wherever they shall be in the town, to be held in free burgage, viz., by landgable service, which they shall pay within the walls. We have granted also that any of them may make improvements as much as he can in erecting buildings any where on the bank and elsewhere, so it be without damage of the borough and town: And that they shall have and possess all void grounds and places which are contained within the aforesaid boundaries, to be built on at their pleasure. Wherefore I will and firmly enjoin, that my burgesses aforesaid of Bristol, and their heirs, shall have and hold all their aforesaid liberties and free customs, as is written above, of me and my heirs, as well and as compleatly (or more so) as ever they had them in good times, well and peaceably and honorably, without any hindrance or molestation which any one may offer them on that account. Witnesses, Stephen Ridel, my chancellor; William de Wennen; Roger de Dlau; Roger de Newport; Maurice de Berkeley; Robert, his brother; Hamo de Valognes; Simon de Marsh; Gilbert Raft; William de la Faleyse; Master Benedict; Master Peter; and many others. At Bristol."

[1] Tyne was a certain quantity of ale for the use of the garrison in the Castle; in Henry III.'s reign it was 24 gallons, but how often it was levied we know not, probably each time that the Lord visited the Castle.

[2] It was a cherished right of the Lord to oblige his vassals to grind all their corn at his mill. This must have been a constant source of exaction, for not only would they fear to complain of the breadth of thumb in my Lord's miller in striking the bushel, but the exact amount of each man's harvest would be known to his dapifer or steward.

[3] The system of frankpledge, or neighbour standing surety in all things for his neighbour, had resulted in power falling largely into the hands of the wealthy and influential, hence the Mariners Guild and Merchants Guild, in Bristol, virtually ruled the borough. Now each craft was allowed the right to have its own Guild, and one result of this charter was this, that the control of trade passed gradually into the hands of the trade guilds, which in 1449 numbered in Bristol 26 (Evans, 104), each of which had a hall of its own; there were other smaller guilds without halls, and sundry religious guilds. These guilds had the right of choosing each its own master or warden, and through these the Provost or Mayor. This democratic element was the death-blow to feudal power in the borough.

[4] Under the Norman rule, if the lord of a fee were taken prisoner in battle, he might compel his men to bail him or pay his ransom. Now it is enacted that no man shall be compelled to become bail for another, although he dwell on his land.

[5] All land and tenements in the borough were now to be held in free burgage, viz., by land-gable service, which was to be paid within the walls. The burgesses were also permitted to build on the river bank, and on void and waste places, within or without the walls, in the township, so that they did not injure the defences. (Practically this led to the destruction of the most ancient wall, *circa* 1247, and the building of an outer embattled wall.)

7. It must not be supposed that all the burgh belonged, however, to John. Robert Fitzhardinge mentions lands in Bristol that belonged to three different baronies. So also we read, "Terram quæ est de feodo Canonicorum de Keynsham: habendam cum omnibus consuetudinibus, quæ ad terram Baroniæ in Bristollo pertinerent."[1] Over all the lands, however, the king, as original grantor, had supreme dominion; nor could, as a rule, the barons tax the holders without the king's precept. Mention is also made of existing guilds in this charter, dating, as it shows, from his grandfather's day, therefore unquestionably of Saxon custom and usage, but probably of Roman origin.

It is evident also that the town had already outgrown its original limits, as mention is made of the township as well as the burgh *(sine damno burgi et villæ)*. Seyer thinks that the "township of Bristol was a separate Hundred, and not a part of Barton-regis Hundred . . . a separation which seems to be at least as old as the Saxon age."[2] It is most likely that Bristol and Barton-regis were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the hundred when they became a royal possession: then the royal burghs became distinct from the ancient crown demesne, though, no doubt, originally part of it. Most probably Swineshead Hundred originally extended up the country from the Avon, in breadth from Clifton to Bitton. "The chief part, if not the whole, of the liberties and franchises granted, or rather confirmed by this charter, was not the *grant* of Earl John, but the ancient privileges and customs of this borough, as of many others, expressly so called in the charter itself. It is to be lamented that we have no means of ascertaining which of them were granted by the Earls of Gloucester, which by the ancient Saxon lords of the honour, and which were derived without interruption from the practice of the Roman-Britons, as probably the courts were, and the gilds, and perhaps much more than can be proved."[3]

8. We have, we trust not altogether without success, striven to show that these privileges were Roman survivals: that these banded communities were nurseries of freedom, and were distinguished, Dr. Robertson says, "by the name of '*libertates*.'" They were odious to the nobles from the first, who foresaw what a check they must prove to their power and domination. Nor did the Church at all times look upon them with favour. "Guibert, Abbot of Nogent, calls them execrable inventions, by which, contrary to law and justice, slaves withdrew themselves from that obedience which they owed to their masters."[4]

[1] Seyer, I., 506. [2] *Ibid*, 511. [3] *Ibid*, 515.
[4] Robertson's Charles V., I., note xvi.

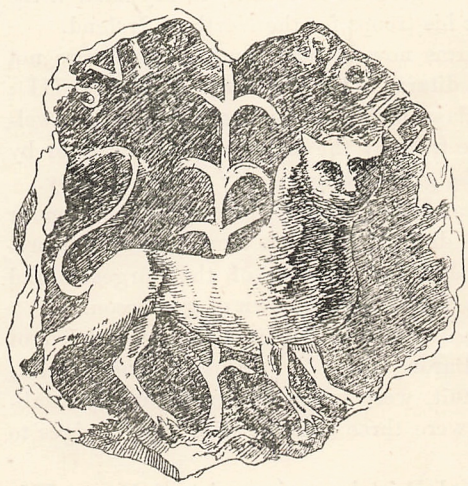
Relieved by these confirmations of their lord, as well as by the charters of their king, from the irregular and tyrannical oppression of the barons, Bristol became somewhat like the Free Hanse towns of the Continent, its burgesses exercising a modified kind of Republican government within their township, and their principal men taking nominal rank as noblemen. This was the case at least at York, Chester, Warwick, Feversham and London.[1] In 1377, in the poll-tax of that year, each of the aldermen of London was rated as a baron,[2] the mayor as an earl, and all other mayors of great towns in England each as a baron.

In a charter granted to Bristol by Henry III., 1256, it is expressly stated that Bristol is to enjoy the same privileges as London. John Carpenter, in the *Liber Albus*, 1419, says:—"The king's representative in the city has the honour due to an earl, as well in the king's presence as elsewhere. Hence it is that the sword is borne before him, as before an earl, and not behind him." In Bristol the sword is, and always has been, borne before the mayor, who is the king's escheator. Barrett says:—"The mayor, being the king's lieutenant, giveth place to no man, but unto his majesty. The Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Leicester, Warwick and Pembroke, the Lords President of the Marches, the Justices of Assize, all have and do give place unto the mayor; so also the bishop's predecessors have ever done the like."[3] Six hundred and sixty-four years undisturbed use is at least equivalent to any charter. And Bristol's mayor still maintains the dignity, although he never claims the title of "my lord."

9. William, Earl of Gloucester, must have been enormously wealthy. In 1168 he held above 260 knights' fees.[4] He died in Bristol castle in 1183, on the 23rd of November. He willed to be buried in the Church of St. James with his father, but he was privately conveyed by night unto Keynsham abbey, of which he was the founder. His large seal is 2½ inches in diameter, having a tiger *passant* before a tall, upright plant. It is a matter of debate whether he did not at the close of his life become an ecclesiastic. One of his deeds, which conveys land in Lewin's Mead and Broadmead, furnishes the conjecture:—

"'. . . Clericus Com' Gloecestr', Omnibus hominibus suis de Brist' . . salutem [omnibus amicis et fidelibus hominibus suis de Bruist' salutem]. Notum sit vobis, me dedisse et concessisse Roberto fil' Suein et Christianæ uxori ejus et eorum heredibus, terram et domum quas Blachemannus [Blakemannus] tenet de me in feriâ [feirâ] de Brist', et terram et domum, quas Lefwinus [Lewinus] Lari tenet de me in feriâ [feira] de Bruist' [Brist']; et terram & domum quas Hugo Margam [Morgon] tenet de me in feriâ [feira] de Bruist' [Brist']; et illam longam domum & terram, quæ est juxta domum Will' Traine in feriâ de Brist' [in feirâ de Bruist']; et servicium Willelmi de Hereford [Herefort] de terrâ quam de me tenet in sæpe dicta feriâ [feira], scilicet unam libram cumini per annum. Testibus Magistro Moise, nepote meo; Waltero Clerico; Willelmo capellano; Roberto fil' Osb'; Elia de Hintana [Hinetunâ]; Roberto de Paris; Roberto de Penedoc; Waltero Hachet [Hacat]; Petro Camerario.'

"The corner at the beginning of both copies is unfortunately decayed, and one or two words are lost; whereby the following difficulty occurs: if the beginning of the deed was thus, 'Willelmus Clericus, Comes Glocestriæ,' it must be supposed that William Earl of Gloucester in the latter part of his life entered into Holy Orders. But if the beginning contained only the name of the Clerk who wrote the deed, thus, 'Magister A. de Heli, Clericus Comitis Gloecestriæ,'" (as is most probable), "how is it that he writes in his own name 'de *me* tenet,' and not in the name of his lord? The seal also of this Deed is worthy of notice; it is a Jupiter sitting, having a helmet on his head, holding a thunderbolt in his right hand, and an upright spear in the left: it seems to have been a gem or a seal of Roman workmanship, left by the Romans and preserved ever since their departure. Round the gem is a rim added to it by a late owner, having this inscription + SIGILLVM ADAM DE HELI. The size of the gem without the inscription is 8-10ths of an inch by 6-10ths."[1]



Seal of William, Earl of Gloucester.

This may account for Earl William's giving up the Castle of Bristol to the king in 1175, making Prince John heir to the earldom, yet continuing to reside therein until his death.

10. We have seen that under the Norman kings, the Jews, when they first settled in England, became the king's chattels, both life and goods being at his mercy. In Bristol they lived in Jewry, outside the town, and were exempt from common law. In some way the bur-

[1] Lyttleton's Henry II., III., 351.

[2] Fitz Alwyn's seal bore hawk on fist, the emblem of a baron.

[3] Barrett, 83.

[4] Madox's Baronia Anglica, xv., 2.

[1] Seyer, I., 498–9.

gesses of Bristol had infringed the king's rights in the person of Sturmis, the Jew, either by plundering him or by killing him, Seyer supposes; at all events, they had to pay a compensation of 80 marks into the king's treasury. The language used is ambiguous, but we do not think it necessarily means that Sturmis was killed. Some infraction of the king's right there was, and some wrong to the Jew; but if he had been killed we do not see how he, the "usurer, could have freed it in the king's treasury, and was quit."[1] All the bonds, deeds and chief valuables of the Jews were compulsorily placed for safety in the king's custody. It seems to us that the burgesses were merely mulcted in a fine of 80 marks, which Henry very probably took care to borrow of Sturmis.

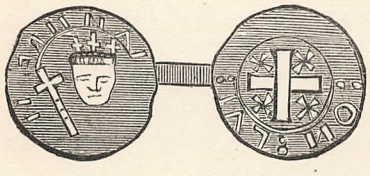
During the reign of Henry, Liverpool began to be noticed as a seaport, and in 1173 its merchants had their first charter granted to them. Henry made it the rendezvous for his troops for the North of Ireland.

Coats of arms now became common, but were not generally hereditary until the time of Henry III.; windows of glass began to be used in private dwellings; and the trial by the ordeal of fire, water, or by wager of battle, gradually gave way to trial by jury.

Henry greatly encouraged chivalry. The armour of the knights differed but little from that of the preceding reign, and the clothing of the burgesses and freemen was a quilted stuff known as gambeson.

In this reign Scotland was an acknowledged fief of England. "Barons errant," "*Justiciarii itinere*," *i.e.*, judges on circuit, were probably first regularly established; there were three circuits, with three judges to each.

11. "Several Bristol pennies exist of Henry II.'s first coinage, minted about 1156. They are of rude and irregular workmanship, and in weight and fineness resemble the coins of William I. The name of the town is spelled BRISTO, and the moneyers' names are *Elaf*, *Ricard*, and *Tancard*. These pieces have on the *obverse* the full-faced bust of the king, crowned, with a sceptre in his right hand; legend, HENRI REX ANG. (sometimes more abbreviated). *Reverse*, a cross potent, with a small cross within each angle, all within a beaded inner circle; legend, the name of the moneyer and the mint, preceded by a cross.



Bristol Penny of Henry II.

"In the British Museum are specimens of these pennies, with the following reverse inscriptions:—ELAF: ON: BR..., [E]LAF: ON: BRISTO, TANCARD: ON: BRI, and BRIST.

"Among a large number of pennies of this coinage found at Tealby, Lincolnshire, in 1807, there were some Bristol pieces with these reverse inscriptions:—ELAF ON BRISTO, RICARD ON BR..., [RI]CARD ON BRIS, T(ANCAR)D ON BRI."[1]

Mr. Henfrey is not aware of any Bristol coins of the second coinage of Henry II. or of Richard I. and John.

Henry was a friend to trade and commerce, an able warrior, and a shrewd politician, but he was haughty and vindictive. He died in 1189, and was succeeded by his third surviving son, Richard.

12. It is necessary that we should now return to the history of the lordship of Berkeley, and of the progenitors of the present noble house of Fitzhardinge. At the Conquest the above lordship was bestowed by the Conqueror upon his devoted friend and steward Fitzosbern,[2] who placed at Berchelai a provost to take care of the property, receive the rents, and to levy the accustomed services. Fitzosbern reserved five hides of land, however, as his own demesne whereon to erect at some future period a castle. This intention was frustrated by his death. His son and successor being attainted in 1074 for rebellion, the lordship, together with his other possessions, Bristol, Barton, &c., must have fallen into the king's hands. Berkeley was granted at farm to one Roger, thence styled Roger de Berkeley, at a farm rent equal in present value to £3,000, by Roger Fitz Ralph, who held it at the survey for Domesday, and who specially claimed as his own the five hides also above mentioned, which, most probably, had been given to him by William Fitzosbern, Earl of Hereford, who had at Cirencester done a precisely similar thing, viz., withdrawn land out of feorm and given it to a vassal.

Roger de Berkeley entertained the Conqueror at Berkeley in 1080, when the king confirmed a grant of land by Walter de Lacy to the church of St. Peter at Gloucester. Roger, however, was fonder of accumulating land than he was of justice. He at this time held of the abbey of Gloucester the subordinate manor of Nympsfield, but finding it more to his advantage to hold it under the king, he caused it and also the manor of Shotteshore to be entered as royal property.

This robbery of the church by misdescription, however, preyed upon his conscience, so that in 1091 he became a monk of the above abbey, and restored

[1] Evans, 48.

[1] Henfrey's Bristol Mint in British Archæological Journal, December, 1875.

[2] Seyer, cap. viii., 89.

Shotteshore; and afterwards, in 1093, his son and successor in the lordship, Eustace, restored also Nympsfield. Roger took part with William Rufus, and in 1089 Berkeley was plundered by the adherents of Robert, Duke of Normandy.

Eustace's successor, Roger, at Easter, in 1121, entertained King Henry I. and his queen at Berkeley. This Lord Roger obtained leave of the king to erect a religious house, which he proposed to endow with certain lands, to be held by service of a knight's fee. He died before his purpose was effected, but his nephew and successor, William, carried out his intention, building and founding the Cistercian abbey at Kingswood,[1] which foundation was confirmed by the empress Maud in 1139. In the "Pipe Roll," 1131, it is on record that this William "held the Lordship of Berkeley under the crown, paying a feorm of £234 13*s.* 4*d.* by weight."

His son Roger complained that the abbey, founded by his predecessors, had been removed to Hasilden and Tetbury, and he demanded that it should be brought back to Kingswood, or that he should have his lands again. The matter seems to have been compromised, as in 1148, Roger confirms the grant of lands to the monastery of Kingswood, and releases it from the service of a knight's fee which William, his son, owed to him, due from the abbot. "The monks in their chapter have again acknowledged and received me as their founder," he says. He also granted to the church of the blessed Mary of Kingswood the manor of Acholt; the witnesses to the grant are Simon, Bishop of Worcester, the Abbot of St. Augustine's in Bristol, Robert Fitzhardinge, Henry Lovell, and others.[2] This was the same Roger de Berkeley who was, as we have elsewhere related, so barbarously used by Walter of Hereford about 1144. The names of the Abbot of St. Augustine's and Robert Fitzhardinge, as witnesses, go far to prove that this grant was made at Bristol where Roger was probably brought a prisoner.

Bishop Simon died in 1150, and the abbey of St. Augustine was dedicated in 1148, so the probable date of the grant would therefore be 1148-9. Philip, son of the Red Earl, or Consul, of Gloucester, had married a niece of this Roger, and because his father was reported to have been accessory to the seizure and ill-treatment of Roger, and most certainly held him a close prisoner, Philip, as we have related, revolted from his own father, and arming his men, threatened to lay waste his whole province unless the uncle of his wife was released from captivity.

[1] Near Wotton-under-Edge. It is a portion of Wiltshire isolated in Gloucestershire.

[2] See Fosbroke's Berkeley Manuscripts, under the head Kingswood.

In this Philip failed, and stricken with a blow (paralysis apparently), he went on a pilgrimage. This Roger was attached to the cause of King Stephen, as his father William had been, hence his misfortunes. Surrounded on all hands by the puissance of the great Consul, he was, as we have recorded, whether originally seized or not by order of the empress and her brother, at least held by them in captivity and stripped of the greater portion of his vast property.[1] He was left in possession of Dursley, and thenceforth he is frequently spoken of as Roger de Dursley. He died in 1150-1, and was succeeded by his son Roger, by whom the feud with the Fitzhardinge family (to whom the Lordship of Berkeley had been given when taken from his father), was carried on with great bitterness, until in 1153 it was healed by a double marriage between the two families.

Smyth contends for the Saxon origin of the family. The Dursley and Coberley Berkeleys certainly were large landed proprietors ere Berkeley was granted to them, and the family tradition of their consanguinity to the Conqueror may account for their having been permitted to hold their estates. But of this there exists no positive evidence. On the other hand those who contend for the family being of Norman origin point to the fact that about this period one Roger de Berchelaieo and Rissa, his wife, gave to the abbey of St. Martin d'Auchy, near the town of Aumâle, in Picardy, sundry vestments, a silver chalice, a golden cross, two bells, and other gifts.[2]

The "*Hernesse*"[3] (Lordship) of Berkeley included in 1086 the subordinate manors of Camme, Dursley, Cowley, Uley, Nympsfield, Wotton, Kingscot, Ouzleworth, Almondsbury, Horfield, Weston (King's), Elberton, Arlingham, &c. There was at Berkeley a market, and seventeen vassals who paid their tax in the rent, Ralph de Berkeley also held at farm, the manor of Barton, near Bristol.

Roger Fitz Ralph, probably a son of Ralph de Berkeley, Roger's brother, we learn from Domesday, held Clifton, in Sineshoved Hundred, *in capite* of the king, which Sewin, the Provost of Bristou, held of King Edward in 1065, and had been able to go with this land where he wished,[4] nor did he owe thence any feorm. There are three hides. In demesne are three plough teams, and six villans, also six bordars (cottagers), three serfs, and eight acres of meadow. It was worth 100*s.*

[1] Because he paid not his farm, but took part with King Stephen.—Robert Ricart.

[2] Archæologia, XXVI., 359.

[3] Her, Herr, Saxon for lord.

[4] *i.e.*, might be non-resident.

(*i.e.*, in Edward's reign), now (1086) 60*s.*[1] The Coberley branch of the Berkeleys appears to have been Ralph's descendants.

13. The wealth of Robert Fitzhardinge must have been immense. Although a friend and powerful supporter of the Red Earl and of the Empress, he does not appear to have been a man of war; at all events, we do not read of him as being actively engaged in any of the battles of the time. As far as we can gather, he used his opportunities wisely and well as a merchant of highest repute, and deserved all that he acquired.

In the year 1140 he began to build the Abbey of St. Augustine, at which time he was in possession of immense estates in land partly inherited from his father, but the greater portion became his through grants from Robert, Earl of Gloucester, in consideration of the large advances made by Fitzhardinge in support of the cause of the empress Maud. In Gloucestershire he possessed the manors of Filton, Almondsbury and Berkeley, Siston, Thornbury (where he built the body of the church and tower and dwelt at Rolls place), Beverstone, Elberton, which he held of the manor of Berkeley in the time of William the Conqueror, Kingsweston, which, with Beverstone, he settled on Robert, his second son; he also purchased the three Hundreds of Portbury, Bedminster and Hareclyve from Robert, Earl of Gloucester, also the manor of Bedminster. He bought the manor and advowson of Portbury from Richard de Morevill; besides which he had in Bristow and its immediate neighbourhood the manor of Byleswike, purchased from the Earl of Gloucester, whereon he built his abbey; the manor of Lega (Abbot's Leigh), near Bristol, being a part of the manor of Bedminster, divers lands and tenements in Bristow and Redclyve; the manor of Bitton and the lordship of Berkeley, of which Roger de Dursley had been deprived. This grant of Berkeley, &c., to Robert Fitzhardinge is mentioned in the rhymes of Robert of Gloucester:—

"A burgeys at Bristowe, Robert Hardyng,
For great treasure, and richesse, so well was with the king,
That he gave him and his heirs the noble barony,
That so rich is, of Berkele, with all the seignory.
And that Robert Harding reared afterward, I wis,
The abbey at Bristowe, that of St. Austin is."

Smyth gives the following account of this last transaction:—"And so far forth, e'er that Crown claim was settled did the Empress and her son Henry make use of the purse of this Robert in that wantful time of theirs that from Roger of Berkeley, lord of Dursley, were his fee-farm lands of Berkeley taken by this Duke Henry and Maud, his mother, for causes formerly remembered; and for an handsell, as it were, of that lump which followed, one hundred pounds-land of that of Berkeley, with the manor of Bitton, was given to this Robert and his heirs by deed yet remaining under seal,"[1] (*i.e.*, the handsell was £100, the lump that followed was the grant of Berkeley, which was by two subsequent grants confirmed and enlarged by the duke, afterward king.) By the above-named grants Fitzhardinge became a feudatory baron of the king, and was bound to pay military service, having liberty to build a castle, enjoying baronial rights, and entitled to coin money. A copy of his seal, from Lysons, is given on page 57. The monster, a combination of deer and swan, was copied from a sketch by Smyth, who states that Fitzhardinge also used an equestrian seal of the ordinary type then in use. The castle was the *caput* of the barony.

14. There was previously existent a fortress at Berkeley, most probably of Saxon adaptation. Roger de Berkeley is said to have had a "little castle at Nesse." Sharpness is but a short distance from Berkeley. Mr. G. T. Clark, in a recent examination of the castle, pronounces the half-hollow circular keep, which is unusually large, to be based on a Saxon fortification. For 22 feet of its height this important tower encloses a mound of earth, which he argues was not likely to have been filled into the shell of masonry, holding rather that the Norman builder, finding a moated mount of suitable dimensions, adopted it for the solid core of the keep by building around it a revetment wall, as at Pontefract, and raising on the wall the present curtain. Placed at the extremity of a tract of land that suddenly drops from the southern walls of the fortress into a flat meadow which extends to the Severn, a mile to the west, the station was one of obvious importance against irruptions from the Welsh borders. Berkeley was, most probably, an entrenched position against the Kelts, who had been driven to their hills across the Severn and Wye. It was the seat of an English Lord in the 9th century, and it is stated by Smyth, the historian of the Berkeleys, that in his day (1620) traces remained of an early mound and fosse. The positions that had formed the most available points of defence to the Wiccii, and after them to the Saxons, would naturally offer the same advantages to the Normans.

"Entering the outer ward we are confronted by the western half-round of the huge keep, which has the gateway of the inner ward attached to its southern face. Passing into the second court we find on the right the domestic apartments, which, though structurally Norman, are pierced with Tudor windows. In

[1] Domesday, I., fol. 170, col. 2.

[1] Signed at Bristow, Seyer, I., 463–4.

front are the great hall, buttery and kitchen, while on the left are the miscellaneous offices. All these buildings are attached to the Norman curtain, or buttressed outer walls of the castle, and are as skilfully designed for convenience as for security, while to enhance domestic privacy there are distributed within the halls and towers concealed apartments enough to form the architectural type of some *Mysteries of Udolpho*. Except on the north angle, which is occupied by the shell keep, a feature that is in marked distinction from the usual massive rectangular tower, the external form of the fortress is a rude square of an average extent of 67 yards on each face. The keep is about 50 yards in diameter, with walls 8 feet in thickness. The exterior height is 62 feet, but one-third of the shell being filled with solid earth, the access from the courtyard is by winding steps which land the visitor on a grass-plot 22 feet above the level of the wards. Here we find practically a third court, the domestic apartments being on the southern concavity of the keep against the inner gateway. Projecting at irregular intervals from the exterior circuit are three segmental bastion turrets about 20 feet in diameter at the broadest parts. Two of these towers are hollow downwards from the keep platform to 2 feet below the level of the wards, one of them being the ancient prison-hold. Into this black den, deeper than the Tullian dungeon and as noisome and terrible, were thrust some of the captives of King John when he, in 1216, seized the castle. Edward II. was immured in the guard chamber immediately over this fearful hole. The family banner is planted on what is known as the Thorpe Tower, which is a rectangular building, also like the bastions attached to the keep, but on the northern part of the circuit. The estate of Wanswell Court, a mediæval house in the neighbourhood, was held by the family of Thorpe on the tenure of defending this tower."[1]

15. The contention between the new baron of Berkeley and the dispossessed lord, then known as of Dursley, became so rife, and Roger troubled Fitzhardinge so grievously, that the latter petitioned the king to resume the gift. But finally the families were united by a double marriage, Roger giving his daughter Alice to Maurice, the eldest son of Robert Fitzhardinge, with the town of Slimebrigge for her portion, she having also £20 in land of the fee of Berkeley for her dower, whilst Helena, the daughter of Robert Fitzhardinge, married the heir of Roger, and had for her dower the manor of Siston.[1] The covenant for this family compact was made "in the house of Robert Fitzhardinge at Bristowe, in the presence of King Stephen and of Harry, then Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou, and by his assent, and in the presence of many others, both clarkes and laymen, &c., &c., whereupon all right in the barony of Berkeley was voluntarily released by the Lord Dursley."[2] This must have been in the year 1153, after November 7th, or in the beginning of 1154, ere Henry left for the Continent.

Berkeley was a royal manor in the reign of the Confessor; it seems to have originally been the private property of some of the West Saxon kings, indeed by some it is thought to have been the principality of one of the British princes. There is some evidence of a religious house before A.D. 778, of which Tilhere, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, was the abbot; it appears to have been mentioned at the synod of Cloveshoe in A.D. 824.[3] There was a nunnery there in Edward's time, which Earl Godwin destroyed, and Gytha, his wife, being a pious woman, thenceforth refused to eat anything that was the produce of Berkeley manor; therefore her husband bought for her the manor of Woodchester, from whence her provision was brought whenever she abode at Berkeley. It is probable that the nuns did not hold the manor, but only certain lands, which Godwin, who held Berkeley at farm from the king, wished to possess.

There was also a monastery there. From the year A.D. 915 the Abbot of Berkeley was chosen Bishop of the Wiccii, and this is confirmed by the famous story of the Berkeley witch. A similar case, we are told, occurred to others, particularly to Charles Martel, so Matthew of Westminster, whose version we give out of a number of others, says, "it ought not to appear incredible." The tale, with slight variations, runs not only through our early histories, but it also found its way into the foreign chronicles, and that of Nuremberg, 1493, has a wooden engraving of it, of which we append a copy.

16. "About A.D. 852 a certain wicked woman, living in a town called Berkeley, a lover of gluttony and of impudence, setting no bounds to her wickedness and her witcheries, even as far as old age, continued an immodest woman even till the time of her death. One day while she was sitting at dinner a raven, which she kept

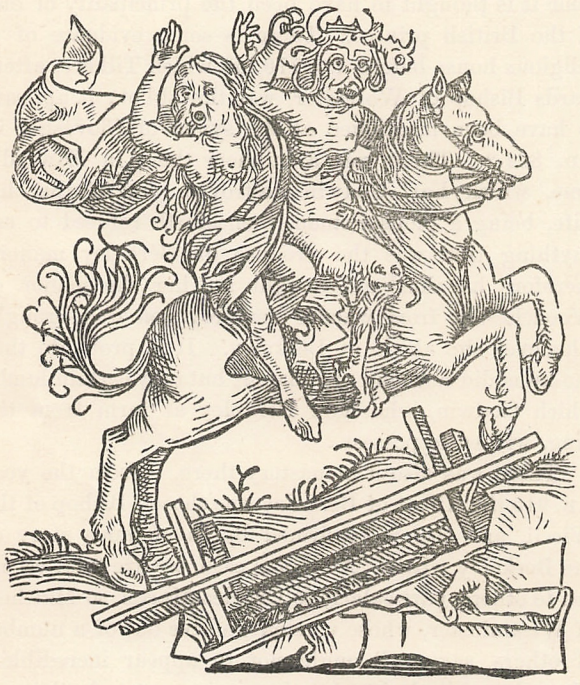
[1] Mr. J. Taylor in Saturday Review, January, 1880. [For an admirable account of the Castle itself see the "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society," by Mr. G. T. Clark, 1876, 115-32. The three grants that are mentioned by Mr. Clark, are still preserved in their originals in the Castle. J. H. Cooke, F.S.A.]

[1] Roger, the elder son by this marriage, mortgaged his land in Dursley, Stanley and Dodington to the Jews of Bristol and Gloucester. He paid a fine of 50 marks to the king that he might hold the lands and pay the annual value to the Jews.—Seyer, I., 482.

[2] Atkyns' Gloucestershire, Berkeley.

[3] G. T. Clark, Brist. and Glouc. Arch., 1876, 128.

as a favourite, began chattering something. On hearing this the knife fell from the woman's hand, and her face began to turn pale; and, groaning, she said, 'this day I shall receive a great mischief, this day my plough is come to its last furrow.' Upon this a messenger of ill news arrived, and the woman asking him what was the cause of his coming, 'I bring you,' said he, 'news of the death of your son, and the destruction of the whole family by the fall of a house.' Being grievously moved by this calamity, she immediately took to her bed and was very sick; and, perceiving the disorder creeping on toward her vitals, she summoned by a letter her surviving children, a monk, and a nun. When they arrived, she said to them in a sobbing voice, 'O, my



The Witch of Berkeley. From the Nuremberg Chronicle, 1493.

children, I have always brought on my own wretched fate by devilish arts; I have been a sink of all vices, a mistress of all charms. Yet amid all these evils my hope was in your religion, which fortified my despairing soul; I hoped for you as my defenders against the devils, my guardians against those very cruel enemies. Now, then, since I am come to the end of my life, I beseech you, by your mother's breast, that you would endeavour to alleviate my torments. When I am dead, sew me up in a deer skin, and then put me into a stone coffin, and fasten down the cover with lead and iron, and, lastly, gird the stone with three very strong iron chains; and bring here fifty clerks, singers of psalms, and as many priests, to celebrate masses for three days, who may drive away the ferocious attacks of the enemies. Then, if I shall lie safe for three nights, on the fourth day bury me in the ground.' It was done as she had directed; but, alas, nor prayers, nor tears, nor chains, were of any avail, for on the two first nights, when companies of singing men stood near the body, the devils coming to the door of the church, broke it open, although fastened with an immense bolt, and broke asunder the two outward chains with very little difficulty, but the middle chain, which was stronger, remained unbroken. But the third night about cock crowing, the whole monastery seemed to be moving from its foundations at the noise of the enemies' approach. One of the devils therefore, more terrible in his aspect, and taller of stature than the rest, shook the gates of the church with dreadful violence, and scattered them in pieces. All were stiff with fright, clerks as well as laymen; their hair stood on end, and the singing of psalms was stopped. Whereupon the devil, going to the grave with insolent step, loudly called on the woman by name and ordered her to rise; and when she answered that she was unable to rise by reason of the chains, 'You shall be released from them,' said he, 'to your cost,' and immediately the chain, which had baffled the ferocity of the other devils, he broke like thread; and then, kicking away the cover of the grave, he dragged the woman out of the church in the face of them all to the gates, where stood a black horse proudly neighing, having iron hooks and nails fastened all over him, on which the wretched woman being thrown disappeared from the sight of those who stood near, but her horrible clamours calling for assistance were heard for as much as four miles." Our Bristol poet, Southey, has thrown this ghastly story into the ballad form, with great power and startling effect.

17. Leaving this interlude, we return to the sober matter of our history. Robert Fitzhardinge lived to a green old age, and saw his "children's children grow to ripeness of years." Wise, prudent and honourable in his dealings, it is not impossible that the proverb that "Bristol sleeps with one eye open" originated with him. Under his care the town flourished, no prowling baron plundered its stores or carried off its burgesses; but whilst administering its affairs with wisdom and discretion, he evidently was shrewd enough to turn an honest penny, and knew how to make and to secure a good bargain. To his honour, however, be it said that he spent his wealth in a noble manner, in supporting the cause of his legal sovereign, and in erecting a monastery which in that age had few superior to it.

As the founder of an illustrious house, whose names

and fortunes have been in almost every subsequent age connected with Bristol, and whose sympathies were for the most part with the people, we give here a brief account of the early members of his family.

By his wife Eva, Robert had five sons and two daughters. After her husband's death Eva founded a nunnery on St. Michael's hill, called "The Magdalens." It stood on the site of the King David inn, but, we believe, the only relics of the building are a broken font of no architectural beauty, which stands on the horse steps in the yard, and a newel staircase. Eva liberally endowed this house, became its first prioress, and died there on the 11th March, 1173, having survived her noble husband rather less than three years. Maurice, Robert's eldest son, succeeded him. He was the first of the family to take the name of Berkeley. Of Nicholas, the second son, some account will be found in the history of the abbey. The third son, Robert, had the three hundreds on the south of the Avon in Somerset, viz., Portbury, Bedminster, and Hareclyve, also the church of St. Nicholas in Bristol, and divers lands in the town. He married Hawise de Gurney. Thomas, the fourth son, became Archdeacon of Worcester. Henry, the fifth son, was Archdeacon of Exeter and treasurer to the Duke of Normandy (afterwards King Henry II.). Helena, the eldest daughter, was, as we have described, married to Robert, son and heir of Roger, Lord Dursley, she died in the tenth year of King John. Maurice on succeeding to the barony ultimately left Bristol, and made the castle of Berkeley his residence, and was thenceforth known by his title "Maurice de Berkeley." He was born in Bristol, *circa* 1117, and was brought up in the great stone house on the bank of the Frome, where he lived until he quitted it for his lordly residence. Although not actually school fellow of Henry, his future king (he being twenty-five years of age and the prince only nine when he came to Bristol), he was doubtless his guide, companion, and friend. By his wife, Alice de Dursley, Maurice had issue six sons and one daughter. Alice lived to extreme old age, having long survived her husband, and did so reverence his memory that to the last in her conveyances, she styles him *Dominus meus Mauricius*, "my lord Maurice."

Maurice died June 16, 1189, and was buried in the church of Brentford, of which he had been a special benefactor. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert, who was born about 1165, and who spent some years in the court of Henry II. for his education. He was subsequently made constable of the castle of Bristol. "He was one of the barons who rebelled against John, though he afterwards made peace with that king. Falling again from his allegiance, he was excommunicated by Pope Innocent III., and his castle of Berkeley and all his lands were seized, and the profits of the same ordered for the maintenance of the castle of Bristol. In 1216 he obtained letters of safe conduct to come to the king at Berkeley castle, where, upon his submission, he got a grant of his manor of Camin, Gloucestershire, for the support of Juliana his wife."[1] King John was at Berkeley October 29th, 1200; March 5th, 1211; July 20th and August 18th and 19th, 1216. At Henry III.'s accession to the throne Robert, for a fine of £966 13*s.* 4*d.*, made his peace and was restored to all his lands except the castle and town of Berkeley, which, however, were granted afterwards to his brother and successor Thomas in 1223. Robert was twice married, and died May 13th, 1219, without issue, at the age of 55 years.[2]

Thomas, the next baron, lived to the age of 76, and dying in November, 1243, was succeeded by his eldest son, Maurice, the second of the name. He had been in France with his father; and he subsequently attended the king, Henry III., well accoutred with horse and arms, against Llewellyn ap Griffyth, Prince of Wales, then in the field. Lord Maurice entertained Henry III. at Berkeley castle in the 40th year of that sovereign's reign. In 1279 Roger de Mortimer held jousts at Kenilworth, whither Maurice proceeded with 100 knights well armed, and as many ladies going before singing joyful songs.[3] Their joy was soon turned into sorrow, for Maurice, the baron's eldest son, was killed whilst jousting. This lord, to settle all disputes, purchased of his kinsman Henry, lord of Dursley, a release of all rights in the manor of Berkeley. He died in April, 1281, aged 63 years, and was buried in St. Augustine's Abbey at Bristol, leaving his second son, Thomas, to succeed him.[4]

18. Thomas, the second of the name, was born and spent his early boyhood at Berkeley. The manor of Bedminster was then given to him by his father, and there he was educated by the abbot and prior of St. Augustine's and the master of St. Catherine's Hospital, Brightbow. His maturer years were spent in active warfare, for which his great love of falconry, hunting, running at the ring, jousts and tournaments had been most admirable training.

King Edward I., in reward for service against the Welsh, gave Thomas a grant under the great seal "that at all times during his life he should have liberty with his own dogs to hunt the fox, hare, badger

[1] Collins' Peerage, III., 596. Juliana, Lady Berkeley, was niece to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke.

[2] Taylor's Book about Bristol, 85.

[3] Fosbroke's Berkeley Manuscripts, 100.

[4] For further particulars see our ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 85.

and wild cat in the king's forest of Mendip and in his chase of Kingswood on both sides of the water of the Avon near Bristol, the same to take and carry away."

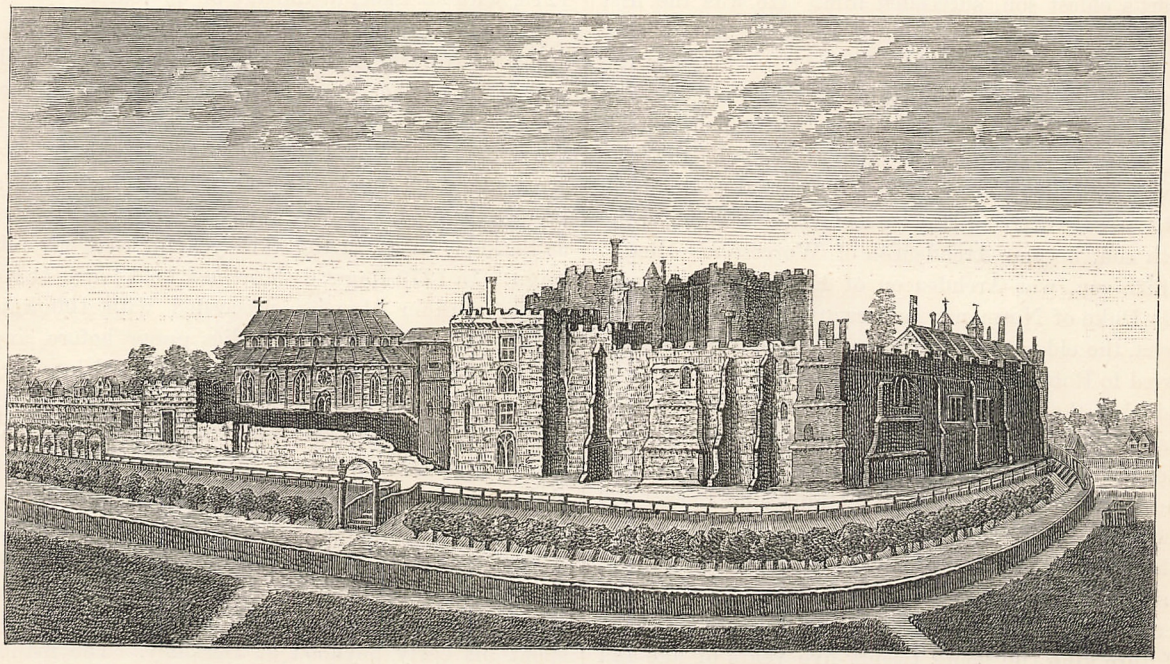
Thomas raised the power and splendour of the family to their zenith. One of his chaplains wrote:—

"While thulke lord lived,
All thinge by his powre
Was in gay plight;
For gile was hidde,
Good peace was kidde,
And honesty had might."

Great differences arose between him and his son Maurice, on the one side, and the burgesses of Bristol on the other respecting the feudal rights of the lord within the limits of the town. To these we shall refer in their proper place. In 1298 he was summoned to attend King Edward I. on his invasion of Scotland.

In 1314, his Welshmen refusing to fight, Thomas and his son were taken prisoners by the Scots at Bannockburn. He married Joan, daughter of the Earl of Ferrars and Derby, and died at the Castle of Berkeley on the 23rd of July, 1321. He was the first to assume the ten crosses, having as supporters originally two flying serpents, which were afterwards changed for mermaids. He was religious according to the manner of his age, giving liberally to the Church, and feasting yearly about Lent the abbot and monks of St. Peter's, at Gloucester, and their brethren of St. Augustine's, Bristol, at that town.

He vowed, as did 60,000 others, to go on crusade to the Holy Land, but never went personally, having done duty by a paid proxy. Smyth afterwards adds that on account of his not having, through death, been able to fulfil his vow his children were disquieted in their consciences, and both his son and grandson paid the charges of others who performed the duty in his name and stead.[1] Maurice, third of the name, his eldest son, born 1281, succeeded to the title and estates. It is said that he was only eight years of age when he was married to Eve, a daughter of Lord Zouch, and that a son (Thomas) was born to him ere he and his wife were either of them 14 years old. Smyth, anticipating doubts as to this startling statement, avers that he has abundant evidence in proof of this precocity. Maurice lived during his minority at Bedminster and Nailsea, making the downs lively with "martial exercise, running a tilt with lances, *hastiludes*, spear plays, and the like suitable to those times." On the year of his accession to the barony, by the death of his father, he was perfidiously seized and made prisoner at Cirencester, in violation of a safe conduct granted to him by King Edward II., because he had taken part against the two De Spencers, and was shut up in Wallingford Castle. His lands, including the manor of Portbury, the hundreds of Portbury, Hareclyve and Bedminster, were given to hold at the king's pleasure to Robert Lovell. After making an ineffectual attempt at escape, fretting



Berkeley Castle in the 17th Century.

[1] Fosbroke's Berkeley Manuscripts, 87-8.

like a chained eagle, he died in his prison on the 31st of May, 1326, aged 46 years.

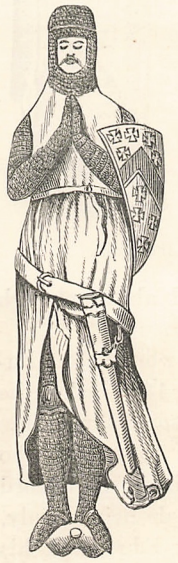
19. Thomas, said, as above, to be the eldest son of Maurice, third of the name (but we think possibly his brother), succeeded, being about 30 or 32 years of age. He married Margaret, the daughter of Roger de Mortimer, Earl of Marche, Queen Isabella's adulterous paramour. Having also offended the king by harrying the lands of his favourites, he was consequently sent to the Tower, whence escaping and being retaken he was immured in Pevensey castle till his captivity was ended by the capture of the king himself. While taking refuge at Tintern abbey (October 14th and 15th, 1326) Edward had given the custody of Berkeley castle to Thomas de Bradestone, but the growing power of Isabella and Mortimer soon reversed the act. Within the next twelvemonth the wretched monarch made his own awful acquaintance with the towers of Berkeley. He was committed to the custody of Thomas de Berkeley, who had an allowance of £5 a day for his expenses, the castle steward's accounts of the time showing that two sums of £700 and £500 were received from the Exchequer for the maintenance of the king and his attendants during his whole imprisonment. But Lord Thomas showed too little resentment for his own injuries, and being thought to treat the royal prisoner too gently, he was commanded to deliver him, together with the castle, to Lord Maltravers and Sir Thomas Gournay. "Ser Thomas Berkeley," says Capgrave, "had the keeping of him for a month, and treted him ful worschipfully; and Ser John Mauntravers had the keping of him two othir month, and treted him ful ongentyly. The queen sent him pleasant giftes, and clothis ful precious; but sche would not se him. Sche pretended that the lords would not suffer her." Her difficulty, if it ever existed, was soon solved, for

"Hark!
What sounds of death through Berkeley's roofs that ring
Shrieks of an agonizing king."

The unfortunate Edward was murdered in the castle by his keepers. The room in which the foul deed was committed, which gives the castle its tragic celebrity, was doubtless the chamber over the dungeon, and not the guardroom to the entrance of the dungeon keep, as generally received. The former view is supported by Mr. Grantley Berkeley. The fretted marble tomb of the murdered monarch in St. Peter's abbey—now the cathedral—Gloucester, is a shrine fit for a saint; and, indeed, to the monks Edward proved the Thomas á Becket of the West, the oblations of pilgrims in the course of fifty years at his sepulchre being enough, it is stated, to have re-built the church, had the work been needful. Lord Berkeley was tried, but finally acquitted of complicity in the murder of the king, and lived to serve with his son Maurice in the battles of Crecy and Poictiers.

In 1332 this Thomas de Berkeley purchased divers lands and houses in Bristol, as is shown by deeds extant.[1]

In 1333, King Edward III. gave him leave to cut down certain oaks to the value of £40, within his manor of Bedminster, and to dispose of them at his pleasure. This grant was necessary, as the timber was within the king's chace at Filwood (the valley, this side of Maes Knoll, in which are Whitchurch, Hengrove, and Bishport). "He often held four leet courts, or views of frankpledge, in the year in Berkeley, and by levying an impost of 4*d.* and 6*d.* upon each brewing of ale, and farming out the wharfage and market to the mayor, he drew more yearly than the rent of the borough.



"*Dominus meus Mauricius.*"

"In 1339 the tollcestres, which I call brewings, were 284, which yielded to him upon the catch polls account £8 14*s.*, which now yield nothing."[2] (There is some discrepancy here, the sum at the price stated would amount to £63 18*s.*) This lord's power and magnificence rivalled that of the second Thomas. He added to his arms the chevron, and took a bishop's mitre for his crest. He died on the 27th October, 1361, aged 68 years, and lies buried in Berkeley Church.

20. Another Maurice, the fourth of the name, succeeded; he married, at eight years of age, Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh De Spencer, who became such a thrifty woman that she, in the year of her lord's sickness, made herself a new gown of cloth, furred throughout with rabbit skins from the kitchen. During the lifetime of his father Thomas, Maurice, in 1356, joined King Edward's forces in Picardy, and at the battle of Poictiers he for the first time displayed his banner, seeking to do doughty deeds. Sixty thousand Frenchmen were arrayed against 8,000 Englishmen, but the Black Prince had chosen his position; the French king was taken prisoner, with 2,000 men at arms and a crowd of nobles; the rest sought safety in flight. Sir Robert de Bradestone and young Berkeley were first in the chase, the former was killed as he followed the flying foe in at the gate of Poictiers. Maurice was wounded and taken prisoner, as is related by Froissart. (See our Ecclesiastical History, 86.)

[1] Smyth. [2] *Ibid*, 297.

We append engravings from the altar tomb, which are generally supposed to represent the 4th Maurice and his lady, but which, from the style of the armour and the female costume, we incline to think are those of Maurice, the third of the name, who died 1326, and Eva his wife.



Effigies from the Altar Tomb.

The father, more fortunate than his son, by the ransom of his prisoners, and those taken by Maurice before his capture, realised not only sufficient to pay a ransom of six thousand nobles for his son, but had over and above enough wherewith to build the castle of Beverstone.[1]

Maurice never recovered from his wound, but lingered on at his beautiful castle until 1368, when he died. He was succeeded by his eldest son Thomas (the fourth of the name), who was born in 1352, and who married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Gerard Warren, Lord Lisle, dying without a male heir in July, 1417; he was buried at Wotton-under-Edge, and his estates were divided. The chief portion, including some houses in Bristol, were devised to his daughter Elizabeth, who was married to Richard Beauchamp, son of the Earl of Warwick; the remainder went to his nephew and heir male James, the eleventh lord, a son of James, a younger son of the fourth Maurice.

21. Elizabeth held the castle, supported by her husband, and claimed all the connected manors; she was besieged therein, in 1420, by her cousin James. The castle was taken and re-taken several times during this generation, whilst the town of Berkeley was half destroyed. On James' death, November 3rd, 1463, his son William succeeded to the estates. Born in 1426, this baron was created Viscount Berkeley, by Edward IV., on the 21st of April, 1481, and on the 5th March, 1483, he was made a member of the king's Privy Council, with an allowance, to sustain the dignity, of 100 marks per annum for life, the moneys to be paid out of the subsidies raised on Bristol and London. On the 28th of January, 1488, he was created Marquis of Berkeley, by Henry VII., with £35 fee out of the lesser customs of London. It was in this Lord William's time (in 1469), that the celebrated battle of Nibley Green was fought, wherein the young Viscount Lisle lost his life, as will be hereafter related.

[1] Lel. Collect, 2, 307.

22. William, once as wealthy as any of his predecessors, was a wastrel, who squandered, sold, and disposed of the greater part of his property. Being dissatisfied with the *mésalliance*, as he conceived it to be, of his brother and heir, Maurice of Thornbury, he married three wives, but dying childless was buried in the Church of Austin Friars, in London, and was succeeded by his brother, the fifth Maurice (the third son of James and Lady Isabella Mowbray), who was born at Berkeley in 1435, and who had married, in 1464, the daughter of Philip Mede, of Bristol, and lived with his wife on his estate at Thornbury. Maurice was outlawed for the part which he had taken at Nibley Green, and had to fly from his home. Upon the reversal of the outlawry he returned to Thornbury, where he continued to reside until, by the death of his brother William (the second son having previously deceased), he, in his 56th year, became possessed of the paternal title, but found himself dispossessed of the land. Barrett says:—"That in displeasure at this alliance, the lady not being of honourable parentage, the Lord William disinherited his brother by conveying his lands to the king, Henry VII."[1] In fact, he entailed all of which he had not otherwise dispossessed himself, including the manors annexed to the ancient barony, on that monarch and the heirs male of his body, with remainder to his own heirs, so that the estates reverted to the great grandson of the disinherited brother on the death of Edward VI., although not without litigation with some powerful alienees of the Crown. This seems to us to be at variance with the fact "that Maurice, out of brotherly love to him and to his honour, upon that short warning of one night at most, stole from his young wife and tender son the hope at that time of both their posterities (*i.e.*, William, the childless lord, and his presumptive heir, Maurice), and met him with a fair band of men, Mr. Hilpe and others, suddenly raised from Thornbury, where he then dwelt, early the next morning near Nibley Green." We should gather from this that there was no disagreement between the brothers at that period. This readiness to give aid on the one hand, and willing acceptance of service on the other, is inconsistent with Barrett's statement, and we are inclined to look for another tangible cause of difference between the brothers, occurring, too, at a some-

[1] Barrett, 256.

what later period. Besides, the Medes were of good family, having an estate at Failand, in Somerset, and this accusation of *mésalliance* seems to have been only a colourable excuse for Thomas to deal with the 120 manors, which in his own right, and that of his wife, he possessed, after the counsel of his own will and for the acquisition of a higher title of nobility. [For further particulars see an excellent paper by Mr. J. H. Cooke, F.S.A., of Berkeley, in the *Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Transactions* for 1879, 318–19.]

Leland says:—"Thus parted Berkeley from his lands. First he was rather winked at than forgiven for the death of the Lord Lisle. And he being without children, his brother (Maurice) sold, and did bargain for his own son, heir apparent to the lands, whereupon Lord Berkeley, in a rage, made King Henry VII. his heir for most of his lands, and after was made a marquis."[1]

Maurice appears to have been fortunate in his marriage, "for the longer they lived the more they loved," says the historian. He died in 1506, leaving great estates, some of which he recovered by suits-at-law from those to whom his brother had illegally granted them, but the bulk of his property, including Tetbury and many other manors, descended to him as one of the heirs of the Lord Breause; he had also a good estate at Thornbury with his wife, and one also of his own by purchase. He was buried in St. Austin's Friary, London, which church was greatly enriched by the Lady Isabella, who survived her husband nine years, dying at Coventry in 1516. Maurice left issue by her, three sons—Maurice, Thomas and James—also one daughter, Anne.

Maurice, the sixth, succeeded to the barony. He married Katherine, the daughter of Sir Wm. Berkeley, of Stoke Gifford. He was High Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1516, and was appointed Governor of Calais and created a baron by writ, 14th Henry VIII., 1523. From this it is clear that the barony had been considered as one by tenure, following the course of descent of the castle and its attached lords, which indeed gave James, the eleventh lord, his claim against his cousin Elizabeth, Countess of Warwick, the daughter of Thomas, the tenth lord, who claimed the title and estates according to the usual descent of baronies in fee. Maurice died at Calais in 1523, and was buried in the Church of St. Nicholas of that town.

His brother Thomas, fifth of that name, succeeded him. He held a command at the battle of Flodden-field, where the King of Scotland was slain. Thomas was only Constable of Berkeley castle, the property being then vested in the Crown by virtue of the will of William, Marquis of Berkeley, he who died in 1491. Thomas died at Mangotsfield, in January, 1532; and was first buried there, but was afterwards removed to a new tomb, set up according to his will, beside Eleanor, his first wife, in the Abbey of St. Augustine.

[1] Lel. Itin., 6, 45.

23. Richard I. succeeded Henry II. The glamour thrown around him by the marvellous genius of Scott, and the charming ballads of Robin Hood, have given this king an undeserved pre-eminence in English history. Born in 1157, at Oxford, he succeeded to the throne in July, 1189, was crowned in September in that year in Westminster Abbey, and again in 1194 at Winchester, on his return from his imprisonment, on which occasion the King of Scotland carried the sword of state. He was utterly indifferent to the welfare of the kingdom, and visited it only twice during his reign of nine years and nine months, leaving on both occasions bitter remembrances owing to his extortions. At his first visit he landed at Portsmouth on September 3rd, in order to be crowned; he left the kingdom on December 11th in the same year. He came again on March 20th, 1194, when he landed at Sandwich, and finally quitted the shores of England on the 11th of May, so that the total of his residence as a king amongst his people was under five months. It has been stated that he visited Bristol, but the only evidence we can find is that which is furnished by an old play entitled *The Faire Maide of Bristow*, a scarce black letter of the time of Elizabeth. The scene is laid in Bristol, where the king is supposed to have just landed;—

"*King.* All haile, thou blessed bosome of my peace;
Richard findes instance of his home returne.
Bristow, thou hapie rode, where first I lande.
Send word to London of our safe arrivall,
While we awhile in Bristow heere repose us.
"*Godfrey.* Fame with her brazen trump hath borne this tidings hether.
"*Eustace.* And Bristow with their cittizens expresse
Their gladnes by their triumphe at your safetie."

The play concludes thus:—

"In Bristow here awhile ourselves will stay,
And spend some sportfull houres, to crowne your joy,
After so many troubles, and tyerd annoy."

We need scarcely say that the sentiments expressed above were never those of Richard Cœur de Lion; the landing and the goodwill are both alike mythical and contrary to fact. He was emphatically Richard of Normandy. Although he found in the English treasury 1,000 marks left by his father, he publicly sold the Crown demesnes, earldoms, public offices and the suzerainty of Scotland to raise funds for the Crusade; "his court was a market, and he a royal chapman, who

boasted 'that he would sell London itself if he could find a purchaser.'"[1]

24. The first event in his reign which had any relation to Bristol was the marriage of Prince John to Hawise, Countess of Gloucester and Lady of Bristow. The ceremony was performed at Marlborough, August 29th, 1189, seven weeks after the death of King Henry. John was at that time 23 years of age. Hoveden, a contemporary writer, states that when King Henry was dangerously ill in 1170 he divided all his foreign possessions among his children; to John, the youngest, he gave the earldom of Mortain.[2] This grant was confirmed by King Richard, who before he came over to England "gave to his brother John all the lands *which his father had given to him*, viz., £4,000 of lands in England *and the earldom of Moreton, with its appurtenances*, and he gave him also the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester with that honour, and the Castle of Marlborough with that honour, and the Castle of Ludgershall with that honour, and the Castle of Peek with that honour, and the Castle of Bolesover with all the land that belonged to Wm. Peiterel, and the town of Nottingham with that honour, and the Castle of Lancaster with that honour, and Darbyshire, and the honour of Wallingford and the honour of Tikehill."[3] The Tewkesbury MS. adds to this list the earldoms of Cornwall, Dorset and Somerset.[4] Archbishop Baldwin in vain forbade the marriage, and laid all John's lands under an interdict, because the parties were cousins in the second degree;—

Henry I. { Empress Maud—King Henry II.—John.
{ Robert Consul—Earl William—Hawise.

It is difficult to ascertain the value of the estates that John received with his wife. "In 14 Henry II., 1168, William, Earl of Gloucester, held above 260 knights' fees, and in 15 John, the Earl accounted for above 337 fees."

25. On Richard's return from the Holy Land, in 1194, being convinced of the treachery of his brother, the king, by a solemn judgment of his nobles, deprived John of all his honours and seized upon his castles and lands. It would seem, however, "that John's garrison in the Castle of Bristol withstood the king and endured a siege, for in 1196 one Richard d'Orescuilz was fined 100 shillings for having been present at the siege of Bristow."[5] We presume this to mean that he was an officer of the garrison. In 1193 the burgesses of Bristol were guilty of some disrespect to the king's justiciaries, Robert Marmiun and his fellows, in not going out to meet them as they ought, for which neglect they were fined £100 by those justices.[1] The king, in 1195, at the intercession of their mother, restored to John the earldom of Mortain and the honour of Eye, together with the earldom of Gloucester, and made him an annual allowance of £8,000 money of Anjou in lieu of his other estates; but Richard kept the castle of Bristol in his own hands, for we find that in 1196 the burgesses paid him 200 marks for tallage, and 10 marks more for the fairs of St. James'.[2]

Richard died April 6th, 1199. During his reign coarse woollen cloth was first introduced as a manufacture into England, and trading companies were established. The price of an ox was 4*s.*; a farmer's horse, 4*s.*; a sow, 1*s.*; a sheep, with fine wool, 10*d.*, with coarse wool, 6*d.*

The art of heraldry also became general, in order to distinguish the crusading knights. Richard changed the arms of England from two lions passant to three, and added the motto *Dieu et mon droit;* and a national standard of weights and measures was introduced. Neither Richard nor his predecessor, Henry II., are known to have coined money in Bristol. The silver Poitou penny is the only money known to have been coined by Richard.

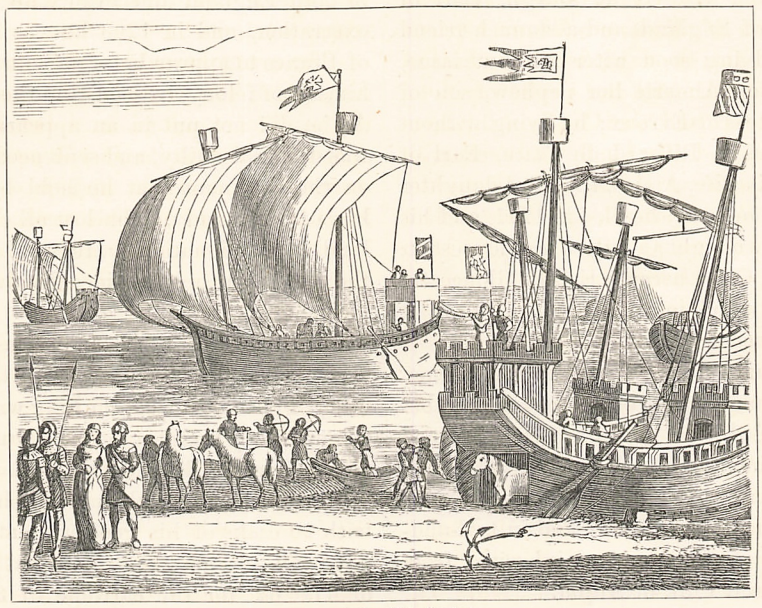
26. There is a curious letter given by Richard of Devizes, written about this date, which, divested of its monkish prejudice, contains a brief but exaggerated description of some of the chief cities and towns of England; the narrator is a Jew:—"Go not to London. Every race of every nation abides there, and they have there brought their vices. It is full of gamblers and panders, of braggadocios and flatterers, of buffoons and fortune-tellers, of extortioners and magicians. At Canterbury people die in open day in the streets for want of bread and employment. Rochester and Chichester, mere villages, are cities only in name. Oxford barely sustains its clerks. Exeter supports men and beasts with the same grain. Bath is buried in a low valley, full of sulphury vapour. Worcester, Chester and Hereford are infested by the desperate Welshmen. York abounds in rascally Scots. Ely is putrified by the surrounding marshes. At Durham, Norwich and Lincoln there are none who can speak French. At Bristol everybody is, or has been, a soapmaker, and every Frenchman esteems soapmakers as he does nightmen. But Winchester is the best of all cities, and the people have only one fault—they tell lies like watchmen." As far as Bristol is concerned a vein of truth is found in the letter, for ninety years after the above words were written by the Jew, London merchants

[1] Sir F. Palgrave, Rotuli Curiæ Regis. Intro.
[2] Seyer, I., 518. [3] Bromton, 1157.
[4] Dugd. Monast., I., 155. [5] Seyer, I., 518.

[1] Evans, 51. [2] Madox Exch., XVII., 3.

bought all their soap at Bristol, and we well know that the trade still retains its pre-eminence.

27. The exactions of the Norman nobles, the tyranny of the forest laws, their hatred and contempt for the people, fostered by the songs of the *jongleurs*, whose pithy proverbs, such as "He shames God who raises a villan" (serf), or "Why should villans eat beef or any dainty food," fanned the spark of smouldering hatred in the hearts of Englishmen. Banded outlaws were honoured and sheltered as redressers of wrong. Men rejoiced to hear that a fat abbot had been fleeced by the foresters, or that the Jews had a firm grip on a plundering baron. The love of gambling was universal, so that restrictions had to be made to keep it within limits. No man below the rank of a knight or clergyman was allowed to play for money, and they were limited to a loss of 20*s.* a day; soldiers playing without leave were to be whipped, and sailors to be plunged into the sea on three successive mornings. Quarrels were frequent. Prince John lost his game and his temper at chess, and broke his opponent's head with the chess-board; his adversary (Fulk Fitz Warin) returned the compliment by a blow that nearly killed the prince.



Ships of the 13th Century.

The out-of-door games were bowls, wrestling, quarter-staff play, the sword dance and the archery meeting. Jugglers, bearwards, dancing girls, ballad singers and strolling musicians made each market lively and each fair a scene of rollicking festivity. The great fair of Bristol was that of St. James, which was held on a site now known as the Horsefair. The old free English spirit, repressed by Norman misrule for months, would on these occasions break out in such strength as frequently to overawe their lords, and the lessons learned at such gatherings prepared the way for the coming struggle for their liberties.

Richard's first fleet consisted of thirteen large busses, fifty-three armed galleys, and a hundred carracks or transports. These were moved all of them by oars as well as by sails. The busses or dromons had three masts, one sail on each; these and the galleys were double-banked with oars. Each galley had a beak or ram; the smaller galleys were termed galleons. The crusade gave a great impulse to the naval progress of the country, and raised the seamanship of the English sailor. English wool was at this time of superior quality, and more valuable than that of Spain, and all woollen cloths were obliged to be dyed in towns; of this trade Bristol had a large share.

28. For fifty days after the death of Richard, England was without a king. Prince Arthur, the son of Geoffrey, the third son of King Henry II., was the legitimate heir to the throne, under the system of hereditary descent, which had been introduced by the Normans. But he was a lad of twelve, and John was an astute, ambitious man of thirty-two years of age. It was therefore convenient to ignore the recent practice, and to revert to the old English system of an elective monarchy, and an avowed respect for the will of the late king who had named John as his successor.

In a great Council held at Northampton, Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, addressing the assembled nobles, said "You are come hither this day to choose you a king." They chose John, who was crowned on the 27th of May, 1199. On the Continent, in Normandy, Aquitaine and Poitou, his authority was also recognised; but Anjou, Maine and Touraine, espoused the cause of Prince Arthur. Philip, King of France, wary and subtle, preferred to be suzerain over a youth like Arthur rather than a king in whom he recognised a man of consummate ability, unrestrained by principle. The French monarch, therefore, invaded Normandy, and placed garrisons in the three provinces faithful to Arthur.

29. John, on the 23rd of May, 1200, by the influence of the Cardinal of Capua, made peace with Philip, and Arthur, as Duke of Brittany, had to do homage to his uncle. Meanwhile the voluptuous king had seen and

coveted the beautiful betrothed of Hugh, Count of La Marche, and he hastened to divorce his wife Hawise, the daughter of the late Earl of Gloucester, on the grounds of consanguinity, and because she had borne him no children. Hawise was, in 1214, upon promise of payment of a fine of 20,000 marks, allowed to marry Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex. "The king gave her permission to convey her possessions and titles to her husband, with the exception of the honour of Gloucester, the town and Castle of Bristol, and the whole hundred of Barton Regis: these were never again permanently united to the earldom, being too important a possession to be left in the hands of a subject."[1] Hawise married a third time in 1216, her next husband being Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, Chief Justiciary of England, and a staunch friend of King John; but dying soon after without issue, the earldom devolved on Almeric her nephew, son of her sister Mabel, Countess of Evreux; he dying without issue the earldom came to Richard de Clare, Earl of Hereford, in right of his wife, Amice, the third daughter of William, Earl of Gloucester; he died in 1211, and his widow became in her own right Countess of Gloucester; on her death Gilbert de Clare became Earl of Gloucester and Hereford separately and jointly, in which family it continued for many generations.[2]

Isabella, daughter of Aylmar, Count of Angouleme, tempted by the splendour of a crown, forsook her betrothed, and John married her; but although he gained a wife he lost his continental kingdom. The Count of La Marche excited an insurrection in Poitou and Aquitaine; the crafty Philip supported him, and in two-and-a-half years John lost all that he had inherited from William of Normandy and Fulk of Anjou.

In 1199 a tax was laid on Gloucestershire by the king. Bristol paid 500 marks, Redcliff 100 marks, and Temple 50 marks.[3]

30. The year 1200 witnessed a renewal of the war with Philip, avowedly on behalf of Arthur, who was sent at the early age of fifteen into Poitou to head an insurrection against John. Arthur's grandmother opposed him, but had to take refuge in the citadel of Mirabel, whilst Arthur and his faithful Bretons occupied the town. By a rapid march John surprised the town on the 1st of August, and captured Arthur, his sister Eleanor, the Count of La Marche, and above two hundred knights. The latter were loaded with irons and thrown into different prisons. Two of them, Emery de Luens and Hugh de Oire, were for a brief time confined in the castle of Bristol, but a more disastrous fate awaited them. John, with a vindictiveness that disgraced the age of chivalry and a revengeful spirit that was absolutely fiendish, dispatched on the 4th of February, 1202, from Rouen, an order for their removal to Corfe castle, where, with twenty other knights who had taken part with Arthur, they were starved to death.[1] Eleanor, at the same place, met with more gentle treatment; but over the fate of Arthur there hangs an inscrutable mystery. Shakespeare has immortalised the tradition that Hubert de Burgh was ordered to put out the eyes of the young prince, but mercy withheld his hand. The lad suddenly vanished. John was openly accused of his murder. Whether the prince fell by his uncle's hand, or by that of a hired assassin, is open to conjecture, but the people of the two realms were convinced of John's guilt, so that in both England and France he was held up to general execration, and in 1203 he was summoned as a vassal of France to appear before a court of his peers and clear himself of felony, treason, and the murder of his nephew. As he did not put in an appearance, in his absence he was declared guilty, and sentenced to forfeit all the lands on the continent that he held by homage. With the loss of Normandy, John lost all chance of making England a feudal nation. He stood face to face now with the English people unaided by the rapacious knights of Normandy.

31. In July, 1204, John was at Bristol for three days, and again in December of the same year. On the 5th of February, 1205, the king writes to John de la Warr commanding that his beloved Justiciary Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, Earl of Essex (a man who exercised some little influence over the lawless monarch), should be presented with 20 casks of his good wine at Bristol;[2] and on the 23rd of the same month payment is ordered to be made of 41*s.* 6*d.* for the carriage of 30 tuns of wine from Bristol to Tewkesbury, 2 tuns to St. Briavels, and 1 tun to Winterbourne; in March, 40 tuns are ordered to be in readiness for the king's messengers; and the constable of the castle is ordered to pay out of the fee-farm of Bristol 97½ marks to the merchants of whom the wine was purchased. John, on this occasion, confirmed to John de la Warr a grant of the manor of Brislington.[3] Also in April, the Baron of the Exchequer is ordered to pay to John de la Warr, Jerdan Rufus and others, £586 for wine purchased by the king's orders at Bristol.

On the 7th of June following, 20 casks are ordered to be placed in Bristol castle, 50 casks to be sent to Portsmouth for the king's use, and large quantities were also forwarded to Kenilworth, Malmesbury and

[1] Seyer, I., 523. [2] *Ibid*, I., 524. [3] Madox, Exch. XVII., 4.

[1] Annals of Margam, 26.

[2] Taylor's Book about Bristol, quoting Rott. Litt. Claus. I., 36–140.

[3] Collinson, Hist. Somerset, II., 411.

other places. John had his fits of remorse, and, although no man could be more utterly irreligious, it would seem that at intervals, probably when suffering after a debauch, he sought to salve a sore conscience by some deed of charity; for instance, he gave 18*s.* 9*d.* in alms to 200 poor people in Bristol, whom he fed because he twice ate on the Friday after the feast of St. Michael, and also on the Friday after the feast of St. Dionysius; at another time he made a vicarious condonation in bread, meat and ale, to 30 poor persons, because Geoffrey Fitz-Peter had eaten flesh on the Wednesday next after the Octave of St. Peter and Paul.[1] On the 8th, 9th and 10th of September, in the same year (1205) the king was again in Bristol; and in 1206 he granted the town of Bristol to the burgesses in fee-farm, at a yearly rent of £245, the castle of Bristol excepted, reserving the prisage of beer, viz., as much as the Constable of the Castle and his people there have need of."[2]

32. In 1206 John made his final attempt to regain his continental kingdom. In this he was unsuccessful; and on October 27th in that year the English kings ceased to have any dominion in France, except Poitou, although they retained the empty title upon their coins until the commencement of the present century. From that hour England stood alone; Norman and Saxon blended into one self-contained English nation—"A precious stone set in the silver sea"—and a fresh page in her history began, on which, ere another decade had passed, was inscribed in imperishable characters, the Magna Charta of her liberties.

John had already incurred the displeasure of the Pope, Innocent III., one of the ablest men who had worn the tiara, by his divorce and subsequent unhandsome marriage. He had early in his reign arrogantly flung defiance to Rome when he wrote, "Know ye that we have given license to Peter Buillo to enter into any religion he pleases."[3] And now, when he had lost France and had become unpopular in England, he must needs set himself in antagonism to a pontiff who claimed that "all regal dignity should be a reflection of the papal authority and entirely subordinate to it." Had John's opposition been founded on a sincere desire to maintain the liberty of his kingdom and the religious freedom of his people, instead of an assertion of his own haughty will, he would have won for himself a glorious name in Britain. In 1207, the see of Canterbury was vacant. The monks of St. Augustine's abbey elected secretly their sub-prior, and sent him to Rome to obtain the sanction of the Pope. John and the suffragan bishops gave the appointment to Gray, Bishop of Norwich. The Pope coolly put both candidates aside and directed the monks to choose Cardinal Stephen Langton, an Englishman of high character, great learning and ability, then resident at Rome.

33. The above was a most fortunate choice for England, but an unfortunate one for the Pope, as well as for John, who would have done wisely if he had acquiesced. Instead however of so doing, he seized on the monastery at Canterbury, appropriated its revenues and banished the monks. Within the year the whole kingdom was laid under an interdict, the churches were closed, the death bell ceased to toll, the dead remained unburied, or were interred without the usual solemn rites, weddings had to be deferred, for no priest could be found to perform the ceremony, and the merry marriage peal no longer resounded its welcome to the bridal procession. This anomalous state of things, however, did not last. John rose to the occasion and acted vigorously; he found priests who were conformable to his will, who preached in churchyards and at market crosses, and married folk at the church door when they could not obtain access to the interior of the building. The very sound of strife seemed to invigorate him. He banished the clergy who obeyed the Pope, confiscated their lands, and allowed outrages on them to remain unpunished. He granted a charter of incorporation to London, and gave the citizens leave to elect their own mayor, to hold their first court of common council, and sent them an architect to build their noble bridge.

34. During the four years of struggle betwixt King and Pope, John seems to have been a frequent visitor to Bristol. Seyer says John was in Bristol in 1206,[1] when a tax was laid on the town in the king's presence, amounting to £469 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1207 he spent the 17th, 18th and 19th of September in the castle, and in 1208 he was here during part of the months of March and June, and on December 24th, 25th and 26th. That Christmas in Bristol was signalised by the issue of an edict which has borne bitter and bloody fruit in all parts of the kingdom, and which is to this day a means of peopling the gaols, increasing the taxes, and keeping alive a feeling of angry animosity between the owners of land and the men who toil thereon. John decreed that feathered fowl should thenceforth be considered as game and be strictly preserved. The times were bad, bread was scarce, and the poor had to be fed by the hand of charity. John himself had recently issued a writ commanding the Abbot of St. Augustine's in Bristow to feed 200 poor people, the "corn to be bought by our fee-farm and thereof to make bread, so that four loaves shall be worth a penny; and that ye cause also certain

[1] Taylor, quoting Cole, 236. [2] Evans, 53.
[3] Hardy Pat. Rolls, 69.

[1] Seyer, I., 526.

meal to be made to make porridge thereof; and from the day of the receiving of these our letters to the day of the Assumption of our Lady the poor to have each of them daily one loaf and so much pottage made of the said meal and herbs while herbs may be found, and when they cannot be gotten ye make so much pottage of beans or of peason, whereby they may be sustained, so that they perish not." The Norman kings had by their terribly restrictive forest laws deprived the peasant of the means of eking out his scanty fare with an occasional stray rabbit, or hare, or a slice of venison; and now the man's bow had to be thrown aside and his skill abandoned, for the birds that had hitherto been common property, as free as the air in which they flew, were converted, by the will of a king, from an article of food for the poor into a royal luxury.

In 1208, John ordered "that in Bristol a tun of Poitou wine should not be sold for more than 20*s.*, nor wine of Anjou for more than 24*s.*, wine of France for more than 25*s.*, unless it were so good that any person would give at the highest two marks for it; that Poitou wine should not be sold for more than 4*d.* a gallon, nor white wine for more than 6*d.*; and he appointed 12 officers, who were to take care that these regulations were observed. Wheat also was to be sold at 12*s.* and beans and oats at 4*s.* per quarter of eight bushels."

35. In the spring of 1209 the burgesses of Marlborough, one of the places that John had obtained by his marriage with his cousin, paid the king 10 marks, in order that the burgesses of Bristol might not harass them contrary to the liberty granted to them by the king's charter. This was in March. During this spring John marched against the King of Scotland, who had been coquetting with the Pope. One of John's pretences for the war was this—that William I. of Scotland had given one of his daughters in marriage without the sanction of himself, his sovereign lord, &c. The armies met at Norham castle, where the Scotch king, fearing to hazard a battle, asked for a truce, paid a large sum of money as indemnity, and gave his two daughters nominally to be educated, but virtually as hostages. These ladies were brought to Bristol castle, and Robert de Barvill was afterwards paid 40 marks for conducting them thence, together with 48,000 marks taken out of the Bristol treasury, to Nottingham. The ladies were soon after removed to Corfe castle, where they became for a while companions to the unfortunate Princess Eleanor of Brittany, who had not then been removed to Bristol castle. There are entries on the rolls of orders for vestments to be provided according to definite patterns for the three princesses in company.[1]

[1] Taylor's Book about Bristol, quoting Cole, 236.

John was in Bristol in May, July, September and December of the above year.

36. In May, 1210, the king again visited Bristol, being on his way to Ireland. To defray the expenses of his armament, "he imprisoned all the Jews in England, and plundered them of their goods to the amount of 66,000 marks."[1] "Persons of that nation, of both sexes, were seized all over England and cruelly treated, till they would ransom themselves according to the king's pleasure."[2] From the same authority we learn that John, on that occasion, brought immortal infamy upon his name by his atrocious cruelty. Abraham, a Jew of Bristol, residing without the walls, refused to ransom himself at the price the king demanded, 10,000 marks. John thereupon ordered "that the tormentors should every day forcibly dash out (*excuterent*) one of Abraham's cheek teeth till he consented to pay the money." The executioner struck out seven in as many days; but on the eighth day Abraham yielded and paid the money, having but one tooth left, fearful lest his head should follow the last molar. From Bristol, John obtained also 1,000 marks; from Redcliff, 1,000 marks; and from Temple, 500 marks. Of these moneys £237 6*s.* 8*d.* were put into the treasury, and 225 marks were paid to Engelard de Cygony to be put into the king's treasury in Bristol. Engelard was sheriff of Gloucester and king's justiciary, as well as king's treasurer in Bristol. In the same year the "ferm of Bristow" was granted to this personage for the sum of £145 per annum; Richard the burgess accounted for him. Bristol, it would appear, as we have seen, was usually farmed out in this manner, but generally to the chief magistrate in the name of the community. Richard, the burgess, was no doubt the collector for Engelard, who must have laid a heavy hand upon Bristol, as he is specially excepted by name in Magna Charta as one to be removed from all office in England, and to be sent out of the kingdom.[3]

In Ireland, John was hailed as a deliverer, and he met there with the only notable success of his reign. The English barons who had tyrannised over the natives were defeated by him. Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, was driven into banishment; William de Braiose escaped to the continent, but his wife Matilda and children, with

[1] Annal. Waverl., 172.

[2] Matth., Paris, 229.

[3] Magna Charta, Clause 58, runs thus:—"We will entirely remove from our bailiwicks the relations of Gerard de Athyes, so that for the future they shall have no bailiwick in England. We will also remove Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter and Gyon de Canceles, Gyon de Cygony, Geoffry de Martin, and his brothers, Philip Mark, and his brothers, and their nephew Geoffrey, and their whole retinue."

others, were made prisoners. Here John showed again the fiendish side of his character—

> "The man who bears an honourable mind,
> Will scorn to treat a woman lawlessly."

But this miscreant monarch brought the ladies to England and threw them into the castle prison of Bristol, demanding from them a fine of 40,000 marks. Matilda failing to make good her first instalment, he raised the sum to 50,000 marks, and threatened to raise it by 10,000 marks at each future failure. As she was never able to make good the payment, the cruel tyrant starved her and her son William to death at Windsor, to which place they had been removed. Acting on discreet advice, John commanded that the English laws should be observed in Ireland.

37. Returning to England, he landed in Bristol in triumph on the last day of August, 1210. Still defiant of the Papal power, his officers kept close watch at all the ports, so that the knowledge of the bull of excommunication should not be disseminated amongst the people. Yet, unwise and selfish as ever, he alienated the townsmen of Bristol by his illegal exactions. Violating their charter, he imposed a cocket, or toll, on every ship of fish brought into the port, which tax was to be paid to the constable of the castle. This unjust imposition was, as we shall see (although perforce submitted to in the presence of a victorious army), bitterly resented, and was the principal cause of the burgesses being deprived of their charter by Edward I. (restored 1284[1]), and also of the great insurrection, 1312 to 1316, under Edward II.

38. But the Bristol burgesses were not the only sufferers; the wealth of the ecclesiastics and of their churches was seized; the castles and estates of the barons who sided with the Pope were taken possession of by the king, who starved the owners to death in his prisons, and violated common decency by his outrages on their wives and daughters. The whole land was filled with disaffection, and men everywhere began to look about them for a remedy. Then the Pope launched his last thunderbolt. Acting on his previous excommunication he deposed the king, absolved his people from their allegiance, called upon all Christians, kings, barons and people, to dethrone John, and excommunicated those who held any intercourse with him. Had John been as wise as he was able, as studious of the welfare and happiness of his people as he had been unjust and tyrannical, he might have laughed to scorn the fulminations from Rome, and thrown himself unreservedly upon the affections of his people, who would have sacrificed much rather than endure such an outrage from a foreign pontiff. For by this bull all the ordinary operations of law were suspended, crime might be committed with impunity, and there was no safety for property or for life.

But John had forfeited all claim to the loyalty of his subjects, and he found at this his hour of peril that he could place no reliance on baron or burgess. His cruelties were intolerable. Amongst the records of his atrocities we find that "one Geoffrey, of Norwich, suspected of being engaged in a plot against him, was first imprisoned at Nottingham, and thence brought to Bristol, where he was miserably put to death by a new kind of punishment."[1] This was in 1212, in which year John was in Bristol, on July 25th and 26th, and on October 18th and 19th. In 1213 he learned, to his consternation, that Philip of France had obtained the promise of the English kingdom from the Pope, that he was in league with the English nobility, and that a large army was assembled on the French shore ready for the invasion of England. To crown all a fanatic, "Peter of Pomfret, had prophesied that before Ascension Day, May 16th, 1213, John would cease to reign."

39. The king was busy in Bristol on March 13th and 14th of that year, feeling the pulse of his heretofore faithful men. When his position was clearly seen by him, his change of front was sudden and complete, his arrogance dropped into servility, his haughty pride sank into the deepest depth of mean abasement. He resigned both crown and kingdom into the hands of the Pope's legate, took an oath of fealty to the Holy Father, as his vassal, and consented to pay to him an annual tribute of 1,000 marks, and so received back a tarnished crown. He, moreover, was obliged to reverse all outlawries, to make what restitution he could, to recall the exiled ecclesiastics, and to welcome Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury. All England was astounded. "He has become the Pope's man," the people cried; but as a political measure the success of John's submission was complete. On the 15th he knelt before the legate and degraded England to be a fief of the Holy See; and on Ascension Day (May 16th) he hanged the fanatic Peter as a false prophet, although the prophecy had been painfully true.

40. The character of John displays a strange compound of abject meanness and great courage and ability; from grovelling at the feet of the legate for the restoration of his crown, and hanging a crazy fanatic because he had unwittingly told an inconvenient truth, we find him successfully organising a league which, had he been supported by his people, would probably have laid France at his feet. He wrote at this time to his con-

[1] Evans, 68.

[1] Matth. Westm.

stable of Bristol castle commanding him to send without delay 54 coats of mail and haubergeons, with iron caps and helmets, so that they may be at Portsmouth by the day of St. Hilary (January 14th). He ordered that every ship in the realm that could carry six horses should rendezvous at Portsmouth, and every man-at-arms in the kingdom was summoned to the coast of Kent. By far the greater number of the barons, although they obeyed the call, refused to embark, alleging that their term of feudal service had expired. The king then sought to lure them to follow him, and sailed to Jersey in that anticipation. Instead of doing so, however, they met in council at St. Albans, and issued in the royal name a proclamation commanding that the laws of King Henry I. should be observed. John returned in a rage and determined to punish the barons as traitors; but he was met by the sturdy Archbishop who told him that no man could be punished without a trial, and threatened him with excommunication if he dared to proceed to extremities.

41. Notwithstanding this defection, the king boldly crossed the Channel with his fleet, landed in Poitou, and captured Angers. The Earl of Salisbury burned Dieppe and destroyed the French fleet. Otho of Germany, with his knights and the Flemings of the Count of Flanders, joined him, and John's force amounted to 150,000 men, the greater part being, however, foreign mercenaries. The two armies met at Bouvines; the result was the total defeat of the allied armies by the French and the utter overthrow of the hopes of John. He immediately concluded an ignominious truce with Philip and returned to England in October, still cherishing the belief that by the aid of his mercenaries he should be, to use his own words, "for the first time, King and Lord of England."

42. Archbishop Langton and William, Earl of Pembroke, were equal to the occasion. A council was held at St. Paul's during the king's absence, in which the patriotic prelate produced the charter of Henry I., a code of ancient Saxon laws, with Norman additions, which the whole assembly adopted and swore to maintain; and within a few days of the king's landing the barons met at St. Edmund's Bury, and swore on the high altar to demand from him, if needful by force of arms, the observance of Henry's charter and the Confessor's law.

At Christmas they presented themselves in arms before the king and preferred their claim. He promised to give them a definite answer at Easter. The few months that followed showed John that he stood alone—no man would help him against the charter.

43. His liege men of Bristol, who appear to have been hitherto more faithful to him than he deserved, had grown weary of his exactions. He endeavoured to allay their rising discontent, and sent an order for twelve of the most discreet citizens to meet him that very day, the Sunday next after the feast of St. Pancras (April 3rd), at Trowbridge, in order that he might expound to them his will. The writ further ordered that at the same time, and apparently under their safe conduct, forty hogsheads of wine should be sent to him at Marlborough and twenty others to Devizes. Morbidly suspicious of the burgesses, he further directed Peter de Cancel (? *Chancellor*), the keeper of his wines in Bristol, to go to the king's treasure-house, taking with him certain persons, and in their sight he was to break the locks and to replace them by new ones, the keys of which were to be kept under the seals of the persons appointed, and nothing was to be abstracted without their presence and concurrence.[1] This was on the eve of his appointment with the barons, whom he had to meet at Easter.[2] Whether the chosen discreet twelve went to the king or not, we gather from the foregoing, and from the banishment of Cygony and de Cancel, that the voice of Bristol was heard in the meadow of Runnymede.

44. John, now too late, made concessions to cathedral, monastery and convent; he took the Cross for the Holy Land; he sent ambassadors to the Pope to solicit his aid; but as Easter drew near, he found to his cost that the terrible Nemesis was rapidly overtaking him. The barons met in arms at Stamford on April 27th; they marched to Brackley, where the king was then living, and presented to him the heads of their demands. These were indignantly refused. "Why do they not ask for my kingdom?" said he in his fury. The whole country rose as one man on his refusal to accept the charter. London opened its gates to the barons' army, the great towns furnished their contingents, and, with seven horsemen in his train, John found himself face to face with a nation in arms.

45. The Magna Charta of our English liberties was signed by the unwilling king on June 15th, 1215, at Runnymede, an island on the Thames. For its provisions we refer our readers to the history of England, it being far too lengthy for quotation; we give, however, a brief sample of the character in which it is written. But the struggle was not yet over between John and his people. The king appealed to Rome, and the Pope, as over-lord, annulled the charter, excommunicated the barons and the citizens of London, and suspended from his office the Primate; whilst John sat

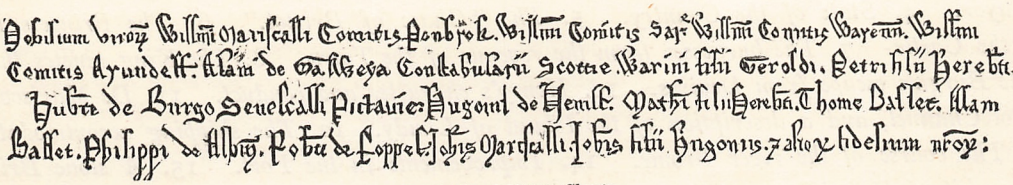
[1] Close Rolls, 1215.

[2] Magna Charta, Clause 58. See note 3, page 112.

brooding vengeance in the Isle of Wight, laying his plans, and anon marching along the south coast waiting for an expected army of mercenaries. From Poitou, Brabant, Gascony and Flanders there came, scenting their prey, large troops of disciplined freebooters, and the king found himself at the head of an army of foreigners, whom he led against his own people.

46. On July 19th and 20th, and again on August 19th, 20th and 21st, the king was in Bristol on the old errand—raising money and gathering men. His mercenaries plundered and burned wherever they marched, and the royal route might have been traced by the smouldering embers of the king's last sleeping-place. The undisciplined people everywhere fled from the fierce marauders, and John's star seemed to be once again in the ascendant.

47. Driven to despair, the barons and burgesses, still despising the papal bull and saying "the ordering of secular matters appertaineth not to the Pope," offered the crown to Louis, the eldest son of the King of France. The French prince accepted gladly, came with a powerful fleet, and his career was for a brief while triumphant; but what Louis gained by his sword he lost by an unwise tongue. A death-bed confession of one of his nobles, that the prince had said he would when triumphant, destroy the men who raised him to the throne, and his lavish bestowment of honours and possessions upon Frenchmen, convinced the English people that they were only exchanging a native oppressor for a foreign tyrant.



Fac-simile of Magna Charta.

48. In this crisis John with his army, hurrying to the relief of Dover, in the castle of which Hubert de Burgh was besieged by Louis, was surprised by the tide whilst crossing the Wash, his baggage and his treasures were swept away, and the kingdom was saved the horrors of another sanguinary civil war by the king's death from exhaustion and mortification, at Newark, on the 19th of October, 1216.

49. When John retained the lordship of Bristol in his hands he also kept the private property, of which he had held possession. In 1817, an old house that stood in Baldwin street, on the south side, was pulled down; it had an entrance from Back street, with a large garden and orchard extending down towards Queen's square. It was built apparently upon an older arched foundation, the ground being low and subject to floods. This house was traditionally known as King John's house, it adjoined the gardens of the "great stone house," and the entrance was from what is now known as Back street. The spot itself would be tolerably secure against any sudden attack, it being an island, formed by the mill stream fosse of the south wall of the town, and the rivers Avon and Frome. This would appear to have been in the 11th and 12th centuries a fashionable suburb; for here also, according both to history and tradition, stood the great stone house of Robert Fitzhardinge, and the house in which Matthews, the schoolmaster, educated Prince Henry. About 80 yards from the steps, going towards Clare street, there were also in Seyer's time the ruins of a chapel, in which a groined ceiling could be traced; this was reputed to be King John's chapel.

In Barton Regis hundred, about a mile from the city, on the road to Upper Easton, there was also in the last century a gateway in a wall, which, it was said, led to a house belonging also to this king, which Seyer thinks was used by him as a hunting-lodge when he took his pastime in the adjoining forest of Kingswood.[1]

50. In the penultimate year of his reign, John gave certain services, lands and houses in Bristol to the abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, which had been founded by himself.[2]

John does not appear to have coined money in Bristol.

His character has thus been described by a contemporary:—

"Foul as it is, hell itself is defiled by the fouler presence of King John."—*Roger of Andover.*

During this reign Giraldus Cambrensis, whose home was at the back of Barry island, Peter of Blois, Gervase of Canterbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Ralph de Diceto, and Bishop Grostête gave a stamp to the literature of the kingdom. The dinner hour was nine a.m., the supper hour five p.m. Chimneys were first used chiefly in kitchens; the assize of bread was appointed, and surnames began to be common.

[1] Seyer, I., 532.

[2] Full particulars of this gift may be seen in Seyer, I., 533–4.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PLANTAGENET ERA.

THE HOUSE OF ANJOU.—PART II.

1. *Henry III. crowned at Gloucester.* 2. *He holds a Council at Bristol.* 3. *Grants the right to choose a Mayor.* 4. *State of the Country.* 5. *The "Chase of Bristol."* 6. *The Princess Eleanor a prisoner in the Castle.* 7. *The burgesses farm the revenue of the Town.* 8. *The King renews the Charter.* 9. *Hubert de Burgh's escape from Devizes.* 10. *Henry's character and conduct.* 11. *De Marisco's piracies in the Bristol Channel, and a description of the Island of Lundy.* 12. *The shipping accommodation in the Port.* 13. *The course of the river Frome.* 14. *Improvements in the Port.* 15. *A stone Bridge built.* 16. *The Township of Redcliff.* 17. *The new Wall of Defence at Redcliff.* 18. *The new Wall in the Marsh (King Street).* 19. *Ichnography of the Religious Houses.* 20. *Ichnography of the Churches.* 21. *How the Walls were built and kept in repair.* 22. *Curious tenures and gifts in connection with All Saints Church.* 23. *Charter of* 1252. 24. *Bristol given to Prince Edward and his wife.* 25. *Charter granting a Coroner.* 26. *The "Mad Parliament."* 27. *Prince Edward besieged in the Castle.* 28. *Simon de Montfort's Parliament.* 29. *The struggle on the Severn.* 30. *Prince Edward victorious. He takes Bristol.* 31. *State of the country at the close of Henry's reign.* 32. *Henry's Coinages at Bristol.*

HENRY III. was only ten years of age when he succeeded his father. On the 28th of October, 1216, in the Conventual church at Gloucester, he was solemnly crowned with a plain fillet of gold, the crown of England having been lost in the Wash with John's treasures. The ceremony was performed by the Papal Legate Gualo, who had come from Rome to assist the late king against the French Prince and the confederate barons. This was a serious innovation on established usage. Heretofore the Primate, or in his absence the Archbishop of York, had claimed the right on behalf of the people to place the crown on the head of the monarch, but Gualo's was an overt act on the Pope's behalf, asserting his right as the over-lord to dispose of the crown of England, for which the boy monarch was compelled to do homage to his Holiness.

So repugnant to the nobility was this that they were "conspicuous by their absence," only three bishops and a few barons deigning to attend the ceremony.

The Earl of Pembroke was appointed governor of the young monarch and regent of the kingdom. By his wise and prudent conduct the breach between the confederated barons and Louis was made irreparable, and the nobles abandoned the foreigner and offered allegiance to Henry.

2. On the 11th of November the king held a council

in Bristol, "eleven bishops presented themselves. Langton and the Bishop of Lincoln, and probably the Archbishop of York also, were still abroad; the Bishops of Salisbury and London were ill; the sees of Durham, Norwich and Hereford were vacant. The Earls of Pembroke, Chester and Derby represented their own branch of the council; William of Aumâle also had returned to his allegiance before John's death; Hubert de Burgh and the two Williams de Briwere, father and son, represented the administrative body; Savaric de Mauleon and Fulkes de Breauté, the military strength which John had laboured so hard to maintain. Of the other barons present the most famous names are those of Beauchamp, Clifford, Mortimer, Lacy and Cantilupe, most of them from the western shires, and the March, where the personal influence of John had been longest and least oppressively felt. Of the twenty-five executors of the charter, William of Aumâle alone appeared."[1] Henry, at the above council, confirmed the Magna Charta in all its essential details. London still adhering to the French prince, who in the hour of need had come avowedly to the succour of English liberty, Henry took up his residence in Bristol and spent his Christmas there. Louis foreseeing a great defection of his English supporters, had hurried to France for reinforcements. Of these a large force in April, 1217, consisting of 600 knights and 20,000 men, was ruinously defeated at Lincoln by Pembroke with a comparatively small army. This was followed by a more fatal disaster; a fleet of eighty ships full of men sailed from Calais to aid the prince. Hubert de Burgh collected forty ships from the Cinque Ports, manœuvred so as to get the weather gauge, scattered powdered lime in the air, rammed his ships on to the French fleet ere the enemy had recovered their eyesight, and, boarding, carried the day with the battleaxe.

From that hour the cause of Louis was hopeless. The legate who had excommunicated both him and the barons, his partizans, now granted the prince absolution. Pembroke consented to treat with him, advanced £5,000 to meet his most pressing necessities, conducted him safely to the coast, and England was once again freed from the presence of a foreign foe.

3. It was while Henry was in Bristol, in 1216, that he granted a charter to the burgesses similar to the one which his father had given to the burgesses of London in 1213, giving them liberty to choose a mayor from among themselves. This charter is lost, but there can be no reasonable doubt as to its substance.

London was at this time in open active rebellion against the king. Bristol was the royal residence.

[1] Stubbs' Constit. Hist., II., 19.

London had chosen Roger Fitz Alan, a citizen, as her first mayor; Bristol now chose Adam le Page to fill the civic chair. London appears to have used the title of mayor some years before the charter was granted, the appointment, we think, was not at first an annual one, as Henry Fitz Elwyne was chief magistrate of that city from 1189 to 1212.[1] So also in Bristol the title was in use at least as early as 1200, in which year Robert Fitz Nichol witnessed as "mayor" the transfer of a bakehouse to the church of St. Nicholas.[2]

At the same place and time Henry and the Legate Gualo approved of the old established Guild of the Calendars, "propter antiquitates et bonitates, in eâ Gildâ repertas," and Gualo commended it to the care of the Bishop of Worcester, for particulars of which see our Ecclesiastical History. To the same volume also we must refer our readers for an account of the rapid growth of the monasteries and the friaries during this century.

4. The University of Oxford was at this period the centre of the democratic life of England, light was breaking, knowledge was recognised as more powerful than mere brute force, and both the feudal and ecclesiastical regimes, found themselves at strife with the schools, where "to know more than one's fellows was a man's sole claim to be a ruler." That this knowledge, however, combined physical force, and intellectual acquirements, is evident from a pithy proverb of the period, "When Oxford draws knife, England's soon at strife." Whilst England sullenly growled at the exactions of the Papacy, the roystering students took the bull by the horns, and besieged the legate himself in the stately abbey of Osney, under the very shadow of the great Norman towers of the castle of Oxford. For Rome was sucking the very life blood of English freedom and wealth, her legate resided at the court, and, as guardian of the king during his minority, claimed a share in the administration as the representative of the over-lord the Pope.

5. Langton had returned to England. In 1222 he held a synod at Oxford, where he made fifty canons, and steadily upheld the principles of Magna Charta. A friend to his order, he was a greater friend to English freedom. It was he who caused to be re-introduced into the Charter the clause which had been omitted in the confirmation at Bristol in 1216 "during his enforced absence," which restricted the royal power over taxation; and he also caused to be passed a Forest Charter, by

[1] Liber Albus, 645.

[2] J. F. Nicholls, Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Proc., 1879, 8. [We shall, in a subsequent chapter, give as complete a list as possible of the civic dignitaries from the date 1216.—Ed.]

which it was enacted that no man should lose life or limb for taking the royal venison. It was also owing to his influence that the king's woods were lessened, and some of them disafforested. This was passed reluctantly by Henry at a Parliament in Oxford in 1223.

"1222. Huntingford Chase, *alias* Horewood Chase, was now called the Chase of Bristol. All the lands of Hugh Gurney were ordered to be seized for hunting in a chase of that name without the king's leave."[1] Probably this piece of gross injustice had some share in procuring the Charter of the Forests; more likely still is it that it was the cause of the following change in 1227:—"At the general petition of the inhabitants of those parts, and especially of the men in the Forest of Horwood, and for £150 in money, King Henry III., in the 12th and 13th yeares of his reign, did disafforest all the townes, lands and woods between Huntingford (where Berkeley Hundred and Hugh Gurney's lands parted) and the wood of ffurzes now called Kingswood, within fower miles of Bristoll and so from Seaverneside, to the browe of the hills by Sodbury, excepting only Allestone Parke. And for more assurance, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and some other lords, took particular patents of disafforestation of their proper manors."

Mr. Fosbroke adds:—"A writ passed for disafforestation of king's forest near Bristol called Huntingford; claus. 12 Hen. III. A fine of 12,000 marks was paid for the disafforestation of the King's forest of Horewood, on this side Severn; Fin. 12 Hen. III. At the same era the Bishop of Bath and Wells held a charter for disafforestation of his manor of Pucklechurch, within this chase; Cart. 13 Henry III."[2]

Henry resided in the castle during his stay in Bristol. "He added a new barbican outside the western gate (the site of the entrance to Castle street) at a cost of £30. At the same date is a payment of £5 for forty wooden crossbows, bought by the royal command for the fortress; also a payment for repairs to the Castle Palace, which had been injured by violent winds."[3] In 1224 the king was again in Bristol. On leaving for Devizes he ordered a good carriage for three horses to be provided to carry himself, his armour and other accoutrements; also a bag of almonds, two frails of figs, a frail of raisins and a sack of rice. Whilst here he made a gift to the Bishop of Sarum of a certain remainder of timber in Clarendon Wood, near Salisbury, towards the erection of the present cathedral then building."[1]

6. When the Princess Eleanor was first brought into permanent residence in Bristol is not quite clear. That she was here in 1224 during the king's visit is certain. Although she constantly insisted on her right to the crown (to which she had in point of fact a better title than her cousin the king regnant), she was not treated with harshness or closely confined. By writ dated October 9th, 1224, Henry commanded his bailiffs at Bristol to attend at the castle once or twice every seven days, with four elect and approved men of the town, to see that the princess was in safe custody. She was allowed three waiting-maids, and rode abroad upon a palfrey with gilded reins. There are orders for the sheriffs of London to provide for her a frail of almonds, a frail of figs, and five ounces of silk for her tapestry work. The Bristol bailiffs are to furnish her with a tunic, super tunic, cloak and hood of dark brown or green, with cape of cambric, furred, and forty yards of fine linen; also her waiting-maids are to have a tunic, and super tunic, and cloak, with a cape of rabbit's skin, furred with lambskin. For the hermit in the castle (her chaplain probably) was to be made a tunic and cloak of the price of 12*d.* a yard, with a thick cape of lambskin. For the cook and master jailer of the same castle each a tunic and super tunic at 14*d.* a yard, furred with lambskin. For the three other jailers each a robe tunic and super tunic at 14*d.* a yard, without fur. For each of the two grooms and seven watchmen a tunic and super tunic at 12*d.* per yard, without fur. Previously to this, on March 13th, 1224, when Henry was at Bristol, he ordered that on every Sabbath day Robert Lupus and Ralph Williton should receive 50*s.* for the expenses of Eleanor and the royal servants at the castle, Hubert de Burgh, chief justiciary, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells being witnesses to the written injunction. By a later writ, 12th March, 1225, the king commands that the princess receive five marks a quarter for alms or pocket money. He also enjoins that two casks of old wine be supplied to her; and on the 25th of January following, an order occurs for ten casks of wine to be sent from the king's vintners at Bristol to Ralph Williton, the constable of the castle, for her use, so that if wine could gladden the heart of the captive she was not denied its powerful efficacy. On the 9th of September, 1226, the king sends her a present of two stags from his chase at Corfe. On the 25th of May, 1236, there is an order "Pay from our treasury to eight servicemen in Bristol Castle 12*d.* a day each; to three

[1] Evans, 56.

[2] Evans, 57, from Smyth's History of Berkeley. Most probably the ruins to which we have alluded on page 38 were the relics of a hunting lodge or a manor house of this bishop.

[3] Taylor's Book about Bristol from Rot. Litt. Claus., Hardy's Intro., xiv.

[1] Taylor's Book about Bristol from Rot. Litt. Claus., Hardy's Intro., xiv.

others, 7½*d.* a day; £19 15*s.* for forty days. Pay also to twenty serving footmen 3½*d.* a day, for twenty-four days."[1]

In a Code of Instructions, signed at Berkeley, August 28th, 1249, 34 Henry III., the king "enjoins the mayor and bailiff to lengthen three of the windows of his chapel, and to whitewash it throughout; also glass windows are ordered to be put in our hall at Bristol, a royal seat in the same hall, and dormant tables around the same, to block up the doors of the chapel beside our great hall there, and make a door in the chancel towards the hermitage; in that hermitage make an altar to St. Edward, and in the turret, over that hermitage, make a chamber for the clerk, with appurtenances; also build a kitchen and a sewer beside the said hall; and find the wages of a certain chaplain whom we have ordered to celebrate divine service in the chapel of our tower there, all the days of our life for Eleanor of Brittany, our cousin; to wit, 50*s.* per annum." In 1222 the king granted the burgesses by charter the customs on imports for two years, for repairing the walls.

7. In 1225 the revenues of the town were farmed out to the burgesses at a rent of £245 per annum. "They are to answer for two parts of that rent at Michaelmas, and for the remainder at the feast of St. Hilary; saving to the King for the use of the Constable and his people in the castle of Bristoll the prisage of Beer, as much as they want; so that the Burgesses may have the remainder; and saving to the King the Bailiwick of the barton of Bristol, and of the chace of Brull (Bristol), of Keinesham, and of the wood of Furches (Kingswood), which bailiwick the King has retained in his own hand."[2] The townsfolk were thus freed from the exactions of the revenue farmer, knew exactly how much they were required to pay, and at what periods the money was due.

8. For the third time the great charter was confirmed, in 1225, by Henry in council, upon the occasion of the grant of a fifteenth upon all personal estates; but in 1227 the king declared himself of full age, and set up his prerogative above all letters patent, which he claimed to "interpret, enlarge, or diminish by his own free will." He ordered most of the corporate towns to renew their charters, and that of Henry II., 1164, was confirmed by him to the Bristol burgesses for a given sum, the amount of which is not known; this charter was witnessed by Hubert de Burgh, William, Earl of Pembroke, and Ralph Fitz Nicholas.

9. The death of the great and patriotic churchman, Archbishop Langton, had left Hubert de Burgh alone in the administration of the affairs of the kingdom, but when the young king, with "his own free will for his guide," and a *posse* of foreign favourites surrounding his throne, had tasted the sweets of power; he speedily quarrelled with the chief justiciary, whom he threw, in 1233, into prison in the castle of Devizes, and William, brother of Lord Talbot, was made constable of Bristol castle. One night by the assistance of his esquire, who was his faithful and only attendant, De Burgh (now Earl of Kent) let himself down through the lattice by the aid of towels and napkins and took refuge in the parish church. He was dragged from thence in the morning by his keepers, but the bishop claiming the immunity of his sanctuary, he was taken back to the church, where he was closely watched by the soldiers and the *posse comitatus*.

William Mareschall, Earl of Pembroke, who had himself received most scurvy usage at the king's hand, hearing in his castle of Strugoyl (Chepstow) of the treatment of his ancient friend, despatched two of his knights, Gilbert Basset and Richard Siward, with a body of armed men, who forced the guard, armed De Burgh in the church, mounted him on a mailed horse, and crossing the river at Aust conveyed the earl in safety to Chepstow.

De Burgh made his peace. He was constable of the castle of Bristol in 1229, in which year the monastery of the Black Friars was founded by Maurice de Berkeley, who, dying the ensuing year, "gave by deed to the king Beverstone, Aylburton and Weston, whence the bequest is called King's Weston." "William de Putot, sheriff of Gloucestershire, declined to answer for the profits of the county, because the King had granted them for the custody of the Castles of Bristol and Gloucester, and for the maintenance of Eleanor his kinswoman, and the soldiers dwelling in both Castles—including the rent of Berton Regis, 60 marks, and the prisage of beer."[1]

In 1231, according to the Patent Rolls, murage was imposed upon Bristol by charter. It was a toll paid for every loaded beast or carriage entering within the town, which was applied to the purpose of repairing the walls.

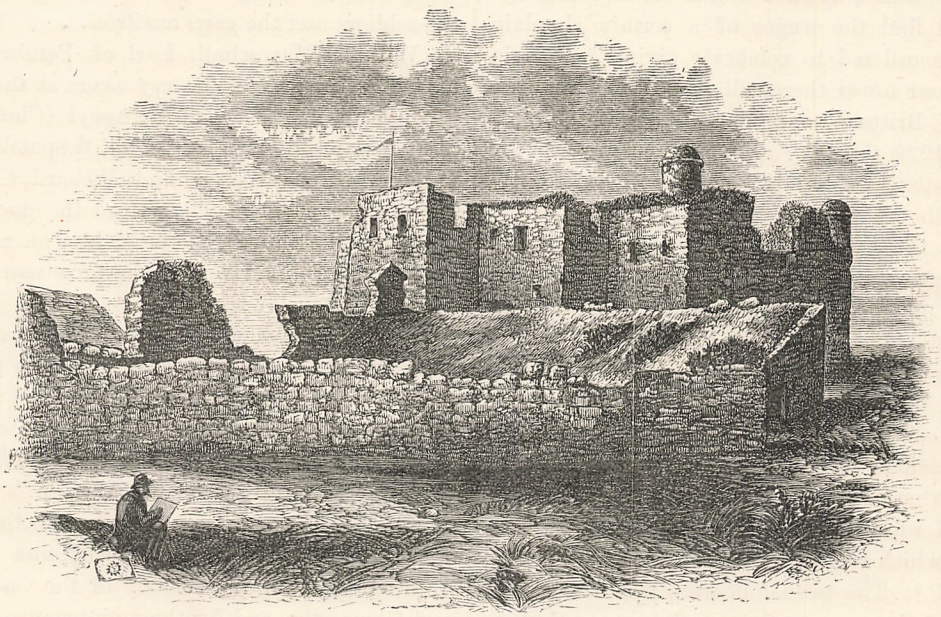
In an old deed of 1235, John de la Warr, mayor, witnessed a gift of a rent charge upon two stone houses, opposite St. Nicholas church, by Robert Aurifaber (goldsmith), for the chaplain celebrating mass in the said church, the chaplain to be chosen by the mayor and the steward of the Merchants' Company.

10. Henry was utterly lacking in the political capacity that had distinguished his race; weak, capricious, vain, profuse, superstitious and false, he became a mere tool in the hands of the rapacious foreigners who crowded

[1] Taylor's Book about Bristol, 185–6. [2] Seyer, II., 10.

[1] Evans, 58.

into England on his marriage with Eleanor of Provence in 1236. The extravagant hauteur of the queen's relatives, their monopoly of lands, wealth and honours, the lawless violence of their crowds of hungry retainers, who openly pillaged the markets and robbed the merchants, the exactions of the king by forced loans, or by his living at free quarters wherever he chose to hold his court, the extortionate use he made of the forest laws, his pensions to foreign favourites, amounting to one-sixth of the royal revenue, and the great indebtedness of the royal household, alienated the people from the crown, so that when in his financial straits he had, in 1237, to appeal to a Great Council for aid, it was only granted upon his confirming the Charter and solemnly promising to abide by its provisions.



Lundy Castle in the 17th Century.

Neither promises nor oaths could bind so frivolous, false and mean a king as Henry. When, in 1239, his son was born he sent messengers into the cities and chief towns to ask for gifts. "God gave us the child, but the king sells him to us," said the Bristol men, nevertheless they prudently contributed. At New Year's day Henry made another appeal for money, which was granted. In 1248 he had to sell his jewels to the citizens of London; this annoyed him. They wouldn't lend money, but they would buy! "They call themselves barons indeed! They possess a surfeit of riches! That city is an inexhaustible well!" cried he. And he took care to dip his bucket into it pretty constantly on one pretence or another.

11. At this period the commerce of Bristol suffered greatly from the piratical attacks of William de Marisco, the lord of the island of Lundy, which marks the south-western boundary of the Bristol Channel,

> "Where rock and ridge the bulwark keep,
> The giant warders of the deep."

The island lies about 11¾ miles N.W. of Hartland Point, and consists of a huge granite boss, which has apparently been thrust up through silvery slate rocks like those of Morthoe. There is but one practicable landing-place, which is at the S.E., where the peninsula of Lametor and Rat island project, forming a bay with good anchorage fringed by a pebbly beach.

This little bay is commanded by a castle which stands on the verge of the beetling cliff and covers the only road of access to the summit. It was built in the 11th century by John de Marisco, and its stones are cemented together by a peculiarly hardened clay without lime, which distinguishes the ancient fortification from the more modern structures erected in the 17th century for the defence of the island. At their base the castle walls are nine feet thick, having on the seaward face a considerable batter to one-third their height, which in the keep (the only portion standing) was 51 feet. Traces of embattlements and of machicolations are visible where the modern masonry has still further heightened this venerable structure. In form the castle is Early Norman, square, with turrets at the angles; it was surrounded by a stone wall with bastions at each corner and a deep fosse, except on the seaward front, there was a drawbridge on the north-east side. Traces of extensive offices, guard-houses, &c., remain, which show that once it was a place of considerable strength. There are besides this castle the remains of a large number of ancient structures, which were utilised for batteries in the civil wars, and in the reign of Queen Anne, when French privateers infested the Bristol Channel, and some foundations of round, isolated towers link its history to that of Ireland. Grose, in his *Antiquities* tells the following curious story:—"A ship of force pretending to be a Dutchman, and

driven into the road by mistaking the Channel, sent a boat on shore, desiring some milk for their captain, who was sick, which the unsuspicious inhabitants granted for several days. At length the crew informed them of their captain's death, and begged leave, if there was any church or consecrated ground on the island, to deposit his corpse in it, and also requested the favour of all the islanders to be present at the ceremony, which was immediately complied with. Accordingly the coffin was landed, and, by the assistance of the inhabitants, carried to the grave. They thought it remarkably heavy, yet were without the least suspicion of any hostile intentions. As soon as they had rested it the inhabitants were desired to quit the chapel, the visitors intimating that the custom of their country forbade foreigners to be spectators of that part of the ceremony which they were then going to perform, but that they should be admitted in a few minutes to see the body interred. They had not waited long without the walls before the doors were suddenly thrown open, and a body of armed men, furnished from the feigned receptacle of the dead, rushed out, and made them all prisoners. The poor distressed islanders then soon discovered these pretended Dutchmen were their national enemies the French, and were not a little hurt to find stratagem prevail where force would have been ineffectual, and the more particularly so as they had lent assistance to forward their own ruin. The enemy immediately seized 50 horses, 300 goats, 500 sheep, and some bullocks. After reserving what they thought proper for their own use, they hamstringed the remainder of the horses and bullocks, threw the sheep and goats into the sea, and stripped the inhabitants of every valuable, even to their clothes; and so much were they bent on destruction, that, a large quantity of meal happening to be in certain lofts under which was some salt for curing of fish, they scuttled the floor, and so, by mixing the mea and salt together, spoiled both. Thus satiated with plunder and mischief, they threw the guns over the cliffs, and left the island in a most destitute and disconsolate condition." [1]

Our readers must take this *cum grano salis*. The amount of stock said to have been captured is out of all proportion to that which the island could have maintained, and, moreover, the same story is told of the capture of the island of Sark, but in that case the account is indisputable.

From their stronghold on the rock, the robber lords of Lundy made their piratical attacks, not only on the ships traversing the high seas, but also on the adjoining coasts of Cornwall, Devon, Wales and Ireland. In 1238 one Richard, a clerk, feigning to be a fool, played the jester for some days at the Court of Henry III., at Woodstock. One night when the king was retiring to rest, this man was found lying hid in the straw under the king's bed, armed with a long knife, with which he had intended to kill the king. He implicated William de Marisco, by whom he professed to have been instigated to commit the murder. The wretched man was drawn at the tails of horses from Woodstock to Oxford, where he was hanged.

Marisco fled to his island of Lundy, where he subsisted on piracy and rapine until 1242, when the island was taken by surprise (very probably in a manner somewhat similar to that narrated above), and he and sixteen of his companions were taken prisoners.

Condemned to death they were drawn from Westminster to the Tower and hanged on a gibbet. "When Marisco had there breathed out his wretched soul he was disembowelled, his bowels were burned on the spot, and his wretched body, divided into quarters, was sent to the four principal cities of the kingdom to strike terror into all beholders." This is said to have been the first time that this barbarous punishment was inflicted in England. The island then was declared forfeit to the king. Edward II. sought in vain to reach it as a refuge when flying from his queen and the barons. It played a conspicuous part in the 17th century, in the early portion of which it was again the rendezvous of pirates; then it was captured by Spaniards, afterwards it was held loyally for Charles, until the garrison were reduced to feed on horseflesh, and when they surrendered it is said that they had not eaten wheaten bread for six months. In the middle of the 18th century a notorious adventurer, Thomas Benson, of Bideford, made it a receptacle for convicts, whom he had contracted with the Government to convey to Virginia, and also for goods which he smuggled, or of which he defrauded the insurance offices by landing cargoes on the island and then scuttling the vessels. During the present century the granite has been quarried, but without pecuniary success.

12. In 1241 the Princess Eleanor died after a captivity of 40 years. Henry, always apprehensive of an emeute in her favour, as having a more legitimate claim to the throne, felt greatly relieved at her death; for now was the crown settled on the legal heir of King Richard.

Bristol, we have seen, was early famous for its soap manufacture. In 1242 grey soap was sent from Bristol to London to John Lamb, who sold it at one penny per pound, and black soap at a half-penny.

The year 1239–40 was an eventful year for Bristol commerce, and the proceedings of the burgesses show

[1] Grose's Antiq., IV.

that, notwithstanding the exactions of the clergy and the aids to their king, they had prospered abundantly. The town quay, at which ships could load and unload, occupied only the space between the end of Baldwin street and St. Peter's hospital, be it remembered that this was, moreover, merely the bank of a tidal river, whose waters twice every day rose to height of 23 feet on an average, and as often subsided into a shallow stream flowing mostly through wide borders of soft deep mud. The chief quay was that on the bank at the back of Bridge street, and from this the church of St. Mary derived its name St. Mary-le-port. This bank was high and the river bottom stony. Ships settling down at low water upon uneven ground were frequently strained (hogged) out of their fair lines, hence the term attached to Bristol shipping for centuries (Bristol hogs). How the vessels passed the wooden bridge, which we have no doubt was in existence, is not stated, most probably there was an opening with a drawbridge, like those which existed at Frome bridge, St. Leonard's bridge and the castle, besides most of the shipping in that age could raise or lower their masts at pleasure.

13. The river Frome in its natural course flowed down what is now Marsh street, and thence across the middle of Back street by the Lawditch to the Avon, which it joined near to the churchyard at the end of Crow lane. But the chief portion of the water of this stream had for centuries been diverted into the fosse of the town, which ran under the wall from the Quay head through what are now St. Stephen and Baldwin streets until reaching the Avon bank, it there drove Baldwin's cross mill. The overplus of this water in times of flood would naturally find its old level, hence the earliest name of Marsh street built upon its ancient bed was Skadpulle street (Scatter or Overflow-pool street). It is very probable that for some considerable time the old river was used as a pill or creek for small vessels which could at high tide get as far as St. Stephen's Church—this became Pylle street;[1] hence, too, the name of Back or Beck, a brook. The land on the eastern, or city side, of the old water course belonged chiefly to the lord, but some of it had passed into the possession of the secular church of All Saints; that on the western side was a part of the manor of Billeswick, which had by Robert Fitzhardinge been given to the abbey of St. Augustine. This latter appears to have formed one large field known as Chanter's Close, and the townsfolk had thereon an ancient right of way along the river bank to the Avon, and most probably a towpath from the junction of the Frome with the Avon, to Kingroad. From this it will be seen that there was an irregularly quadrangular insulated piece of ground known as Bristol Marsh, whose angles would be at the Stone bridge, Thunderbolt street, Crow lane, and the end of Baldwin street, which island, as we have before shown in these pages, being thus protected, had become a fashionable inhabited suburb, containing the houses and chapels of Robert Fitzhardinge, King John, Matthews, the schoolmaster, and Baldwin's cross mill, &c.[1]

[1] Will. Wyrces., 44.

On the south and west sides of the ancient bed of the Frome, the land included within the following points :—The Drawbridge, Thunderbolt street, Crow lane, Redcliff ferry-slip and Canons' Marsh, belonged to the Abbey of St. Augustine.

14. Some sagacious fellow who had heard the merchants' loud and frequent complaints of want of room to load and unload their shipping, and who knew that the town was "cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd" within its narrow boundaries to the great detriment of trade and of health, conceived the design of first making a new, safe and commodious port outside the then walls of the borough; and secondly, of permanently uniting to Bristol by a stone bridge like that of London, and incorporating with the borough, the thriving parishes of Temple, Thomas and Redcliff. There is no record as to who the born engineer was who first conceived the idea to which Bristol commerce owes its extensive and excellent quays and the vast development at a bound of its commerce, neither is there any fear that the city, which has not a single public monument to any one of its greatest known benefactors, will ever raise one in gratitude to the great unknown. Indeed, his glory is already numbered amongst the things that have been, the bend of the tidal river has become a spacious floating harbour, and soon, it is evident, the tortuous channel of the Avon, which was suitable enough for the short cogs, ketches and pinnaces of the bygone centuries, must be made to afford suitable accommodation for the steam leviathans that bid fair to monopolise the ocean traffic of the world.

The first part of the scheme was accomplished by the purchase of the abbey land which we have described as lying outside the Frome on the south and west between the boundaries before-named, and the following covenant was sealed by both parties. It is the first title deed in the *Great Red Book* in the Council House.

"Conventio facta inter Abbatem et Conventum Sti Augustini Bristolliæ & Majorem & communiam Bristolliæ, de terrâ in marisco Sti Augustini versus aquam de Frome.

"Hæc est conventio facta inter dominum Willelmum de Bradestone, tunc abbatem Sti Augustini de Bristoll' et eiusdem loci conventum ex una parte, & Ricardum Ailard tunc maiorem

[1] This was, we believe, the river bank on which John, by charter, allowed, the burgesses to build.—Ed.

Bristoll' & totam communam Bristoll' ex altera parte. Scilicet, quod dictus Abbas & conventus concesserunt pro se & successoribus suis in perpetuum maiori & communæ Bristoll' & eorum hæredibus totam terram illam in marisco Sti Augustini Bristoll', quæ jacet exra fossatum quod circuit terram arabilem dictorum canonicorum directe versus orientem usque ad marginem portus Frome: quod quidem fossatum extenditur a grangia dictorum canonicorum versus Abonam Salvis abbati and conventui prædicto de terrâ proximâ prædicto fossato versus grangiam prædictam, ubi dicta communa incepit fossare, septies viginti & quatuor pedibus terræ in latitudine; & in medio dicti marisci quater viginti & duodecim pedibus terræ in latitudine; & in exteriori parte dicti marisci versus Abonam sexaginta pedibus terræ in latitudine: super quam terram sic mensuratum communa Bristoll' & eorum hæredes habere debent liberum iter suum, introitum, exitum et transitum ad naves suas & ad spatiandum pro voluntate eorum, de die & nocte, longe & prope, pacifice & sine contradictione in perpetuum, sicut semper habere consueverunt. Debent autem prædicta communa & eorum heredes & salvare abbati and conventui prædicto & successoribus suis eandem terram mensuratam; ita scilicet, quod si cursus aquæ ipsam terram deterioraverit, dicta communa illam debet emendare. Residuam vero terram dicti marisci Sti Augustini Bristoll' (ex orientali & australi parte prædicti fossiat debent prædicta communa et eorum hæredes integre et habere et possidere, ad faciendum inde unam trancheam & portum & quicquid dictæ communæ melius sederit absque omni impedimento & contradictione in perpetuum. Pro hac siquidem concessione dederunt prædictus maior & communa Bristoll prædicto abbati & conventui novem marcas argenti: unde ut hæc concessio rata & stabilis permaneat, tam sigillum prædicti conventus quam commune sigillum Bristoll' mutuo appensa sunt huic chirographo. Hiis testibus; domino Johanne filio Galfridi: Thoma de Berkeleia: Rob' de Gourney: W' de Pycott: Ignatio de Clyfton: Rogero de Warre de Knolle: Johanne le Warre de Brixtulton; & aliis. Facta autem conventio vigilia annunciationis beatæ Mariæ, anno regni domini regis H. filii J vicessimo quarto.

"The tenor of the foregoing covenant was as follows. The Abbot and Convent grant to the Mayor and Commonalty all the eastern part of St Augustin's Marsh, [that is, all that part which now forms Queen's Square and the adjoining streets]; from a certain ditch which bounds the arable land belonging to the abbey, eastward as far as the bank of the port of the river Frome; and this ditch extends from the Abbey grange [on the north] to the Avon [on the south]. But out of this grant the abbey still reserves to itself a strip of land adjoining to the ditch [on it's eastern side], 144 feet wide near the grange, 92 feet wide toward the middle, and 60 feet wide near the Avon. Nevertheless the commonalty are to have full right of ingress on the said strip of land by day or night to visit their ships or for any other purpose at their will, as they always have had hitherto. And this breadth of land the Mayor and Com'ty are to secure to the convent, and if the current of water [in the new trench] shall damage it, the Mayor and Com'ty shall make it good. The remainder of the marsh, *viz.* all which lies to the east and the south of the aforesaid ditch, the Convent grants to the Mayor and C'ty for the purpose of making a trench and harbour, and any thing else, which they please. The price was nine marks of silver.

"Several circumstances are observable in this transaction. It cannot be supposed that nine marks could be the real price paid for such a piece of land in such a situation. It is true, the townsmen had a customary right to walk there, as they pleased, for business or pleasure, which certainly lessened it's value: but still £6 sterling on any calculation of the value of money is a contemptible price. One of our MS. Calendars quoted above says, that the town was to pay an annual rent; but the Covenant makes no mention of, nor have I found any other trace of it. Another MS. quoted above says, that the Corporation gave Trin Mills to the Abbat in exchange for the Marsh. This account has great probability; for the Abbats and their successors have possesed an estate at Wapping close to Trin-mills ever since, and it is the only property which they had on that side of the river Avon; and it does not appear by what other means they could have acquired it. Perhaps also, the Abbey was *forced* to give way to a measure of great public utility. Nothing is more probable than that Thomas Lord Berkeley *persuaded* the Abbey to a compliance: he was it's Patron, the Founder's Grandson, Lord of Bedminster and Redcliffe, and greatly interested in the prosperity of Bristow; he was present as a witness to the sealing of the covenant, and was undoubtedly consulted in every stage of the transaction. [One of the MS. states that in the conveyance of Treen (wooden) mill to the abbot reservation was made of the right of the magistracy of Bristol to indulge in the pastime of duck hunting in its pool (now Bathurst basin).—Ed.]

The exact year in which this great undertaking was accomplished is subject to some doubt. All our Calendars say that the work was begun in 1247–8, and that Aylward was then mayor; the covenant proves that Aylward was mayor, but it is dated March 24, 24 Hen' III; that is, March 24, 1239–40, at which time it says that the work was already begun: and certainly there is no error in the date of the covenant, because Thomas Lord Berkeley one of the witnesses died in 1243, and abbat Bradstone resigned in 1242.[1] (Aylward was also mayor in 1233 and 1240.—Ed.)

"This great undertaking the digging through the marsh, and forming the quay, executed by our ancestors without the modern aids of gunpowder and machinery, show most decidedly the great increase of wealth and power, which Bristow had acquired at the beginning of the 13th century. Perhaps the whole breadth of the quay, as it now is, was not excavated at once; some might be left for the labor of succeeding times and some for the constant operation of the current: but notwithstanding this abatement, whoever duly considers the magnitude of the work, the trench being about 2,400 feet long, that is somewhat less than half a mile, and about 40 yards wide, and 18 feet deep, taking both at a medium, and compares it with the smallness of the town in that age, must perceive, that our ancestors were not only opulent, but of an active, enterprizing spirit. From a note in the great white book in the chamber of Bristol, it appears that the cutting this trench for the course of the Froom through the marsh, cost the commonalty of the city the sum of £5,000. If it be multiplied by 15 or 20, the product will be a sum equivalent in modern times. [At the present date it would be upwards of £120,000.—Ed.] It was the first improvement of the port, the foundation of all others in succeeding ages; it was the first attempt at changing the natural form of the two rivers, and accommodating them to the purposes of a commercial people. If we compare this undertaking even with the enormous amount of labor and money, which has been expended for the same purpose within our own memory, bearing in mind the comparative resources of the two ages, we must acknowledge the sagacity, and spirit, and expenditure of our ancestors to have been equal to our own.

"The land being purchased in Aylward's mayoralty A' D' 1239–40, they began the work, first opening the ground below St. Augustine's parish-church near Tombs's dry dock. How long a space of time was spent in excavating the trench, we are not informed; but it is probable that the date which our Calendars give for the beginning of the work was in fact it's conclusion, and that the trench was finished in 1247–8. Being finished and the water of the Frome now ebbing and flowing in it's new channel along the present quay, they began the second part of their

[1] Seyer, II., 19–21.

undertaking, the building of a stone bridge across the Avon. And that the workmen might lay the foundations with perfect ease and security, they laid the whole bed of the river dry by turning the current into a temporary channel dug for that purpose, which began at Tower Harratz at the end of Temple-backs, and passed close to Temple and Redcliffe gates, where temporary bridges were built, and from thence to the Avon again at Redcliff backs. Great part of this channel may still be traced; for the town-wall, most of which remains, was afterwards built on it's inward edge, and the new channel was preserved as a ditch to the wall, in some places still visible, in others arched over and used as a drain. At and near Tower-harritz it is still so open, that if not excluded by a hatch, the tide would flow through it as high as Temple gate: the lane which passed on it's edge is still called *Back-avon walk;* from which we may suppose that this stream, while it lasted, was called *the Back-avon*: on the south side of Portwall lane it was within memory very evident, passing at the back part of the houses in Pile-street, which is said to have derived it's name from having been a pill or creek at that time; and there is 'an account of a boat and materials belonging to shipping having been dug up here in the gardens behind Pile-street.' From Redcliff gate to the Avon it is covered and used as a drain.

"After this, the raising two dams across the river, strong and high enough to resist the spring-tides rising 18 feet, must have been a work of great labour and expence. The upper dam was at Tower-harratz; the situation of the lower is not precisely mentioned, but it must have been higher up than the mouth of the new channel, somewhere across from the Back to the Redcliff side; and this lower dam must have been furnished with hatches. The bed of the river being laid dry, they were enabled to proceed by a method different from modern practice; they dug and laid the foundation of the piers at leisure as of any ordinary edifice on land, and built them up of firm and solid masonry; which appeared in 1762 when they were partly taken down and partly examined by boring. There were four arches and consequently three piers; which piers were made so unnecessarily thick, that here, as in London, they much impeded the current, and caused a waterfall. But the architects of that age were not aware of the strength of their own masonry, to what an extent arches might be trusted. They were pointed in what is called the Gothic form, and the whole breadth of the bridge was 19 feet."[1]

15. We cannot agree with Mr. Pryce's argument, founded upon the statements of different MS. calendars, viz., that there was no bridge over the Avon before this date, 1247. The arrangement of the streets on both sides of the river—Redcliff, Thomas, Temple and Tucker streets on the south—all trended to, and met at, a point on the south side of the Avon opposite to a similar point of junction of the Shambles, Bridge, High, Nicholas and Baldwin streets on the north or Bristol side. It is an impotent conclusion to say they led to a ferry. The physical difficulties connected with the great rise and fall daily of the tides—the spring tides rose about 20 feet, but in times of land flood to 30 feet—and the obstacles arising from the frequent heavy floods would cause so great an impediment to the traffic carried on between the two places that the idea that for centuries the Bristol men had submitted to such a loss of time and of money as this necessitated, conveys so mean an opinion of the ability and spirit of the mercantile community that we are compelled to reject the theory as untenable. There was no difficulty in spanning a river of 200 feet in width by a bridge of wood. Many generations of the merchants must have been acquainted with and have passed across the wooden bridge of London, 925 feet long; in no other matter are they supposed to have been so obtuse and blind to their own interests as Mr. Pryce supposed them to be in this. The kings so often resident in Bristol, as well as the over-lords, would recognise the necessity of such a structure. Why, we may further ask, was there a gateway (St. Werburgh's, afterwards called St. Nicholas gate) in the town wall abutting on this spot but for the possible danger of an attack, which would assuredly not have been made over a ferry in the face of an armed town, when the river could have been forced a few hundred yards above or below it?

Our readers will remember the discovery of the sill of wood found embedded in the piers when the present bridge was built, as referred to on page 91, and the argument derived therefrom.

Indeed we are strongly of opinion that there are valid reasons for the existence of more than one bridge across the Avon before 1247. William Wyrcestre gives very different accounts of the length of the bridge of Bristol, giving in the one case a length of 72 yards, or 216 feet,[1] and in the other 94 gressus (or steps of 20 inches), *i.e.* 150 feet. The difference here is surprising, being not less than 66 feet. Elsewhere he gives 184, 140, and 120 steps.

In Nasmyth's edition of William Wyrcestre (366) he says the bridge of Bristol was first founded by John, king of England, which contains in length 140 steps. The date given is 1215, a year in which John had something else to manage more difficult than bridging the Avon, and therefore the authority from which our great topographer derived his statement is doubtful.

But by whomsoever founded, Wyrcestre seems to us to speak of a second and longer bridge over the river than the precursor of the present structure. Seyer says a wooden bridge "might have been frequently destroyed by floods or by warlike operations, and frequently set up again. There is moreover some reason for suspecting that there was another wooden bridge over the Avon here before that of stone was erected. The place of the ferry over the river which used to be called *Countess slip* is called in an ancient title deed in my possession *Pons Comitissæ*. I know not that the word *pons* ever signifies in any dialect *a slip*, *a stair*, *a descent*,

[1] Seyer, II., 27-29.

[1] Dallaway's edition, 27.

but simply *a bridge;* and if so there was a bridge between the castle and the end of East Tucker street, which was erected by a Countess of Gloucester, probably by Haweis, wife of William, about 1170, and called *Countess-bridge.*"[1] (Most likely this was their road to Keynsham.)

This bridge (if not purely hypothetical) would measure about the longest length mentioned by William Wyrcestre and would probably be for foot passengers only. Whether or no such a structure ever existed, there can be no question that a light iron bridge spanning the stream at that spot is a necessity of the present age.

Before leaving this part of our subject, let us hazard yet another conjecture, viz. this, that during the period of the construction of the stone bridge another was thrown across from Counterslip, which remained standing as late as the end of the 15th century, and is the long bridge that Wyrcestre describes. But whatever may be thought as to the idea of two separate wooden bridges, we think that to an unprejudiced mind the evidence afforded by the transcript contained in the *Little Red Book* in the Council House of the charters of Henry II. and Robert Fitzhardinge, by Maurice, the son of Robert, the mandamus of 24 Henry III. and the charter of 31 Henry III., 1247, afford conclusive evidence of the existence of a bridge before 1170 and of the close connection that existed between the men of Bristol and their neighbours of the Marsh, afterwards called Redcliff.

We have quoted, pages 90–1, from the charter of Henry II. (1160), and that of Robert Fitzhardinge (1164); for the satisfaction of our readers we here give it in the original, from the transcripts in the Council House:—

"Henricus Rex Angliæ, Dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, Comes Andegaviæ, omnibus baronibus justiciariis vice-comitibus et omnibus ministris suis Angliæ et Walliæ, salutem. Concedo quod homines mei qui manent in feodo meo in Marisco juxta pontem de Bristollia habeant suas rectas consuetudines et libertates et quietancias per totam Angliam et Walliam, sicut mei burgenses, et nominatim in Bristollia et per totam terram Comitis Glouc', sicut carta mea testatur, et prohibito ne super hoc aliquis eis faciat aliquam injuriam vel contumeliam."

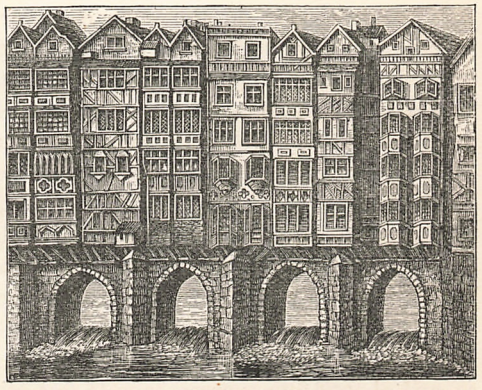
The second is as follows:—

"(Robert). Filius Hardingus omnibus amicis suis et homnibus præsentibus et futuris salutem. Notum set vobis, quod ego concessi et confirmavi quod homines mei qui manent in feodo meo in marisco juxta pontem de Bristollia, habeant suas consuetudines et libertates et quietancias quas homines de Bristollia habent, sicut rex dominus noster eis concessit et carta sua confirmavit; et volo quod ita integras et plenarias eis maneant tempore meo et heredum meorum omnium. Teste Ricardo Abbate Sancti Augustini, &c."[2]

[1] Seyer, II., 33. [2] Little Red Book, 12.

The Marsh herein mentioned must therefore mean Redcliff, and these men so dwelling in the Marsh near "the bridge" in 1160–4 are, in 1239–40, commanded by mandamus to join the men of Bristol in cutting in the trench (broad and narrow quay), whereas the stone bridge, of which we are now treating, was not begun to be built until 1247. The union of the men of Bristol and Redcliff in this great work brought about a still closer connection. On July 28th, 1247, Henry, by charter, granted "that the burgesses of Redclive, in the suburb of Bristol, shall for ever answer (that is sue and be sued) with our burgesses of Bristol before our justices, as our said burgesses of Bristol answer, and where they answer and not elsewhere," &c. The witnesses are, "Richard, Earl of Cornwall our brother; Rich. de Clare, Earl of Glouc. and Hereford; Ralph Fitz Nicholas, &c., given at Woodstock."

The mandamus of Henry III., as translated by Barrett from the transcript, is as follows:—



Old Bristol Bridge.

"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy, Aquitaine and Earl of Anjou, to all my honest men dwelling in la Redclive, in the suburb of Bristol, wisheth health. Since our beloved burgesses of Bristol, for the common profit of the town of Bristol, as well as of your suburb, have begun a certain trench in the marsh of St. Augustin, that ships coming to our port of Bristol may more freely and without hindrance come in and go out, which trench indeed they cannot perfect without great charges; we therefore command you, that since for the bettering the said port no small advantage will accrue, not only to those burgesses but also to you, who are partakers of the same liberties, which our burgesses have in the said town and are joined with them both in scot and lot, that you lend the same assistance as they do, as it will be also very profitable and useful to you to have the work of the trench happily completed, according to what shall fall to your share together with our burgesses; and so effectually that the aforesaid work, which we regard as our own, receive no delay through defect in

you. Witness myself at Wyndleshore (Windsor), 29 April, 24 year of our reign." This was in 1240, about a month after the covenant was signed, by which possession of the land was obtained.

This stone bridge (as shown on the previous page), copied, as Seyer states, from Millerd's map and Barrett's sketch,[1] was built with three piers, two of 20 feet, the centre 25 feet in thickness; from these four arches were thrown, which made the total length of the structure about 165 feet. The starlings, or feet of the piers, were of great length, 50 feet and upwards, in order to give greater stability and carry a further superstructure; but Seyer's conclusion is that it at the first was simply a long narrow bridge, of 15 feet in width, with angular recesses for passengers to shelter in when meeting a drove of cattle or a throng of traffic, and that the superstructure was added *circa* 1360.

In order to meet the objection that the starlings were of far too great a length, 50 feet, for a bridge only 19 feet wide on the outside, Seyer thinks they might have been so built as a matter of precaution, or have been lengthened afterwards. Of this there is, however, no evidence, and we are compelled to differ from our worthy historian, and to conclude that the original idea of the bridge was one with houses on each side. In fact it was a combination of three parallel structures forming one homogeneous whole, the central being devoted to traffic, the two sides to purposes of habitation and commerce. The roadway on the arches was 19 feet in width. Then "they built a wall about four feet thick on each side of the bridge, parallel with it, and about 16 feet, or perhaps 18 feet, distant from it, resting on the same starlings, and pierced with the same arches as the bridge itself; and it must be presumed, although there is no *certain* authority, that strong cross walls were built from each pier of the bridge to each pier of the walls, tying the two structures together as firmly as if they had been one. Large beams were then thrown across from the bridge to the parallel walls and on them the houses were built. . . . The bridge in consequence became a dark and narrow street, from which the first step into a shop was on the timbers where the floor alone was between your feet and the water; through the crevices of which the wind blew up in a manner which would be intolerable to our warm modern shopkeepers; the ink has sometimes frozen in the pen of my informant in the counting-room behind the shop. Neither were the owners contented with the space thus gained; for the beams projected beyond the walls, insomuch that they were supported by trusses from below, and on these trusses some raised the back wall of their houses, others had closets, bow windows, and other projections, each according to his fancy, whereby some gained a depth of 20 or 24 feet from the street; Wm. Wyrcestre even says that the depth of the houses from the side of the bridge was ten yards, which is surely too much. The ground floor contained a shop and a small room behind, the staircase was behind the door. The first floor contained the parlour and usually the kitchen. The second floor two bedchambers, the same on the third floor, and then two garrets. Some had leaden platforms, and some a fourth floor, making five in all. Some also had cellars contained in the piers of the bridge, the small windows of which are visible in the engraven plate. The windows which overhung the water were particularly useful; for it was commonly reported that contraband trade was sometimes carried on there. The houses were built wholly of wood and covered with slate, no other material was allowed."[1]

The discomfort, inconvenience and danger of such a place for trade, would seem to us at the present day to be so great as inevitably to lead its occupants into the bankruptcy court. But it was not so. "As a place of trade it was particularly valuable, being necessarily a crowded thoroughfare; even to the time of its final demolition in 1763, the houses were let at the highest rents in the city, many of the wealthiest tradesmen lived there,[2] and no small portion of some ample fortunes still existing was gained in them . . . the back part of them healthy and pleasant: and as for the terror of the situation I never heard it mentioned by those who knew the houses best, or acknowledged when mentioned by others. It has, indeed, occurred that the mast of a vessel came through a kitchen window, and even rose up through a shop floor, and that all the utensils of a cellar were afloat, and that an ox forced his way through a shop and window behind and fell into the river unhurt, and the like; but such events were unusual: and when it is recollected that these houses continued inhabited and valuable for 400 years, it is manifest that the situation was not objectionable."[3]

Across the centre of the bridge was built a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary; to gain sufficient length for which an oblong square pillar, strengthened by buttresses, was raised in the middle of the stream, 25 feet to the eastward, from which a very strong arch was thrown to the central pier, this supported the east end of the chapel.[4] Boats could pass up, under one arch of the bridge, turn transversely under this

[1] Barrett, 80.

[1] Seyer, II., 35–37.

[2] The father of the Archbishop of York, Toby Mathew, for instance.—ED.

[3] Seyer, II., 38.

[4] *Ibid*, 39.

chapel arch, and return by a third archway of the bridge. Over the groined ceiling of the gatehouse that spanned the road there rose a tower 108 feet high.[1] Under this chapel, with a gateway to the street and on a level with it, was a large handsome room, 40 by 21 feet and about 14 feet in height, in which the mayor and aldermen of the town used to meet. On the opposite side of the way was a smaller room, 21 by 18 feet. These rooms were converted into priest's chambers, which being burnt, the site was, in 1649, granted to Walter Stevens and Son by Sir William Birch, of Westminster, to be built on, and a chief rent of £4 per annum for a house which went across the bridge at the top, called afterwards the chapel-house.[2] This was a warehouse, and the two rooms we have mentioned were shops, when in 1763 the bridge was taken down.

16. The calendars state that Redcliff was incorporated with Bristol immediately upon the completion of the bridge. It may be so, but the union had practically been begun long before, although it was not a fully accomplished fact until the following century. Redcliff was a subordinate manor, dependent on Bedminster. Once the property of the Saxon lords, it had descended to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, who sold it to Robert Fitzhardinge. But it is evident that the lords of the honour of Gloucester still retained some authority therein; inasmuch as John, Earl of Mortain, in his charter to Bristol, includes the inhabitants of Redcliff therein under the style of "my burgesses of Bristol, dwelling within the walls, and without as far as the boundary of the town, that is to say, within Sandbrooke and Bewell, and *Brightnee bridge* and the spring in the way near *Aldberry of Knowle*." Now both of the last named are south of the Avon, in Redcliff manor, and the boundary line includes Temple, Thomas, Redcliff and part of Bedminster. This was in 1188, and the then Lord of Berkeley, Maurice, and his brother Robert, were assenting witnesses, so that it could have been no infringement upon the rights which the Berkeleys claimed as under-lords, and which we shall hereinafter see them maintaining by force of arms.

A part of this estate Robert, the Red Earl, had also granted to the Knights Templars, which became a separate manor called Temple-fee, co-extensive with the present parish. Robert Fitzhardinge in his charter of 1164, as the under-lord, styles them "my men," having the same liberties, customs and quittances as the men of Bristol. Henry II. in his charter of confirmation of the same date, terms them his "burgesses, having the same customs, liberties and quittances as those of Bristol," and Maurice, the witness to Earl John's charter, confirms to them, between 1170 and 1189, as "his men of Redclive the same customs and liberties which they had in the time of his father" (Robert); and now we see in 1247 Henry III. styles them "his burgesses." Redcliff was in fact a vill or town, having the same privileges as the adjoining burgh, of which it was an outgrowth. It had three churches, held a market on every Monday at the Stallage cross, at the top of Temple street; had its own præpositus, who was at first appointed by the lords of the fee for the collection of their dues; but after the charter grants he would be, we presume, a magistrate chosen, as was his brother præpositus in Bristol, by the burgesses themselves.

In ancient title deeds, Seyer says, "the '*Præpositus de la Redclive*' was commonly mentioned as a witness, as is the '*Præpositus villæ Bristol.*'" Hugh Woltang, 1240; Richard Draper, 1274; Hugh de Opulle, 1284 and 1298, are amongst the names which he had thus seen. The privileges of both towns were thus identical, and, indeed, the estimate of their wealth was the same if we may judge by their taxation. In one instance Redcliff and Temple paid as much as Gloucester and Bristol combined. In 1210 Gloucester paid as an aid to John 500 marks, Bristol 1,000, Redcliff 1,000, and the men of the Templars of Redcliff 500. Bristol had, however, been bled freely before, which may account for the difference.

Doubtless many a Bristol man had crossed the river to settle, or had built there his country house in which to enjoy his *otium cum dignitate*. Henry styles them "his burgesses," but he reminds them that they are "a suburb of Bristol," hence it is evident that Bristol had the pre-eminence. There is confessedly some difficulty in understanding the matter, for whilst Earl John's charter in 1188 gave to all his men within the bounds the right to be tried within the walls of and by king's justiciaries in Bristol only, we find that fifty-eight years after that date the burgesses of Redcliff, which was by John's charter within the bounds, at their own request, are found seeking to be delivered from the burdensome onus of their county courts, and obtaining by charter the privilege of having their causes tried also in Bristol, and by the justiciaries. That the Redcliff men were not for another century freed from the jurisdiction of the Lords of Berkeley however our future pages will show. In fact it was not until 1373, when Bristol was made a county, that the union between the two places became complete.

One of the MS. Calendars states:—"1247-8—This year the charter of the town was enlarged for the corporation and liberties, and the shire stones were set

[1] Will. Wyrces., 109. [2] Seyer, II., 43.

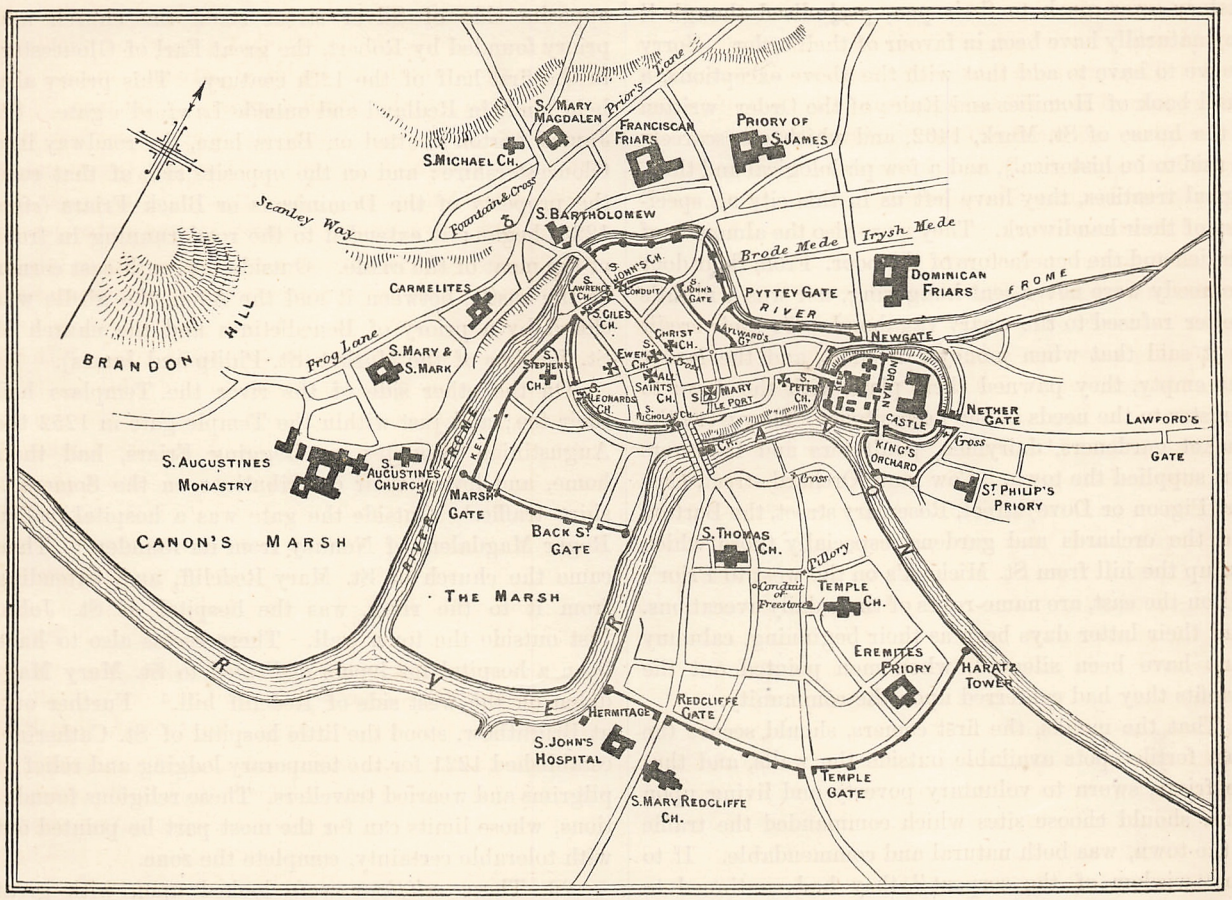
both on Gloucester and Somersetshire sides, how far it should go."

17. The increased intercourse facilitated by the new bridge caused Redcliff to become rapidly more populous and wealthy, so that ere long, but at what precise date is not exactly known, it was deemed advisable to protect it by a wall across the peninsula at its base, which should rest on and connect the two portions of the river. The area thus enclosed was an irregular pentagon, of greater extent than the old burgh of Bristol with the castle included. Here rose the great manufactories of the middle ages, the weavers, the tuckers, soap boilers, glass blowers, &c., trades which were almost exclusively carried on in Bristol from the middle of the 13th to the 16th century.

This wall began at the river Avon at the Tower Harratz (top of Temple back); the tower was about 20 feet high. It then passed along the course of the back Avon 100 paces, where there was another tower 12 paces square, between this and a third tower was marshy ground 120 steps long; this third tower was square, 9 yards wide; 110 steps further was a fourth tower, square, 10 yards wide. Then came a space of 94 steps, and a round tower 8 yards in diameter; and at the end of 100 steps was Temple gate with a square tower built over it. (This last gate, of which we shall give an engraving in our chapter on the Siege of Bristol, was re-built 1734-6 in rustic Grecian style, but becoming inconvenient on account of the increased traffic it was taken down in 1810.) At Temple gate the wall formed an obtuse angle; between it and Thomas street there was a tower 6 yards wide, opposite to Thomas street was another of the same size, between that and Redcliff gate was another tower. Wyrcestre's statement is more than usually obscure with regard to Redcliff gate (or gates, for he says there were two). The one in the line of the wall was undoubtedly at the end of Portwall lane, it was taken down to widen the street in 1788; from this gate of Redcliff the wall ran by the narrow lane of St. John's (commonly called Jones') lane, and the site of the Friends' burying ground to the Avon at Redcliff wharf. This is the only spot where any relic of it remains. The other gate, Wyrcestre says, was about 54 feet distant from the first near the conduit as one goes up Redcliff hill, we apprehend it to have been a barbican. This wall throughout was defended by a deep ditch, which, combined with its own height and strength, rendered it well nigh impregnable. These gates are mentioned in the perambulation of 1373, and in a petition by the mayor and commonalty of Bristol to Edward II., in July, 1325, Temple street is said to be "within the walls."

18. The rapid extension of the town in the direction of Queen square on the ground purchased from the abbey, and available for building purposes, necessitated another wall on the south and west. In fact Bristol was growing so rapidly that she had to cast her shell and make herself a new one. This wall began on the Welsh back, enclosing Pylle street and the creek that was once the bed of the Frome; it was 6 feet thick, and proceeded from the river at a right angle, crossed Back street which had a gate (33 feet distant from King street), passed behind St. Nicholas' almshouses, and ran as nearly as possible parallel to King street. "It is," says Seyer, "the boundary between the public property of the city on the outer or King street side and private property on the other side." St. Nicholas' almshouses are built on land given by the city; adjoining these is the Old Theatre, which was built in 1766 on private property, whilst the entrance is holden under the corporation. The front wall of the Library in King street is coincident with the line of this wall, and the wing of that building now used as a news-room is built on the site of a projecting tower; of these there were two in this portion, the other being probably on the site on which Coopers' hall now stands. In 1613 Robert Redwood gave his cottage on the town wall for a library for the citizens. The grant is dated 1615, and conveys a tenement and tower on the town wall near Avon marsh, and in 1875, during certain alterations in the building, the foundation of the wall and of a portion of the tower was uncovered, and broken through with great difficulty. The width of the ditch was shown clearly in the same year when the foundation for a new warehouse was dug out between the Library and the Theatre; it was then shown to be in a line with, and of the same width as, the open space between the gate wall of King street Hall and the public house in King street.

At the end of Marsh street was a gateway having no building over it, says Seyer, quoting from the chamberlain's account, 1665-6. But William Wyrcestre describes one of 16 yards in roundness, which is inserted in Millerd's map, and without doubt he is correct, for when, a few years since, the great sewer was formed through Prince street, the excavators came upon a block of masonry so compact and firm as to be broken up with the greatest difficulty. The foundation was outside the line of castrametation about 30 feet, and was, we have no doubt, a barbican intended to cover the front of the wall by a flanking fire. Thunderbolt street was a portion of the fosse, at the end of which the wall bent at a right angle, and ran facing the Quay to the end of Clare street. In building operations in 1878-9 its foundation was several times uncovered,



Map of Bristol in the 13th Century, showing the whole of the Walls and the sites of the ancient Churches and Religious Houses.

the site being immediately under the fronts of the houses upon the Quay. At the corner of Thunderbolt street was a round tower 16 feet in circumference, close to which John Burton's great ship was built,[1] possibly there was another tower on the Quay, midway between the last named and that built by John Vielle, which was 30 yards in circumference, and which stood at the junction of Clare street and the Broad quay. From this point the wall was carried along the line of the fronts of the houses until it joined the ancient wall at Frome gate. [This is evident from the foundation which was uncovered in September, 1880, wherein were discovered portions of a doorway leading to the river, the mouldings of which were of the 13th century.] William Wyrcestre says "its height was by estimation 40 feet and its thickness 8 feet;" but in no place that we have seen do the foundations exceed 6 feet, and we therefore doubt the correctness of the altitude which he assigns to it.

19. We have described the embattled walls that surrounded Bristol in this age, let us now briefly show the position occupied by the religious houses which by an outer zone completely hemmed in the town, commanding every road that led into it. Neither baron nor burgess, franklyn nor peasant, gentle lady nor serving wench could enter or leave the town without passing under their espionage or rendering themselves subject to their appeals, we might say demands, of aid for religious uses.

Their life, learning, habits, houses, &c., are treated of in our Ecclesiastical History, chapter viii.; we simply notice here the sites which they occupied and their peculiar relation to the burgesses. There can be no doubt whatever that in the early days of their settlement Bristol owed much to both monk and friar. They were the learned of their day, the transcribers of the sacred Scriptures. A large vellum bible (imperfect), *circa* 1225, preserved in the City Library, and said, traditionally, to have been written by the monks of St. Augustine, and an illuminated missal, of later date, are both of them beautiful specimens of caligraphy.

[1] Will. Wyrces., 146.

History owes much to their pen, prejudiced though it may naturally have been in favour of their order. Sorry are we to have to add that with the above exceptions, a small book of Homilies and Rules of the Order (written at the house of St. Mark, 1402, and which can scarcely be said to be historical), and a few philological and theological treatises, they have left us in this city no specimen of their handiwork. They were also the almoners of the rich and the benefactors of the poor. From their door the needy were never sent hungering, nor was a night's shelter refused to the weary vagabond. To their credit be it said that when money ran short, and the larder was empty, they pawned their plate with the Jews to minister to the needs of the necessitous. They were the market gardeners, dairymen, poulterers and fruiterers that supplied the town. Cow lane, Orchard street, Culver (Pigeon or Dove) street, Rosemary street, the Barton, and the orchards and gardens, especially those which ran up the hill from St. Michael's on the west to Prior's hill on the east, are name-relics of their daily avocations. Had their latter days been as their beginning, calumny must have been silenced, when men pointed out the benefits they had conferred upon the community.

That the monks, the first comers, should secure the most fertile spots available outside the walls, and that the friars, sworn to voluntary poverty and living upon alms, should choose sites which commanded the traffic of the town, was both natural and commendable. If to the "wisdom of the serpent" they had continued to add "the harmlessness of the dove," their influence would have been far more lasting and powerful. The Black Friars of St. Augustine, whose monastery (the Cathedral) was founded in 1142, owned the land from the Avon (Canons' Marsh) to College green, which was their cemetery.

The good men of St. Mark (*Bons-Hommes*), who came *circa* 1220, occupied the ground from College green to Pipe lane; their boundary stone, the winged lion of St. Mark, is still to be seen in the corner house at the north end of the lane. This lane appears to have been the only road to Brandon hill and the Hotwells (*viâ* Cow lane). From Pipe lane the triangular property of the Carmelites stretched from the new trench up to the Red Lodge, and from thence to Steep street, on the other side of which the house of St. Bartholomew had a narrow strip running up the hill as far as the King David inn. This inn occupies the site of the nunnery of St. Magdalen, founded by the Lady Eva, wife of Robert Fitzhardinge. Johnny Ball lane divided the Bartholomews from the Franciscans or Grey Friars, whose house (founded *circa* 1228) and gardens, sheltered by the hill behind, reached to Silver street. On the opposite side of Silver street stood the church and priory founded by Robert, the great Earl of Gloucester, in the first half of the 12th century. This priory also held lands in Redland and outside Lawford's gate. St. James' barton abutted on Barrs lane, the roadway into Gloucestershire; and on the opposite side of that road the property of the Dominicans or Black Friars (*circa* 1225) began: it extended to the road running in front of the moat of the castle. Outside the south-east corner of the castle, between it and the Avon, the girdle was closed by a priory of Benedictines and the church of St. Jacobus of the Market (St. Philip and James).

On the other side of the river the Templars had their fee; and just within the Temple gate in 1252 the Augustinian Eremites, or Begging Friars, had their home, and levied their contributions on the Somersetshire traffic.[1] Outside the gate was a hospital, called Roger Magdalens of Nonney from its founder.[2] Then came the church of St. Mary Redcliff, and, extending from it to the river, was the hospital of St. John, just outside the town wall. There seems also to have been a hospital for lepers dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen on the west side of Redcliff hill.[3] Further out, at Brightbow, stood the little hospital of St. Catherine, established 1221 for the temporary lodging and relief of pilgrims and wearied travellers. These religious foundations, whose limits can for the most part be pointed out with tolerable certainty, complete the zone.

20. These *religieuse* were looked upon with great jealousy by their more unlettered brethren, the secular or parochial clergy. How many churches of these latter were in existence *within the ancient wall* of the borough during the first half of the 13th century must always be matter of conjecture. Seyer and others place four—one in each angle of the cross streets in the centre of the town. Of three of these there is no question as to their antiquity and position—St. Ewen, All Saints and Christchurch, the existence of the fourth, St. Andrew's (on the site of the pargetted house at the corner of Wine street and High street) is very doubtful. Early deeds of the 14th century show St. Andrew's to have been part of the dedication of St. Peter's (SS. Peter and Andrew[4]). That St. Werburgh's and St. Mary-le-port were also within the wall is absolutely certain. That St. Peter's also was standing is equally sure, but it is not so manifest that it was within the wall of the borough.

There is also a difficulty with regard to the first church of St. Nicholas, which we are strongly inclined to believe stood in its churchyard upon the Welsh back.

[1] Seyer, XII., 54, but Evans places it in Portwall lane, close to the gate. [2] Lel. Itin., VII., 96.
[3] Tanner's Notitia. [4] All Saints' Deeds.

St. Nicholas, it must be remembered, was the patron saint of sailors. Now, whilst St. Mary-le-port was provided for the spiritual need of the mariners who sailed *into* the port, what more likely than that St. Nicholas was built in the outer suburb (in Saxon days as is stated) for the ministering to the sailors of the smaller craft or of the ships that lay awaiting their turn of entrance. It is absolutely certain that within a century of the date of which we are writing there were at least two ecclesiastical buildings of which certain portions still remain between the churchyard and Baldwin street. In all the early maps of Bristol an ecclesiastical edifice is shown in connection with this God's-acre, but it is ever a church without a name, neither has anyone to our knowledge attempted to solve the mystery of its existence. St. Stephen's church was outside the ancient borough wall, but it was enclosed by the last that was built. That the churches of St. Nicholas, St. Leonard, St. Giles, St. Laurence and St. John were upon the ancient wall and formed a portion of it is simply incredible. No military engineer would have so weakened his defences as to pierce it in five of its most easily assailable points. That there might have been churches dedicated to several of the above-named saints, and probably within the wall, we do not dispute, but that they occupied the position assigned to them upon the wall itself there is not, as far as we know, a particle of evidence to show. The structures where they remain are all of *later date* than that of the demolition of the wall, and the fair inference is that upon the completion of the new outer wall the secular clergy prudently secured the best sites across the old gateways into the town, and as soon afterwards as their means allowed erected thereon each their new church. Hence we have St. Nicholas, over the southern or St. Werburgh's gate, as it was of old named, St. Leonard's over the western gate, St. Giles' over the north gate in Small street, and St. Laurence and St. John's crowding each other over the north Broad street gate; whilst St. Peter's commands the way down to the Newgate, so that no person could enter or leave the town without their cognizance.

That the priests were thus able to secure the above-named eligible sites proves that religion was influential in Bristol at that period, for not only was every portion of the site of the demolished wall speedily built upon, but wherever it was practicable the hill on which the city stands was burrowed into and cellars constructed therein. Those who, during the past few years, have watched the erection of the new buildings in Stephen street on the line of the most ancient wall will have had ocular proof of this extensive cellarage.

21. The building of the new wall and the demolition of the old was a work of some considerable labour, and occupied much time. Salvage for sites then as now would be high, but the moneys found for the building of the new wall came from the imposition of a murage toll upon every loaded beast or carriage that came into the town, and secondly by the exemption by charter of the burgesses from the payment to the king of the customs duty on imports, which money was to be applied to building or repairing the walls of the town. These charters were very numerous, not fewer than 23 were given to Bristol between the years 1231 and 1461, and they exempt the burgesses from the payment of import duty for 170 years and 8 months out of the 230 included in those dates. Three of these specific charters for the walls in Henry III.'s reign were as follow: In 1231 one of two years, in 1254 one of two years, and in 1266 one of six years. There was also in the same year an exemption from all customs for eight years for repairing the castle. The charters of exemption granted during the period between the 10th Edward II. and the 1st Edward IV. were one of three years for paving the town, dated 1316, one of three years dated 1316, one of five years dated 1320, one of four years dated 1331, one of four years dated 1337, and one of three years and eight months dated 1340; these were for repairing the quay. For the walls there was one of five years dated 1320, one of four years dated 1334, one of four years dated 1337, and one of four years dated 1344. For the quays and walls combined there was one of six years dated 1347, and one of ten years dated 1377. For the quays, walls, and paving there was one of four years dated 1413, one of ten years given in 1431, and one of sixty years given in 1445. In 1435 there was a license given by charter by Henry VI. to purchase lands to the value of £100 per annum in aid of the quays, walls, pavements and bridge. And in 1438 there was another charter of exemption granted for the quays, walls, and pavements, together with the farm of the town, for twenty years. Lastly in 1461, 1st Edward IV., there was the grant of the Tolzey Court and of customs on imports for repairing the quays, walls, and pavements, in fee.[1]

The above do not include the charters of confirmation which were during the interim twelve in number, some of which specially name "freedom from all customs," neither does the list include the charters by which the town was farmed to the burgesses, of which there are only seven cases recorded, but the instances were, as we shall show, more numerous. For example,

[1] Report of Municipal Corporation, 75—6.

in 1241 Henry III. farmed the town for twenty years on lease to the burgesses at the annual rent of £250, but being in want of money in 1251, and having failed in his attempt to obtain a tenth from the clergy on pretence of a crusade, he fell back upon the burgesses of Bristol, amongst others, and, although ten years of their lease was unexpired, he obliged them to take another lease at the rate of 400 marks (£266 13*s.* 4*d.*).

22. The church of Al-Hallowen (All Saints) is of very ancient date. It was, in 1216, assigned to the Guild of Calendars for their use, and among its muniments are a number of old deeds, as well as a most valuable book containing the parish minutes of the 14th and 15th centuries. The oldest deeds are not dated, but the caligraphy is of the reign of Henry III., and they are most of them witnessed by the mayor of the year. Some few of the mayor's seals remain attached. In 1248, Henry Langborde by deed gives ground, lying between William le Shoemaker and Richard Langborde, to Walter de Panes, on the tenure of a pair of white gloves of the value of a silver obolus, or a silver obolus at their choice, at Easter, in lieu of all demands, &c. This document is witnessed by Reginald de Panes, the mayor of Bristol. The deed is without date, but the year of his mayoralty is as above.

By the deed of 1264, Thomas Teler, of Calvestone (? Alveston), gives to William Selke (rector of All Holloen) and his heirs all his right and claim in all that ground, with all its buildings, &c., in the *suburbs* of Bristol, in Scatepulle street, which said ground is situated between lands of Thomas Long, tanner, on the east and west parts, and extendeth itself from the street forwards to the Lawditch backwards as other collateral lands do. Witnessed by Henry Adrian who was mayor in 1264. The next is a deed poll of Isonda, relict of Hugh, of Calveston (probably a daughter of Teler), who in her lawful and absolute widowhood does give, grant, and confirm to the said William Selke, rector of All Hawen, all that ground in Scatepulle, in the suburbs of Bristol, with the buildings thereon, &c., bounded, as above described, to hold to said William, his heirs, &c., in fee for ever, under the yearly rent of 2*s.* sterling, payable by the said William, his heirs, &c., to the heirs of Robert of Kerdiff at two feasts of the year (to wit), 12*d.* at Michaelmas and 12*d.* at Easter, and to the said Isonda, her heirs and assigns, a pair of gloves, or an obolus yearly, at her option, in lieu of all customs, services and temporal demands due to her and her heirs. Witnessed by Simon Clarke, who was mayor in 1267. By another deed Robert, son of Robert of Kerdiff, gives to the said William Selke the said two shillings rental, payable out of the premises in Scatepulle for ever, at and under the rent of half a pound of cummin, payable to the said Robert yearly in lieu of all customs, &c. By another deed, when John Lydeard was mayor, 1277, William Selke gives, grants and confirms in fee (for the souls of his father John Selke, his mother Isabella Selke, and all his predecessors and successors to the church of All Howen, in Bristol) to keep a lamp burning by night in the said church; the said 2*s.* rent of assize by him bought of the said Robert of Kerdiff, to hold to said church of All Howen, of his heirs and assigns freely, quietly, peaceably and absolutely for ever.

Under feudal tenure, upon the death of a tenant, certain payments for renewals, &c., were claimed by the lord from the inheriting vassal. Ecclesiastical corporations never die, so that on all lands acquired and held by such bodies, the barons sustained a loss. In the language of the law such lands were said to come to dead hands (*mortmain*), which was the name given to the statute when passed by Parliament in 1279. Hence in one of the early confirmations of the Magna Charta this clause was inserted, "It shall not be lawful for any to give his lands to any religious house, &c., upon pain that the gift should be void, and the land shall accrue to the lord of the fee."

The civil law being against such gifts some way had to be devised to enable ecclesiastics to evade the law and yet obtain the land they required. Peter de Worcestre, we learn, lived in the great stone house (in High street) near the church of All Saints (we will give it its modern name). Richard de Kalne, the then prior, wanted a bit of land that lay between the two premises. Peter willingly gave it, and at his death Hawisia, his widow, on or about the feast of St. Edmund, the king, granted and confirmed the gift which her husband had made, providing also that neither herself or her heirs should at any time molest or disturb before any judge the said Richard or his successors. And in case the heirs of Hawisia should, contrary to her wish, make such claim to the land, she did grant for herself, her heirs and assigns, that upon the single relation of the ecclesiastical holder of the property, without oath or other proof, or giving of any notice to her heirs, &c., or without judicial process, the Dean of Bristol should, candles being lighted and bells ringing in all the churches in Bristol, cause these her heirs to be publicly and solemnly excommunicated, be proclaimed as excommunicated persons, and as such be shunned by all men, until they should desist from such disturbance and pay all costs incurred in the matter, which costs, she agrees, shall be estimated by the ecclesiastic. And she did "moreover subject herself, her heirs and assigns, voluntarily and freely, to the jurisdiction and restraint of the said dean, wheresoever she or they should be at the

issuing of the said excommunication against them. For performance of this stipulation and agreement she gave her faith to Gilbert, dean of Bristol, and Stephen Gnolmsall, vicar of All Saints, who with her annexed their seals thereto." The seals are in good preservation, the land is still held by the church, and the above deed is most interesting, as it shows one of the methods by which the religious orders acquired and retained their great wealth, and brought upon themselves the detestation of future generations.

In 1271, Margaret, daughter of William le Clerk, gives by deed to Walter de Panes certain ground lying between that of Lawrence the hangman, and another piece of land belonging to the Dean of Bristol, extending from Worshipcleepe street (Bridge street) backward to the churchyard of St. Mary-le-Port, on the tenure of one rose on the day of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, and 3¾*d.* on Hockday, and to the heirs of Robert Pithrain twopence sterling, or a pound of cummin at Michaelmas, in lieu, &c. On Hockday it was the custom in Bristol for the women to sally out into the streets, seize upon the men, and bind them with cords until they ransomed themselves, with a small sum which was termed Hock-money. This deed is interesting, as it utterly explodes an old tradition that Oliver Cromwell used to moor his barge to a post in St. Mary-le-Port churchyard. Here, in a deed dated nearly four centuries before the Protector's day, we see that there was a street, having gardens behind its houses, between the river Avon and the church. On the one side of the street there were shops, and on the other side, nearer the river, were the butchers' shambles. We shall refer again to other of these deeds on a subsequent page.

23. We have seen by the rise in the farm rental of 4,000 silver pennies per annum, in one decade by the king, how in the royal estimation Bristol was making progress; and we find that in the same year, 1252, Henry gave to the burgesses as their king a charter, as full, liberal and free as that which his father John, when lord of the honour only, had given to them sixty-four years before. This charter is indeed, in one respect, greatly in advance of the other. The Bristol, or Huntingford, chase was near; it is a favourite hunting-ground at the present time for Bristol men. The Kingswood forest lay at their gate. The chase of Filwood was but a couple of miles to the south, all of them royal deer parks, which must have offered a terrible temptation to men whose skill enabled them to hit the gold at two hundred paces with shafts a cloth yard long. The extraordinary measures for the increase and protection of their game which the Norman and Anjevin kings had taken, and the horrible punishments which they inflicted on man and beast for an infraction of forest law, made one clause in this charter a most valuable boon to the burgesses. It enacted that "none of them for the future shall be molested by any justice of ours of the forest, or by any other our bailiff, for venison found within the walls of the same town." This charter has a goodly array of noble witnesses, the lay lords being Richard de Clare, Geoffery de Lezman and William de Valence, the king's half brother, followed by that of Ralph Fitz Nicholas, whose signature being found in so many Bristol deeds and charters of this age gives colour to the thought that he was a son of Robert Fitz Nichol, to whom we have before referred in the early part of this chapter.

24. In the summer of 1254, on the marriage of his son Prince Edward with Eleanor, Henry settled on the prince and princess, amongst other property, the town and castle of Bristol. All persons having a yearly income of ten pounds were at this period forced to become knights, or pay a fine to the king. The king had, in the previous year, pledged the eternal safety of his soul on his maintenance of the charter, in order to get a supply of money from the barons. In the following year he pledged the kingdom to the Pope for 140,000 marks, in order to obtain the crown of Sicily for his son Edmund. Being unable to get a grant of the money from Parliament, he claimed from the clergy the tithes of all benefices and the first fruits of those that should become vacant, being, he said, a grant from the Pope to enable him to repay his Holiness. An agent from Rome attended before the Parliament and threatened excommunication and a general interdict unless the debt were immediately paid. Thus Pope and king were arrayed against clergy, barons and people, and the whole land was rapidly ripening for revolution. In 1244 the king had declared that no man could serve two masters (France and England), and those barons who had continental possessions as well as English were obliged to relinquish one or the other. This separation made the barons who elected to remain, not only Englishmen, but also patriots. The clergy, by papal and royal exactions, were alienated from both Pope and king, and had become, amidst all their luxurious corruption, a sturdy race who battled for the priceless heritage of a free state as bravely as the mailed barons. The burgess class had steadily, by its wealth and its guilds, grown into an important factor in the State, viewed as yet with ill-concealed dislike by the nobles, the power of the great towns was too great, and their money influence too vast to be overlooked or treated any longer with contempt. Hallam considers that the Pope's spoil in 1244 would be equivalent to a tax on the industry of

the kingdom of one million pounds sterling. And the king's continuous cry was that of the daughter of the horseleech, "Give, give, give!"

In 1256 there was a great dearth in Bristol, and wheat sold at 16*s.* a bushel, or 128*s.* a quarter, whereas the ordinary price was 6*d.* a bushel, or 4*s.* a quarter.[1] In the same year Henry came to Bristol on a visit to his son; he stayed four days at the charges of Prince Edward, and the cost of his entertainment amounted to £34 9*s.* 1*d.* and seven hogsheads of wine. The king went from hence to Berkeley, where, being the guest of the second Lord Maurice, he was pleased to "pardon him and his tenants of Berkeley and of Radeclyve street their breaches of the assize of merchandizinge and measures, belonginge to the Kinge (as supreame clarke of the market) by reason of his passage through those parts."[2]

25. The Welsh, indignant at the king's attempt to make them pay tribute, were ravaging the borders, which probably was the cause of this visit of the king, who was at Gloucester on July 24th, where he signed a charter he had promised a few days previously to the burgesses of Bristol, which gave them authority to choose a Coroner amongst themselves, for the purpose more particularly of attaching and presenting pleas of the crown to the justices itinerant when they came into that part of the country, and for doing generally all things that belong to the office of a coroner. The office was held to be of far greater importance then than it is at the present time, and this exemption from the jurisdiction of Somerset and Gloucestershire was the first step towards making Bristol a separate county. Another privilege confirmed by this charter was to secure to the heirs of burgesses dying intestate the enjoyment of the property. By ancient law and custom the effects of all persons dying without a will came to the king's or their lord's hands. This right had been renounced by charter of Henry I., 1100, and again by John, 1215; but that the kings did sometimes exercise this oppressive right even fifty years after this date is shown by Prynne[3] in the case of Richard Pynnock, the master of the ship Leissot, of Bristol, who dying a natural death on board of his ship during the voyage to Bordeaux, which was a part of the dominion of Edward III., the goods of Reyner de Burfrei, with which the ship was laden, were seized by the constable of Bordeaux, for the king, on the ground that the master of the ship had died intestate. Alisia, the widow and executrix of Reyner, petitioned to have the said goods and chattels returned to her, and they were ultimately given up. Either this charter was ignored in this case or Reyner was not a Bristol man, and so could not plead it.

A year later, in July, the southern division of the army, which was intended to act against Llewellin, Prince of Wales, assembled at Bristol on St. Paul's day. On June 23rd, 1257, a violent tempest and heavy rain flooded the lands in the Severn valley, so that the corn fields were covered, their produce swept away, and many lives were lost, especially of children. Innumerable flocks and herds of cattle perished; and before the end of the summer fifteen thousand people had died in London of hunger, besides untold numbers in the country. The harvest was so wet that much corn was spoiled, and so late that in many parts of the kingdom it was not gathered in by All Saints' day. This calamity raised food to famine prices and fanned the smouldering embers of discontent into a flame.

26. On the 2nd of May, 1258, the barons met in the Great Hall at Westminster, and a commission of twenty-four persons was determined on, twelve of whom were to be selected from the king's council and the other half to be appointed by the barons at a parliament to be held at Oxford. On the 11th of June "The Mad Parliament" accordingly met, and notwithstanding the opprobrious nickname which interested historians have affixed to them, it would have been well if all our parliaments had been as sane as they. The principle of representation of the freeholders was then re-established in the kingdom. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, a foreigner who had married Eleanor, the king's sister, and had become, notwithstanding the accident of birth, more of an Englishman than the English barons themselves, was nominated head of the council. Adored by the commons, respected by the clergy and feared by the king, De Montfort was soon a power in the realm. Hume has blackened his character to the utmost; we prefer to read it by the contemporary poem of the scholar in his cloister, *Protector gentis Angliæ*, by the song of the English ballad-monger, *Sir Simon the righteous*, and the pithy praises of the peasant, *The man that loves right and hates wrong; The gift of the good lord*, &c., &c.

27. Forced by intrigues to leave England, De Montfort returned in 1263, and the seven years' war of the barons with their king began. Gloucester was besieged and taken by the confederates; Prince Edward came to the castle of Bristol, intending to secure it, and he began to store it with provisions and to levy contributions to the extent of £1,000 on the town and its neighbourhood. The *Ribalds* (as they were termed by the king's party) of Bristol resented this infraction of their

[1] Knight, Pop. Hist., 369.
[2] Smyth, quoted in Seyer, II., 55.
[3] Prynne Inst., iv., 232.

chartered rights, and soon there arose a violent quarrel between them and the soldiers of the prince. Edward retired into the castle, drew up the bridge, and stood on the defensive; but finding that the men of Bristol were making a vigorous demonstration, and would besiege him in his stronghold, he, by a dishonourable stratagem, pretending to come to terms with them, escaped to Windsor castle.

The prince gone, things returned to their normal state. The king's soldiers held the castle, and the townsfolk favoured the barons. The opposing armies met in battle array near Lewes on the 19th of May; Henry, with his brother Richard (King of the Romans), and finally Prince Edward, were taken prisoners. This battle was known as *The Mise of Lewes*. The prince, and his cousin Henry, were detained as hostages for their fathers, and were confined at first in Wallingford castle, whence they were subsequently removed to Dover castle.

> "Be thee willing, be thee lothe, Sir Edward,
> Thou shalt ride spurless on thy hack
> Al the ryghte way to Dovreward."

The king sent word to the commander of Tunbridge castle to yield it to the barons, refrain from further hostilities, and send his men away to their own homes. He evacuated the castle, but marched the garrison across the country and added them to the castle of Bristol, which was held by staunch adherents of the king.

There were now at the least seven banners in that castle, viz., Sir John de Bassingbourne, Sir Robert Tipetot, Sir John de Mussegros, Sir Pain de Chawurthe, Sir Patrick Chawurthe and Sir Robert Walronde. The seventh is not named, but it was probably Roger de Leebourne, who was, we know, constable of the castle in 1260. These knights, hearing from the queen that Prince Edward was confined in Wallingford, which was but slightly garrisoned, left Bristol secretly with 300 horsemen, and appeared before the walls of Wallingford on a Friday (date not given), just as the sun rose. They stormed the town close by the church of Al-Hallowen, took the first ditch and broke through the outer wall; but the garrison, retreating into the castle, stoutly defended it, and threatened that unless the assault ceased "they would with pleasure bind Sir Edward (the prince) and cast him to them out of an engine, and so they might take him with them. The prince himself came upon the wall and bade them go home again, otherwise he should be put to death. When they heard this they went away, and returned to Bristow."[1]

The king, although not kept a close prisoner, was carefully watched by the barons, and (writing under compulsion) repeatedly commanded his friends to deliver up the castle of Bristol to the adherents of the barons. They steadily refused compliance, until Prince Edward by letter ordered them to yield it and depart. The townsfolk then took possession, and so "Bristol was all in Sir Simon's hand, the castle and the town."

The wily burgesses thought this was a favourable opportunity to sue for a pardon from the king, which, situated as Henry then was, he could not well refuse.[1]

28. The great earl kept his Christmas at Kenilworth and in the king's name he issued writs for the meeting of a Parliament. There were Anglo-Saxon precedents for calling others (theoretically all freeholders) beside the prelates, great abbots, barons and tenants-in-chief of the crown, to a great Council, but they had long been in abeyance. In these writs of Simon de Montfort we recognise something more than a return to Anglo-Saxon customs, the Witan had been never elective in one sense of the word, its members sat by right of their position, or by special appointment of the king; the utmost that could be said was that absent members often deputed other members to represent them. Still the Witan had been founded on a broader basis, and was more representative of the various classes than the Councils of the kingdom had been in this 13th century. The novelty introduced by Leicester was that of direct representation of the people. Whatever were his motives, De Montfort sagaciously saw that the time had come when the fiat of the king, controlled only by an assemblage of nobles and dignitaries, and that only when his will was at variance with their wishes, must be supplemented by the introduction of freemen of business talent and capacity, who possessed the confidence of their fellow-burgesses. Commercial pursuits had formed, out of the mere trader, a class of men who, in shrewd foresight, intellectual vigour and receptivity and enjoyment of learning, had distanced the lordly baron of the feud, and who, by their training in their guilds, were in a degree fitted for the details of administration.

The king's writs were directed to eleven bishops, five earls and eighteen barons, all of De Montfort's party. To fill the vacancies sixty-four abbots, thirty-seven priors and five deans were also summoned. "Writs were also sent to all the sheriffs in England commanding them 'to cause two of the most discreet knights of each county to come to this Parliament.'"[2] Similar writs were directed to the citizens of several cities, and burgesses of several burghs, requiring each to send two of

[1] Robert of Gloucester and Packington, ap' Lel. Coll', 2–458.

[1] Perdonatio pro burgens Bristoll de rebellionibus.—Rot' Pat' 49, m' 10. Seyer, II., 63.

[2] Brady's Introduction, &c., 140—1.

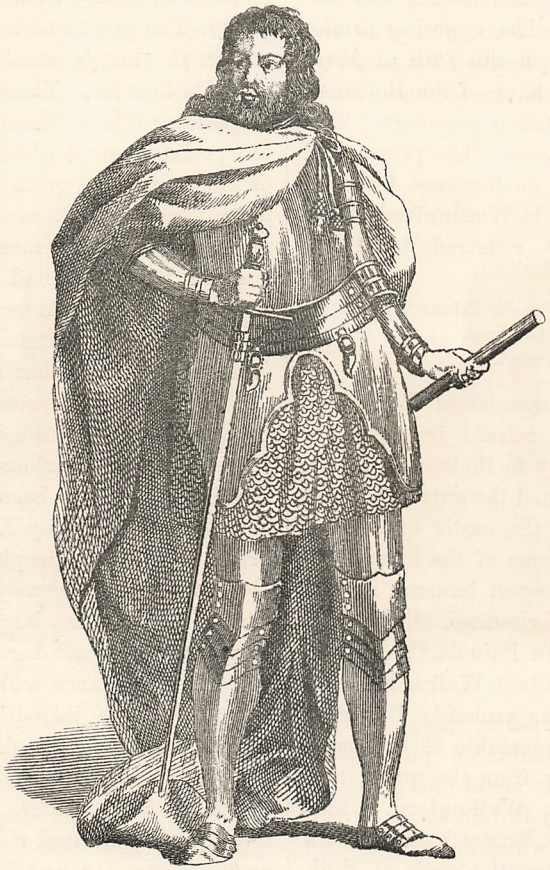
its most discreet and honest, wise and upright men. Each of the Cinque Ports was commanded to send two of its barons. In what manner these members were chosen we have no account. But as they appeared as the representatives of those by whom they were sent, their expenses were to be borne by their constituents.

There was no division into two houses, but the system of direct representation thus begun has formed the basis, with modifications and enlargements, of our national Parliament for the past six hundred years. This fact alone testifies the sagacity and wisdom of the great earl.

Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, not being able to agree with De Montfort, renounced the party, and, retiring to his lands in the west, raised a large force, with which he watched the course of events.

De Montfort fortified Gloucester, De Clare being then in the Forest of Dean with his men. On May 13th De Montfort, having Prince Edward in free custody, marched to Hereford, the Earl of Gloucester following and watching him at a convenient distance.

29. The prince having secretly been furnished with a horse of exceeding swiftness, proposed one day when riding that his attendants should ride races for amusement, and when their horses were thoroughly blown, he set spurs to his steed and escaped to the Earl of Gloucester who had planned the stratagem and who received him joyfully. Edward's escape speedily brought the malcontents amongst the barons over to the royal banner. He took Worcester without resistance, Gloucester in two days, but was three weeks before he obtained possession of the castle. Then with a large army he broke down the bridges of the Severn and awaited his foe.



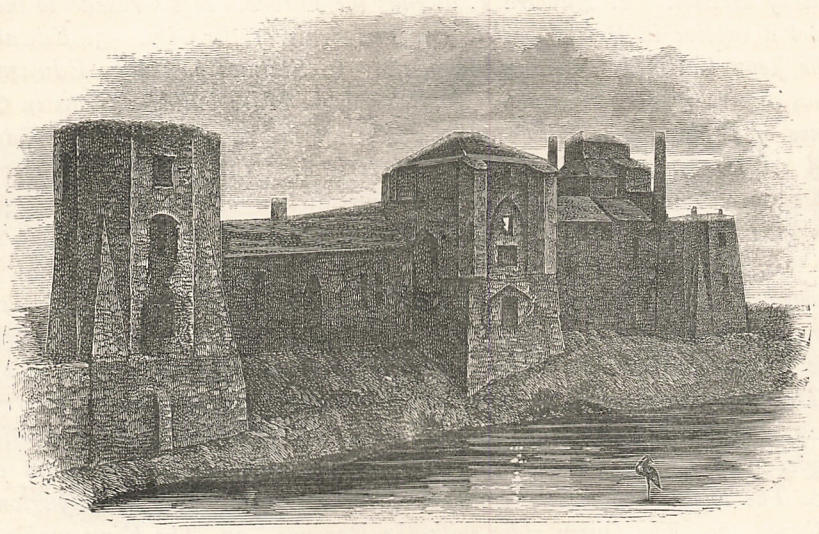
Simon de Montfort.

De Montfort retired to Newport, whence he "sent urgent messengers to Bristol, ordering them to send to Newport without delay all the ships of burden which they could procure, that he with the king and the army might be conveyed to Bristoll." The Earl of Gloucester frustrated this scheme by sending three pirate ships (galleys), which he anchored off Newport, putting on board of them a great number of fighting men, who, seeing the fleet from Bristol approaching the coast, attacked them very violently in the sea, took or sunk eleven of them, and forced the rest to return. After this victory over the unarmed fleet, the earl and prince crossed the Severn and marched to Newport. De Montfort's men burnt the bridge, and Edward, who had sworn to observe the charters, hurried to Kenilworth where he met De Montfort's son hastening with an army from London to aid his father. Him he defeated with great slaughter; then ordering one part of his forces to march with the captured banners displayed to Evesham (which place the elder De Montfort had succeeded in reaching), he by another route led the rest of his men to the same place. Deceived at first into a belief that the first detachment was his son's force approaching, the stout old earl prepared for the combat with Edward; but soon discovering his error, and noting the numbers and excellent array of his adversaries, who had out-generalled and shut him up in a tongue of land enclosed by the river, from which there was only one passage by a narrow stone bridge, he cried out, "God have mercy on our souls, for our bodies are Prince Edward's." He and his men met their fate bravely, no quarter was given, and the conquerors disgraced their victory by mutilating the remains of their fallen foe. The king who, on a war horse, was in the battle, with difficulty saved his life by exclaiming when about to be struck down, "I am Henry of Winchester, your King!" The battle was fought on the 4th of August, 1265, in the midst of an awful storm of thunder, lightning and rain, and the people believed and asserted that heaven was displeased at the death of their great champion. "About this time Sir William de Berkeley, knight, with some Welshmen, entered Somerset, at Minehead, in a hostile manner; but he was put to flight by Adam Gurdun, keeper of the castle of Dunster, and was drowned."

30. After this, in 1265, Prince Edward "took Bristol castle from the barons, and the town was fined £1,000."[1]

Henry died November 16th, 1272, whilst Prince Edward was returning from a crusade.

31. In this long and eventful reign coin was first made sterling, husbandry was greatly improved, the woollen manufacture was increased, linen was first made in England, coal was discovered at Newcastle, and a charter was granted allowing it to be dug; the title of "esquire" was conferred upon gentlemen of property, coats of arms were impressed on seals, and arms were fixed and became hereditary, the English language was used in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Arabic notation was generally introduced, polite literature revived, night watchers were appointed in the great towns, and miracle plays were performed in churches to gratify the people. English statute law and the first organised parliament began 1265. In the preamble to the statute of Westminster the first mention of the word "parliament" occurs. These were the palmy days of the alchemists, who sought the redoubtable philosopher's stone, which was able to turn any metal into gold.



Newport Castle.

The connection of Bristol with Dublin was still maintained, as is shown by a deed in which John Taylburgh, of Dublin, sells to Peter le Marte, of Bristol, a messuage in Mercate (now Merchant) street, in the parish of St. Philip and James. This deed is ratified by John de Esseburne, mayor of Dublin.

32. At the close of this reign "there were twelve furnaces for hammering and stamping perfect (sterling) money in Bristol."[2] Henry coined, in 1257, a penny of fine gold of the value of 20 silver pennies, but in 1264 its value was raised to 24 pence. There are only three specimens known, they bear the London mint mark. There were two issues of silver pennies, the first or short cross coinage, and the second or long cross coinage. Of the first there are no specimens known of the Bristol mint, but "in 1248 a writ was issued to the bailiffs and men of Bristol ordering that in full town court, they should, by the oath of twenty-four good men, chosen from persons of the most trusty and prudent of their town, for the office of moneyers there; and other four like persons for the keeping of the king's mints there; and two fit and prudent goldsmiths to be assayers of the money to be made there; and one fit and trusty clerk for the keeping of the exchange; and to send them to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer, to do there what by ancient custom and assize was to be done in that case. Two out of these four moneyers are found named on coins of this issue, which have come down to us, viz., Ellis and Jacob. The name of the place is spelt Brustol. The only Bristol penny in the British Museum of Henry III. bears *obverse* crowned bust of the king, full faced and bearded. Beaded inner circles on both sides. Obverse legend, HENRICVS REX ANG (the last word indistinct). *Reverse*, a long double cross botoné extending to the edge of the coin, three pellets in each angle. Legend, ELIS ON BRVST. Another penny of the long cross coinage was among some coins found on Tower hill, March 1869. It bore, *obverse*, crowned full faced bust bearded, no sceptre. Legend, HENRICVS REX III. *Reverse*, same type as last coin. Legend, IACOB ON BRVST. Beaded inner circles on both sides. The weight and fineness of these pennies was about the same as William I."[1]

Henry III. appears to have had several ships of his own. In 1242 mention is made of the king's galley of Bristol, and again of the king's galleys in Ireland.

When, in 1253, this king ordered all the ships in the country to be seized and employed against the rebel barons of Gascony, the number was above one thousand. Three hundred of these are said to have been large.

[1] Seyer, II., 67. [2] Evans, 65.

[1] Henfrey, 349.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PLANTAGENET ERA.

THE HOUSE OF ANJOU.—PART III.

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IT has been too much the fashion to decry the monks and friars who, in the 13th and 14th centuries, helped to mould the life of Bristol. One of their good deeds was the bringing a supply of pure water from the surrounding hills into the town. Leland, in his time, enumerates the conduits then extant—"St. John's, hard by St. John's Gate. The Key pipe, with a very faire Castellette. All Hallow pipe, hard by the Calendaries, without a Castelle. St. Nycholas pipe, with a Castellette. Redcliffe pipe, with a Castellette, hard by Redcliffe Church witheowte the Gate. Another pipe witheowte Redcliffe gate having no Castelle. Another by Port Waulle, without the Waulle."[1]

St. John's conduit used to flow from a building inside the site of the eastern small archway under the tower of the church of St. John at the entrance to Tower lane. It was a gift from the Carmelites, "the fairest of all the Friaries in Bristowe, on the right ripe of the Froom, over against the Key," founded by Edward, Prince of Wales, in 1267. These good monks knew the value of pure water, and brought to their new home a plenteous, never-failing supply from a spring on Brandon hill, not far from the top of what is now Park street, the reservoir being in a subterranean quarry. This conduit is now under the care of the Sanitary Authority for the city. [For description see our ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 157.]

It has generally been supposed that the Quay pipe was the gift of Walter Derby during his mayoralty, in 1376, from the following passage:—"Walter Derby being Mayor, an agreement was made with Hugh White, plumber, at his own cost during life, to bring the water to the Key pipe, All Saints' pipe and St. John's pipe, at the yearly sum of £10."[2] It is evident that this is merely a contract with a tradesman to keep these three conduits, flowing from very different sources, in repair. Whether the Quay pipe was constructed by lay or clerical hands is unknown.

The water of this conduit is supplied by two springs in a withy-bed in the valley that lies between the Ashley Down Orphanages, and Stoke House, not far from the Ashley Road Railway Station. The "Boiling Well," an ever-bubbling fountain, is on the same level, a little farther up the valley. The water from the two springs is led into a cistern in the conduit house, and is thence conveyed in iron pipes along the north bank of Hook's Mill stream as far as Lower Ashley House, it is then carried under the brook and across the field towards the south-west to a spot on the bank of the Frome known as "Botany Bay." Here there was a "second head," technically known as "a horse," from which the pipe is carried under the turnpike road, to Baptist Mills, and thence onward under Newfoundland street, Milk street, the Horsefair, over Bridewell bridge, along the north side of Nelson street, which it crosses close to St. John's church, and so on through Quay street to the final tanks on the quay under the eastern end of the Tontine warehouses, from which the water is drawn by two cocks. Until a few years since the casks of the shipping were to a large extent filled with this water on account of its purity.

During the 18th century the outlet was several times changed in position. In 1717 it stood not far from Clare street, then it was removed to make way for the fish-market to the north side of St. Stephen's church nearer the river; when, in 1770, St. Leonard's church was pulled down the castellette of this pipe was destroyed, but its cistern has recently (1880) been uncovered during alterations at No. 5 St. Stephen's street. The keys are kept by the Corporation. Ere we leave the history of this conduit we would notice a very old covered well of pure water near its source under the shadow of the trees on the hill-top near Heath House, the stonework of which is of great antiquity. In the adjoining field, to the east, are several terraces, scarped out of the declivity, which have long been a puzzle to the antiquary. Mr. Prebendary Scarth considers them to have been the site of a Roman sanatorium—the 14th *iter* of Antonine having crossed the valley close by.

The source of All Saint's conduit is a spring on the Kingsdown hill, on the north side of Maudlin street, nearly opposite to the Moravian chapel. This spring was in the 13th century in an orchard belonging to the Priory of St. James; in the year 1400 the Superior granted the overflow to the parish of All Saints. Its course is through the premises of the Moravian chapel, the Black Friars, Lewin's Mead, St. John's Bridge, Christmas street, and Broad street, to All Saints lane. On page 92 of our ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, in an engraving of All Saints' church, the two spouts of this conduit may be seen in the basement of the building which succeeded the Calendars' House, adjoining the Tolzey. A feather of this pipe was carried down to St. Nicholas; the site of its castellette may be seen in the bird's eye view of Bristol Bridge on page 91, it stood on the slope leading up to the bridge from Baldwin street; it was removed, together with the old gateway and church, in

[1] Lel. Itin., VII., 71. [2] Evans, 94.

1762, and the water was cut off. This conduit is under the care of the churchwardens of All Saints' parish.

Redcliff pipe was a boon acquired by the secular clergy for the people of Redcliff, Thomas, and Temple, in 1207. In that year William, the chaplain of Redcliff, obtained as a gift from Lord Robert de Berkeley, "Huge Well," a fine spring on Knowle hill, for the joint use of his parishioners, and of the brethren of St. John the Baptist, whose house was in Redcliff pit. A feather from this supplied St. Thomas' pipe. The last site of this conduit was in a lane on the south side of St. Thomas' church.

Pryce says another feather supplied the house of the Augustinian Eremites within Temple gate. The reservoir is on a farm at Lower Knowle, about a mile and a-half distant, from whence it is conveyed in leaden pipes under the New Cut to Redcliff hill.

"In the year 1366 Sir John de Gourney, Lord of Knowle, granted the ground for an aqueduct from Pile hill to Temple gate near this house, for the use of the friers here, from a fountain called Raveneswelle at a place called Hales.

* * * *

"Temple conduit was built 1561, and in 1587 J. Griffen gave two tenements to keep it in repair. This water course is kept in very good order, and the fountain head is yearly visited by the parish officers, and they have expended great sums to preserve it at different times, and to prevent the springs from being stopped. You enter the cavern by a door at the side of the hill, on the very back of the Avon on the left hand of the Bath road at Totterdown, and passing through a narrow cut in the solid rock for 125 yards exactly in length, you come to the reservoir or large trough of freestone, into which three or four springs rising with force through crevices in the bottom of the rock are continually flowing in bubbling streams, from hence the water is conveyed in large leaden pipes laid at the bottom of the channel cut in the rock, which pipes you walk upon in going to the cistern, the roof above in the rock being from 10 to 20 feet high in some places; the water is conveyed from the pipe head through the fields next it quite to Temple gate, where is a cistern arched over for public use: a feather conveyed it to the religious house adjoining, now belonging to Mr. Warren. From the gate it is now led through Temple street to the Neptune [fountain], and to a large cistern the south side of the church and from thence with a small feather to the vicarage house, which serves the street with great conveniency as well as the neighbourhood."[1]

The water supply of this conduit appears to be entirely lost to the parishioners; we believe the water from the spring is now utilised at the works of the Great Western Railway Company, Totterdown.



Dr. White's Almshouse and Statue of Neptune.

"The figure of Neptune here mentioned has been the subject of special enactments. It formerly stood very near the approaches to Bristol Bridge, which, being about to be widened, and the site occupied by the statue required, a clause was introduced into the act for Neptune to be removed to another place, in Temple street, which, on the passing of the act referred to, was subsequently done, the new situation being very near to where Dr. White's almshouse now stands. When the trustees of that charity were about to rebuild the front of that house, the statue was found to be in the way, and they endeavoured to obtain its removal, but this was declined by the authorities unless the trustees found a site for it, which they did; a piece of glebe land belonging to the vicar of Temple parish being available, the statue was removed"[2] thither, the trustees of Dr. White's Charity paying £3 per annum for the use of the glebe land.

In this dark corner, at the end of a narrow lane that skirts the churchyard of Temple, the statue remained, amidst the filthiest surroundings until the year 1872, when by the exertions of the vicar of the parish it was again removed to its present site at the junction of Temple street with Victoria street, being restored to its pristine use, as an ornament to a fountain devoted to the public, the water of which is, however, supplied by the Bristol Water Works Company.

[1] Barrett, 553–4. [2] Pryce, 310.

Tradition avers (and we see no reason to doubt it) that this statue, which is of lead, was given to the parish by a plumber, who was a parishioner, and who desired thus to commemorate the destruction of the Spanish Armada.

Jacob's Well is very ancient; it probably dates back to the time when the Jews buried their dead on the slope of Brandon hill, nearly opposite to this famous spring. It rises in Clifton hill, and the well is under the smith's shop that faces the police station. The water is conveyed in pipes to College green, and is so famous that people have repeatedly chosen to dwell in that locality because of its purity and excellence. It ran direct to the Gaunts in Unity street, with a feather to the Red Maids' school. It is under the care of the Corporation.

2. Edward I., surnamed Longshanks, was born at Winchester, June 17th, 1239. He was married, in 1254, to Eleanor, daughter of Ferdinand III., King of Castile, he began to reign 16th of November, 1272, but being absent from the kingdom was not crowned until 19th of August, 1274. Eleanor dying in 1299, Edward married Margaret, the eldest daughter of Philip III., King of France, who survived him ten years. Edward had thirteen children by his first wife, seven of whom died young, and three by his second, two of whom reached maturity.

In 1268 Henry III. had raised by subsidy and by a grant of the tenth of the church revenues for three years a sum equal to half a million of our money. These subsidies, which we shall frequently have to mention, as a twentieth, a fifteenth, or a tenth, &c., were a property-tax levied upon the movable possessions of the people. The one above named was a subsidy of one-twentieth of the value of all the goods and chattels in the kingdom, from the valuable stock of the wax chandler in the borough (one of the best trades of the time, because of the lights used in the churches, &c.), or the rich tanner in the suburb, down to the working tools of the mason or carpenter.

In Roberts' *History of the Southern Counties* (192) we find the following inventory of the stock of Roger the Dyer, which was taken in the year 1300 for the purposes of taxation. It portrays a low state of domestic civilisation, shows with how few articles of convenience a thriving tradesman was surrounded, whilst his luxuries consisted of a silver buckle and an extra gown. One could almost fancy that the old nursery rhyme—

> "Darby's son had a black gown,
> Its silver buckle was worth a crown," &c.,

must have come down to us from this inventory. The usual amount of a subsidy was one-tenth or one-fifteenth of a man's movables:—

Roger the Dyer—had

	s.	d.
In his treasury cupboard		
1 silver buckle	1	6
1 mazer bowl	1	6
In his chamber		
2 gowns	20	0
2 beds	6	8
1 napkin } 1 towel }	2	0
In his house		
1 ewer with basin ...	1	2
Andiron		8
In his brewhouse		
1 quarter of oats ...	2	0
Wood ashes	6	8
Great vat	2	6

	s.	d.
In his kitchen		
1 brass pot...	1	8
1 " skillet		6
1 " pipkin		8
1 trivet		4
Other items		
1 cow	5	0
1 calf	2	0
2 pigs, each 12*d.* ...	2	0
1 sow	1	3
Billet wood and firing	13	4
Sum total...	£3	11 5

The fifteenth of this sum is 4*s.* 9*d.*, so that the tax was nearly equivalent to the value of Roger's cow.

With part of the money thus raised, supplemented by a large amount borrowed of the King of France, and secured upon the revenues of Bordeaux, Prince Edward set out for the Holy Land. Many members of the most powerful families in England accompanied him voluntarily, others had an "assisted passage," whilst some, from their complicity with the late Earl of Leicester, were constrained, as suspected persons whose absence from the kingdom would conduce to its quiet, to become Crusaders. The French king stopped at Tunis to fight out a family quarrel with the Bey, and died of dysentery. Edward reached the Holy Land, took Nazareth by storm, and was generally successful. At Acre his sixth child, Joanna, was born. Here occurs another of those episodes which picturesquely enliven the pages of history. The Emir of Jaffa, who had professed his willingness to become a Christian, sent a messenger with a letter to Prince Edward, and was admitted to the prince's chamber. The perfidious Saracen, watching a favourable opportunity, struck twice with a poisoned dagger at the heart of Edward, who dressed only in a loose robe, and without a weapon, received the wounds on his arm. Edward, who was one of the most powerful and athletic of men, seized the would-be assassin and brained him with the tripod (tressle) that supported his table. The wounds were with difficulty cured. One of our chroniclers relates that his loving wife, at the risk of her life, sucked the poison from the wounds. The story is so tenderly beautiful, that although some say it has a Spanish origin, we will continue to believe and cherish it as a notable instance of royal wifely devotion.

Finding that all was quiet in England, and that he was unanimously considered as King, Edward delayed his return for twenty-two months after his father's death, landing in England on the 3rd August, 1274.

"In 1275 the sheriffs of London and Gloucestershire

were ordered to cause two lawful men to be chosen in London, Bristol and other parts as sub-collectors of the custom on wool,"[1] (the export of which had been prohibited during the war between the king and the Countess of Flanders) evidently with an intention, which we shall see carried into effect in 1297, to hold the material as a reserve fund for his treasury in case of need.

3. Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, had been freed from his homage to England by Henry, when Simon de Montfort wished to pass safely through Wales from Newport; but Edward refused to recognise the release, and, in 1276, he sent 300 mailed knights to check the incursions of the Welsh in the neighbourhood of Bristol and to enforce his claim. The king came to the town on the 20th of September, and on the 22nd of that month "he issued an order concerning the navigation of the Avon, between Bath and Bristol."[2] "From hence," says one of the MS. Calendars, "King Edward with his Queen, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, went to Glastonbury, and tooke up the bones of king Arthur to view them."[3]

Edward then held in captivity in Bristol castle a lady whose story is one of the romances of English history. Simon de Montfort, shortly before he was slain at Evesham, had become friendly with Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, and had affianced to him his daughter Eleanor. On the death of the Earl, she, with her mother, sought an asylum in France. In 1275 the young lady, accompanied by her brother Almeric, two French knights and two friars' preachers, with a great company, sailed for Wales to fulfil the engagement made by her father. The vessel was intercepted near the Isle of Silley, in Carmarthen Bay, by a Bristol ship or ships (which were probably lying in wait for the rich prize), and was, with its passengers, beguiled to Bristol, where the captives were presented to the king, who, by his constable, paid the captors £90 as a reward. [This date is doubtful. Edward was in Bristol only two days in 1275; he was here five days in September, 1276.] The king, considering that the marriage would greatly injure his interests, had determined, if possible, to prevent it. An alliance between Wales and the house of Leicester boded ill for the peace of the realm. A law had been specially passed prohibiting the people from holding Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, for a saint; moreover, he was brother-in-law to Henry III. Almeric and his sister were confined in the castle; the rest of the company and crew were liberated at the request of the King of France.

Llewellyn indignantly demanded the release of his betrothed, and a third time refused to attend a parliament at Chester to which he had been summoned. He offered a handsome ransom for Eleanor and her brother; but the crafty king, deeming that he could "trample upon the independence of Wales through this ungenerous outrage upon the affections of its prince, remained inexorable." Edward led an army into Wales in 1277, and bought over David, the brother of the prince. Finally, Llewellyn had to submit to Edward's terms, and promised to pay a tribute estimated at £50,000. Finding it impossible to get the money, Edward obtained credit for magnanimity by remitting the whole sum; he also delivered up to Llewellyn his betrothed, assisted at their marriage, conducted the prince to Westminster, and there received his homage in the presence of the bishops and barons of the realm.

4. Mr. Dallaway, in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis, published in vol. XXII. of *The Archæologia*, thinks that the first seal of the city of Bristol was derived from the above incident, and the general public have accepted as fact the learned antiquary's poetical idea. The seal is doubtless as old as the days of Edward I. (indeed we should say from the absence of all heraldic insignia such as those blazoned in the next and undoubted seal of Edward the First's time, the Lombardic character of the architecture and the lettering of the legend, that it is of an earlier date, probably of the 12th century); but the type is a conventional one, and is similar to some eighteen or twenty seals granted to other cities and towns. The late Somerset Herald, J. R. Planché, has satisfactorily demolished the legendary connection. We shall hereafter return to this subject in our article upon the City Regalia.

5. In the previous reign the short cross coinage, together with the older coin of the realm, had been so clipped as to be absolutely of no recognisable standard value. Its circulation was now prohibited, and the king borrowed a large amount of silver from his brother Richard, and with it issued the new long cross coinage of 1248. But this measure was ineffectual: there was more scope for fraud when all the coins were new and perfect, and the greater part of this money was soon defaced and lessened by clipping. The Jews were the chief malefactors, and in November 1278, Edward "caused all the Jews in the kingdom to be arrested on one and the same day for treason in clipping the king's coin; and very many Christians, goldsmiths and others, were accused by the Jews as consenting to their wickedness, and particularly some of the *nobiliores* of the Londoners. On this account 280 Jews of both sexes were hanged in London, and in other cities a very great multitude; and for the release of the Christians the

[1] Par. writs, 213. [2] Seyer, II., 68. [3] *Ibid.*

king received an infinite sum of money, yet some of them were hanged. . . . Next year the coin was changed for the better; for whereas the penny used to be broken in two parts for halfpennies, and into four parts for farthings, it was ordained, in order to take away the opportunity of diminishing, that pennies, halfpennies and farthings should be made round." Another MS. Calendar says "Edward I. altered the coynage of money, causing it to be made round and entire, whereas before pence were made on purpose to be broken into halfpence and farthings. Of this new coyne

> "The King's side, was his head and his name written;
> The cross side, what city it was coyned and smitten."

Another says, "The new coinage of halfpence in silver was brought to this city in 1280."[1] That coins were purposely indented in order to be broken into smaller denominations is now thought to be a mistake, thousands of coins of the earlier kings prove the contrary; there is no cross indentation, and Florence of Worcester states that Henry I. coined round halfpennies and farthings. At the same time we must allow that, although not intended to be broken, it may have been the practice. Indeed we have proof in a quarter of a gold angel dredged up from our floating harbour in 1880, that in the reign of Henry VI. the practice was continued on coins of greater value.

Edward came to Bristol from Gloucester on April 19th, 1280. He stayed three days at Berkeley and was certainly here on the 24th, how long he stayed we know not, but he was at Stapleford on his way to Westminster on the 1st of May. He also spent the Christmas of 1281 in Bristol. In 1284 he was at Haverfordwest, on the 29th November, whence he came to Bristol, probably by sea, on the 1st December. On the 3rd he was back in Wales at Carmarthen, thence making a progress to Strigoyl (Chepstow), where he was on the 18th. On the 21st he was again in Bristol. He spent his Christmas here, and left on the 2nd of January for Bath. Here the records are incomplete.

In 1286 "Robert Sturmy, of Bristol, was bound to Isaac, son of Deulecres, a Jew of Norwich, in 15 marks, and the said Jew demanded of him various penalties and usuries, besides the principal debt. The king, by special favour, being willing to procure Sturmy's indemnity, remitted and pardoned the said penalties and usuries, and commanded the barons to grant him a termination with regard to paying the said debt to that Jew."[2] In 1290 the king seized upon the real estate of the Jews, and commanded them, by proclamation dated July 27th, to leave the kingdom by All Saints' day. It is estimated that about 16,000 of this reviled people were thus driven out of the land in which many of them had been born, to find other homes in more hospitable countries. This termination of a series of persecutions, which they had for centuries been subjected to in the name of the religion of Him who was Himself a Jew, the Christ of God, whose very name is Love, is one of the most remarkable instances of the perversion of true religion that history records. By writ the Sheriff of Gloucester was commanded to make proclamation—"That no one should presume to hurt the Jews, nor take from them those goods the king had allowed them to keep, but, on the contrary, furnish them with a guard, provided they would pay for it, which might secure their passage to London, in order for transportation, provided also that before their removal they returned all their pawns or pledges to such as were willing to redeem them."[1]

6. In 13 Edward I., 1284, a statute was passed against forestallers (*i.e.* middlemen who traded between the producer and consumer). Twenty miles' distance would frequently make a considerable difference in the price of corn, &c. These middlemen, who were really the shrewd, practical business traders of the age, were prohibited from meeting and offering to buy the commodities of merchant strangers, or telling them where they might sell for more money.

The forestaller, regrater and engrosser, were in reality the economical distributors, who by preventing waste prevented want. They filled their granaries and stores in a time of plenty and cheapness, and emptied them in times of higher prices and scarcity. To the working of the above absurd law must be attributed much of the misery caused by the frequent famines that at intervals for three centuries devastated the land. Laws against forestalling and regrating were renewed and re-enacted up to the end of the 16th century, and were a misdemeanour at common law, punishable by fine or imprisonment, until abolished by 7 and 8 Victoria, cap. 24.

"In 1297 Edward, being in want of money, seized great quantities of wool and leather belonging to the merchants. At the same time, by mere force he took immense quantities of corn and great multitudes of cattle for the use of his army. He also, at one time, seized all the money and plate in the monasteries and churches, and at another all the possessions of the clergy for refusing to grant him a subsidy."[2]

Proceeding a step further, he enacted the first statute of Mortmain, by which all the lands given in Mortmain, that is, into the dead hand of the church, without the king's special license, were forfeited to him. Religious

[1] Seyer, II., 70–1. [2] *Ibid*, 71.

[1] Evans, 69, who gives the date 1287.
[2] Heming, I., 107, 110, 111.

bodies, being corporations, had perpetual succession, so that the king and the former lords of the lands lost the benefit of their tenants' services, fines for inheritance, &c., when the property passed into the "dead hand," which, as Coke observes, "yielded no service." The most difficult lesson which the English kings had to learn was that which in after years cost one of them his head, viz., that the monarch has no right in any property of his subjects unless it is granted to him by themselves or their representatives.

The maxim that "the king can do no wrong" was most loyally followed by Edward's servants. In 1275 the statute of Westminster enacted that no king's officer should take any reward to do his office, yet within 14 years after this not fewer than thirteen English judges out of the whole fifteen were convicted of bribery and extortion. That statute had many precious germs of liberty enshrined within it, giving evidence of the new and practical life infused into the parliament. No man could be compelled thenceforth to lodge and feed barons and their retinues when travelling. If anything, even a cat, escaped alive from a ship cast on shore, the said ship was not to be deemed a wreck. Freedom of election, from interference by menace or arms, was asserted. Devisers of slanderous news were made subject to prosecution for libel. This year also the commissioners were appointed to summon juries of boroughs and hundreds, and inquire into the rights and prerogatives of the Crown, &c. They came to Bristol, and the jurors, in answer to one of the questions, say that Bristol men were entitled to certain rights of commons in Clifton, &c.[1] In 1283 the statute of Merchants gave to traders, for the first time, a legal right to recover debts on the day assigned for payment. In 1285 the statute of Winchester made the Hundred answerable for robberies within its limits; it also provided for a night watch and for the closing of the gates in a walled town from sunset to sunrise; it ordered also that a space of 200 feet in width should be kept clear on each side of the roads leading to market towns, and made the lord of the land liable if a robbery had been committed through neglect of this precaution. Every man also was to keep the arms of his degree in his house "for to keep the peace after the ancient assize, hauberk, sword, knife, or bow and arrows." No man was to leave his county or to be sent abroad against his will.

By the statute of London, 1285, none were to wander armed through the streets after curfew from St. Martin's-le-Grand, and no tavern for the sale of wine or ale was to be open after that hour. The statute of Quo Warranto was passed in 1280. Edward needed money, and in order to fill his coffers he appointed commissioners to examine into the titles by which the barons and others held their lands. He thus by fines and compositions for defective titles added to the royal demesnes and recruited his exchequer. But a stop was put to this inquisition by the old Earl de Warren, he who in Edward's absence had, on the death of Henry, been one of the first to head the barons and to swear fealty to the crusader Prince. When the commissioner demanded to see the instrument by which he held his estate, he took down the rusty sword with which his forefather had fought at Senlac, and drawing it from its scabbard, said, "This is the instrument with which my ancestors gained their estate, and by which I will keep it as long as I live." This answer induced Edward to revoke the commission.

7. The Welsh have ever been sensitive to ridicule and impatient of foreign control. When the chiefs of Snowdon, in their quaint sheepskin dresses, accompanied Llewellyn to Westminster, the prince could with difficulty repress their indignation at the jibes of the perfumed, bejewelled popinjays of Edward's court, who mocked at their costume and sneered at the plainness of their food. The insults still rankled whilst the freedom of their mountain air, the thrilling songs of the bards, the harsh haughty conduct of the lords' marchers, and above all their own passionate love of liberty, induced them at this time to make another effort to throw off the hated yoke of England. Edward was not displeased, he was awaiting a pretext to complete the conquest of their country. In 1282 he entered Wales with an overpowering force, and after a brief struggle Llewellyn fell in a skirmish at Builth, in the valley of the Wye. Unrecognised by the knight who had surprised his party, the prince's rank was not at first discovered; when it was known his head was sent to Edward, who placed it on the Tower of London crowned with an ivy wreath, in mockery of a prediction of Merlin, "that when English money became round the Prince of Wales should be crowned in London." His brother David, who was an English peer (Earl of Derby), escaped for a while, but being betrayed he was tried by his peers and condemned to death. His horrible execution formed a precedent for that of traitors for many subsequent years; he was "drawn at the tail of horses through the streets of Shrewsbury, then he was hanged, then beheaded, and then his dead body, without the head, was divided into four parts, and his heart and his bowels were burned. The head being adjudged to the city of London, was set up on a pole over the tower near to that of his brother. Winchester and York contended which should have the right hand quarter. It

[1] A. S. Ellis, Brist. and Gloue. Arch. Proc., I., 215.

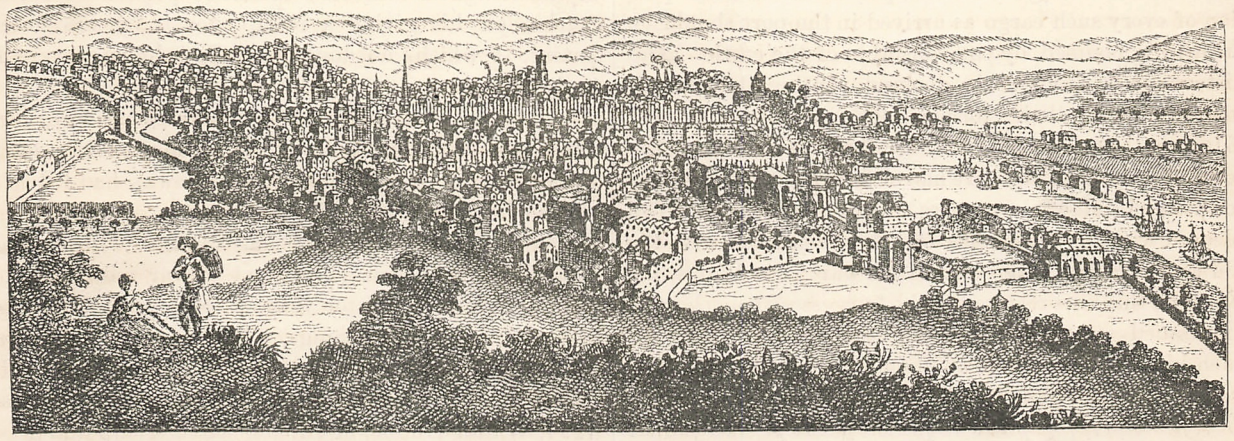
was at length allotted to the citizens of Winchester, who, having gotten it, quickly returned home; the other quarters were sent to Northampton, York and Bristol."[1]

The two sons of David, Llewellyn and Owen, were committed to the custody of Peter de la Mare, and were brought by him to Bristol castle; he was allowed 6d. per day for their maintenance, and 6d. per day wages for three servants to guard them. After five years' imprisonment Llewellyn died. Owen survived his brother many years. In the Liberate Rolls there is a record of the moneys expended for him down to the item of 1s. for a pair of shoes. How long he remained a prisoner we know not, he was probably only released by death. In 1304, when he had been 21 years a captive, he attempted to escape. That Edward dreaded the influence his name and lineage might have over the Welsh is clear, for in a memorandum to the constable of the castle the king orders him "to keep Owen, son of David ap Griffin, more secure for the future, and to cause a wooden cage, bound with iron, to be made to put him in at night."[2] A pitiable fate for the young eagle of Snowdon to pine and perish thus: not stricken in his eyrie by the arrow of the fowler, but doomed to lead an insipid life within imprisoning walls, and to die in a cage, a boy's remembrance his only knowledge of liberty, his only freedom the illusions of his dreams. Amongst the peers who sat in judgment on Prince David we find the names of Peter de Rumney, mayor, Richard Tunbrill and William Witchwell, seneschals, and Peter de la Mare, constable of the castle of Bristol.

8. On September 12th, 1279, a process was issued by the Bishop of Worcester against Peter de la Mare, constable of the castle, and his men, for breaking sanctuary and taking one William de Lay, who had fled for refuge to the churchyard of St. Philip and Jacob, from thence, throwing him into prison in the castle, and finally beheading him. The men involved in this breach of the law were sentenced to walk to that church for four weekly market days, in their breeches and shirts, from the church of the Minor Friars, in Lewin's Mead (now Unitarian chapel), and to be flogged all the way. Peter de la Mare was further ordered to build a stone cross, at the expense of one hundred shillings at the least, (not less than £100), one hundred poor to be fed around it on a certain day every year, and that he should find a priest to celebrate mass every day during his life where the bishop should appoint. The stone cross is thus mentioned by William Wyrcestre — "the high cross near the moat of Bristol castle." It stood on the south side of the Old Market, near the corner of Tower hill.

"The Barrs (now Barrs lane) was at this time the residence of common women, who were not suffered to come nearer the town."[1]

9. On the 25th of April, 1284, the Queen was delivered of a male child in Carnarvon, the castle of which place Edward had then just commenced to build. By thus giving to the people a native-born Prince of Wales, and by making the laws in every sense equal to those of England, Edward did more to secure the allegiance of the Welsh than by all his massive fortresses and powerful armies. The king, on leaving Wales, spent his Christmas in Bristol, and one of our MS. calendars adds "with much content and held a Parliament"—"not general or universal, but, as it were, particular, or



Bristol from Brandon Hill. 14th Century.

[1] Seyer, II., 72–3, from Matth. West.

[2] Close Rolls, 33 Edw. I., from Arch. Journal, VI., 262.

[1] Evans, 67.

special, with certain magnates of the realm, and having left his children in the same place, whom he brought with him out of Wales, he went to London, which he had not entered for almost three years." [1] Smyth informs us that during this visit the King granted a favour to Thomas, Lord de Berkeley.

10. Kings are but human, and it would be expecting too much of Edward to suppose that he easily forgot or forgave the grave offence of which the burgesses of Bristol had been guilty in besieging him in the castle in his father's reign. Undoubtedly the men were a troublesome race to those who violated their privileges, they had never rested content under the cocket imposed upon them in 1212 by John, which was manifestly a breach of their charter, and at a time when fish formed so large a portion of the food of the people, and when herrings and mackerel abounded in the Bristol Channel, it was felt to be a great hardship that an indefinite portion of every such cargo as arrived in the port should be arbitrarily claimed by the constable of the castle. The disturbances which this demand continually caused, together with their former delinquencies, had led Edward "to seize upon their charter and to deprive the town of its privileges. He had also turned out the Mayor for alleged unlawful practices with the bakers." [2] Well pleased with his Christmas entertainment, and with the aid the town had given him in his war with Wales, the King on this visit restored to the burgesses their charter, and issued an order regulating the number of fish of each kind which every boat should pay to the constable. "*De custumâ de quâlibet batellâ pisces frescas portante in villa B' regi debitâ; quot pisces de quolibet genere piscium quilibet battelus debet reddere Constabulario Castri. Inquis'* 13 *Edw' I.*" [3]

This is the visit which Chatterton describes in his Poem of *The Tournament*, but he gives a later date by two years.

In 1288 the tyne of beer, amounting to £23 9s. 10d., paid by the burgesses, was received for the king by the constable of the castle, Bartholomew Baddlesmere, who had succeeded Peter de la Mare. Roger Bigod, son of Hugh, nephew and heir to the last Earl, had a grant of the castle of Bristol for life, which, however, he surrendered to Edward in 1291, when it was assigned by the king as the residence of Joanna, his third daughter, who was now the widow of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. Our authority adds that in 1289 there were 12 furnaces erected for coining hammered money in Bristol.[4]

[1] Mr. Alderman Haythorne's MS., quoted by Evans 68. Also Chron. Thos. Wikes. Ann Osney, 300.

[2] Chron. Fabian. [3] Seyer II. 75 (in note). [4] Evans, 69.

11. The year 1293 as it drew to a close was a time of rejoicing for the burgesses. Their town was honoured by being chosen as the scene of a royal marriage. Eleanor, the King's eldest daughter, was married in Bristol to Henry, Earl of Barr. The *élite* of the land crowded into the town. Writs are extant, by one of which the Chief Justice of Chester is commanded to invite the principal knights of that county to attend the ceremony, another commands the attendance of the Bishop of Carlisle, &c., &c. In the Pat. and Close Rolls, 21 Edw. I., are several writs bearing date at Bristol, September 23rd and 30th. One from Winterbourne (6 miles from Bristol), October 1st; one from Sodbury, October 2nd; one from Tetbury, October 3rd; another from Woodstock, October 8th; these show the King's route to London. "There is also an order dated from Winterbourne, October 1st, for the payment to the Earl of Barr of his daughter Eleanor's marriage portion of 10,000 marks, on his giving a receipt for it by his letters patent," [1] which, no doubt, the Frenchman very willingly signed.

12. Until Edward, in 1294, organised measures for a defence of the coast by laying the foundations of a navy, the piratic habits of the old seaport towns had led to a series of quarrels, which often ended in a seafight, and which imperilled at times our treaties with foreign powers. The Cinque ports went to war with the men of Yarmouth or Bristol without regard to the King's peace, or with the Flemings, regardless of international obligations. Without doubt the Bristol men were also at times the aggressors; for instance, on Trinity Monday, 1294, Walter Hobbe, of Bristol, seized a ship and goods belonging to one Hugh Muland, a merchant of Holland.

Muland sued Hobbe, who claimed to have bought the ship, half of one person, and half of others; this being found to be a pretext for deferring justice, the Constable delivered up the ship and committed Hobbe to close custody. "It being a thing of great danger, and such as might occasion a war to suffer alien merchants to depart without justice, Hobbe was ordered to be imprisoned in Winchester gaol until he made full satisfaction," and the Court of Holland was requested to select good and legal men and merchants to assess the value of the cargo when shipped for England. Hobbe, on the 25th August, 1295, paid or gave security for 65 pounds of silver to the plaintiff in full for damages sustained, William Randolph, who was, it is said, Mayor in that year, being one of his bondsmen.

From the same authority[2] we learn that at a later date, viz., 1314, John le Long, who was seneschal of the borough in 1288, 1297, and 1306, seized a ship whilst

[1] Seyer, II., 75. [2] Rolls of Par., 137.

she lay in Dublin harbour belonging to William de Huntyndon, who complains to the King "that while he was paying the custom to the Bailiffs of that city, John le Long, of Bristol, and some other rogues and pirates seized and carried off his ship with all the goods and merchandise on board, and afterwards burnt the ship. Order was given to the Justiciary of Ireland to make enquiry into the facts, and to return the Inquisition into Chancery." Seyer is inclined to think that as this happened during "the Great Insurrection, the burgesses of Bristow added piracy by sea to rebellion by land." [1]

We have no doubt that there were rogues in Bristol in those days as keen after wealth dishonestly acquired as in every other age and town. But from the standing of the accused we think that it is far more likely that this circumstance arose out of some breach of privileges claimed by the burgesses of Bristol under the charter given to them by Henry II., in 1172. It is possible that its usages had lapsed, and that the Bristol men seized the opportunity, the King's authority being in abeyance and themselves in open rebellion for the maintenance of their rights, to assert their ancient claims on the commerce in Dublin. We presume this alleged outrage was condoned by the King, together with the other offences of the townsmen, in the pardon granted in 1316.

13. We have now to return to the subject of the disputed jurisdictions in Redcliff. In the year 1300 the king signed at Westminster a charter confirming the charter of Earl John, to which special reference is made, as well as to those granted by Henry III. It is granted to the burgesses of Bristol, within and without the walls, as far as Brightnee bridge, it exempts them from murage,[2] stallage,[3] and pannage[4] throughout his whole realm and power. It further enacts that they shall choose their mayor, and, except in time of war, shall present him to the constable of the castle, instead of as usual before the Barons of the Exchequer. Among the noble names subscribed as witnesses to this charter are two that may be noted—Earl de Warren, hero of the rusty sword incident, and Hugh Despencer, who twenty-six years later was barbarously hanged in Bristol. The burgesses paid for this confirmation 300 marks. After the king's return from Scotland, in 1304, he imposed a tallage of the sixth penny on his demesne, cities and boroughs. For this the town paid £400 to the treasurer.

[1] Seyer, II., 77.

[2] A tax for a loaded beast or carriage paid on entering a walled town. [3] A fee paid for setting up a stall in a market or fair. [4] Rent paid to lord or king for liberty to let swine feed in the woods and forests.

In this tallage Redcliff was included. The mayor and burgesses of Bristol held a court in Redcliff street, and had a prison there, they moreover endeavoured to put a stop to the weekly market held on that side of the river, and to abolish all distinctions between the two portions of the vill. But the lords of Berkeley denied the jurisdiction of Bristol in their manors of Bedminster and Redcliff, and exercised their right to hold courts, both civil and criminal, to have a prison and a pillory, &c. The Templars had obtained from the Berkeley family the subordinate manor of Temple, and the knights exercised manorial rights there, following the usage of the Earl of Gloucester and Robert Fitzharding. But in the year 1304 there was sent to Edward a petition by the mayor and burgesses of Bristol, "praying that the men who held the lands and rents of the master and brethren of the Temple, in the vill of Bristol, may bear their share in the taxation of the vill, inasmuch as they trade and have used all the liberties and aisements that belong to the town of Bristol." [1] The king granted the petition, ordered distraint for the said taxes, and justice to be done to the complainants, for which purpose a writ of chancery was sent to the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol. Complaints were made against the second Lord Maurice and his son Thomas, that they took wrecks of the sea, broke the bushel-measures, &c., of the Bristol courts, compelled the use of standard measures of their own choosing, and amerced the freeholders and tythings in their absence, without any warrant.

These rights however appear to have been acknowledged in earlier times, for on the 22nd June, 1261, Henry pardoned Lord Maurice an amercement of 100*s.* laid on him by the justices-itinerant at Bristol for the escape of a felon out of his prison in Redcliff, in Bristol; and on Richard Hayward being accused of having stolen a piece of blue cloth, which he affirmed he had bought of Margery Slip, she in the court of this lord in Redcliff street denied the sale; upon which the free suitors hanged him without any trial by jury, against the law and custom of England. For which false judgment the suitors were fined 40*s.*[2]

This unsettled conflict of jurisdiction between these lords on the one hand and the commonalty of Bristol on the other, led to divers quarrels, which in the year 1304 culminated in a petty civil war, in which each side harassed the other with armed forces, and invaded in a military manner each others' territories.

[1] Seyer, II., 135.

[2] Seyer, II., 78-9. There are recorded proofs of their claims in the Inquis. 9 Edw. I., 1281, and one later still, Inquis. 15 Edw. II., 1322.

The third Maurice, Lord of Bedminster, which had been given to him by his father, Lord Thomas, petitioned the king as follows: "That whereas his Majesty had taken him, his men, lands and goods, and all that he had, into his protection and defence while he was with him in Scotland in his wars, inhibiting all men under his seal from doing him any damage or wrong; notwithstanding Thomas de la Grove (mayor, 1303), of Bristol, and twenty-three others [named in the record], and many other malefactors and disturbers of his peace, called together by the ringing of the common bell of Bristol, in hostile manner came to his manor of Bedminster, assaulted and entered into, and the doors and gates of the house brake, and his goods to the value of 500 marks from him did take and carry away, and violently rescued one Robert of Cornwall, attached by the baillies of him, the said Maurice, for the death of Joseph of Winchelsea, there slain; not permitting him, his men or tenants to hold court, or to do suit to his manor of Redcliff street, nor to destrain them for their defaults, nor him nor his to buy or sell there corn, victuals, or any other ware, &c., &c."

Whereupon the king granted a commission to Walter de Gloucester and William de Bello-fago, dated the 12th of March, 1305-6, giving them power to enquire by a jury of Somerset freeholders into the truth of these matters, to determine the same and to punish as they found cause.

There is no record of any decision by this commission, which from its constitution would certainly not be an impartial court.

Meanwhile the Bristol men were not idle, they by a petition "signed by persons worthy of credit," prayed the king, "shewing that the Lords of Berkeley had usurped fee and dominion in the street of Redcliff, in the town of Bristol, and in the waters of the Avon. That with great multitudes of horse and foot they had enforced the burgesses to do suit to their court of Redcliff street, had beaten those that refused, had drawn many such out of their houses, and had cast them into a pit, and had trodden under foot the wives and maidens who had come to their husbands' help, so that many of them were wounded and died. That they had killed a Bristol baillie at Frampton-on-Severn; had beaten and imprisoned Bristol burgesses attending Tetbury fair; had taken from the custody of the Bristol officials three thieves, and by subornation and perjury had caused a jury at Somerton to acquit them, had entered certain ships waiting at St. Katharine's Pill for a fair wind, and had cut their ropes and seized their anchors and sails, they thus claiming dominion of that water, &c." At the same time a petition was exhibited by Adam the Cheesemonger, a burgess of Bristol, showing that Lord Thomas and Sir Maurice, William Parker, clerk, and others, had assaulted him in his house at Bristol, beat, wounded and dragged him from out of his house and cast him into a pit, &c.

This severe treatment did not prevent the worthy cheesemonger from attending Dundry fair, for William Randolph, the late mayor, by a third petition informs the king that the Berkeleys, usurping fee and jurisdiction in Redcliff street, which is in the town of Bristol, had taken and beaten divers men of that town because they would not do suit to their court or appear there; and that he, the mayor, defending the said men and burgesses, as he ought for the honour of his Majesty and according to his office, the said lord and his son Maurice and twenty-six others, particularly named, at Dundry fair, in the parish of Chew, in the county of Somerset, did assault the said Adam the Cheeseman, and brake his legs in such a pitiful manner that the marrow came out of his shin bones, &c., &c. At the same time, 17th of February, 1304, the mayor, Simon de Burton, and the burgesses, presented a fourth petition to the Parliament, "praying to have remedy of divers wrongs done to them by these lords, who by reason of tenements which they have in Redcliff, in the suburb of Bristol, claim fee and jurisdiction to the disinheritance and prejudice of the king and his crown," recounting the above specific injuries, adding thereto an account of an assault on William Randolph (who is styled mayor, but who does not appear in the list except since 1297 and again in 1306) at Dundry fair, who was at nine of the clock, by their orders, beaten and shamefully wounded, likewise that they beat William le Lunge, the king's servant, on the king's highway, as he came from Gloucester to Bristol, and that the said burgesses cannot go out of the town safely to follow their merchandising, &c.

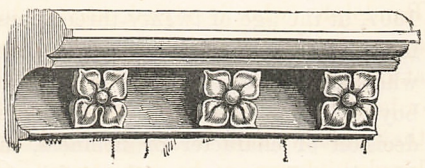
The king and parliament hereupon appointed a commission, consisting of John de Bottetourt, William Haward, and Nicholas Fermebraud, constable of Bristol, to which was afterwards added Peter Malore and another judge, with instructions to hear and judge the matter. By their judgment the manor of Bedminster, with Redcliff street, juxta Bristuit with the Hundred, was seized into the king's hands, and not restored until 1 Edward III.[1] Lord Thomas and his son were further fined 1,000 marks; in lieu of payment he, by deed enrolled in Chancery on the 11th of July, 1305, engages "to serve the king in his present war of Scotland with ten armed horsemen under his son Maurice, or some other fit captain, at his own charges, against Robert

[1] Rolls of Par., II., 432.

Bruce, from St. Lawrence Day next, as long as the king shall be in Scotland in his own person, &c." [1] Whereupon they received the king's pardon.

Smyth, the Berkeley historian, says the fine was 3,000 marks. After all, the matters in dispute were not determined, and the two concurrent jurisdictions remained to breed fresh tumults and strife.

14. Edward, in 1305–6, entered Scotland with his army, and was successful in taking Stirling castle, and greater triumph still in taking prisoner the bravest leader of the Scotch, the heroic William Wallace, together with other of the principal leaders, whom he sent to different castles in England for safe custody. The son and heir of the Earl of Mar was brought to Bristol where he was detained until 1314. The following is a copy of the writ issued for his safe custody:—"*Item.* That the child who is the heir of Mar be sent to Bristend, and there guarded in the castle of that place; providing that he shall always have liberty to go into the garden of that Castle, and elsewhere within the Close; and that the Constable shall appoint some trusty and sufficient man, who may take charge of him; and that the Constable of the Castle shall be charged with the safe custody of the said child, so that he may not escape by any means; but that he shall be out of irons on account of his tender age." Wallace, the undaunted, and Balliol, the puppet king, were both of them dead. The dagger of the younger Bruce had let out the heart's blood of Comyn to pave the way to the Scottish crown, and the English king had sworn before "God and the swans" that he would revenge the murder of Comyn and punish its author.



Four-leaved Mouldings. From Spycer's Hall.

But "man proposes and God disposes." Edward, on his march, fell sick, and died at Burgh-on-the-Sands on the 7th of August, 1307, leaving instructions in his will that his flesh was to be boiled off his bones and the latter taken with them by the invading army into Scotland.[2]

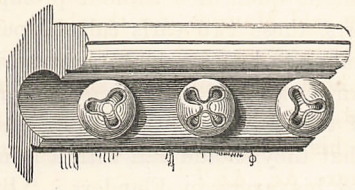
15. During these eventful times we have the first tangible record of a mayor, one who left something more than a name; Simon de Burton, wielded a sceptre of authority six times, in 1291, 1294, 1296, 1302, 1304 and 1305. He has, however, a higher claim to notice and regard as our annals relate.

"In 1294, being then mayor, he began to build[3] the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, and the almshouse in Long row, St. Thomas street, for sixteen women, in which he was buried."

Simon de Burton resided in Corn street, within St. Leonard's gate, and his almshouse, at once his memorial and his burial-place, was at that period pleasantly situated amongst gardens, orchards, and pasture land.

Burton does not appear to have been at all involved in the quarrel with the lords of Redcliff, but William Randolph, who was mayor in 1297,[1] 1306, 1310 and 1315, and John le Taverner, in 1308, 1309 and 1313, were men of a more restless and unquiet character.

16. In the year 1300 an order was given for the building of houses for the workmen engaged in coining money for the king in Bristol, and for sending beyond the sea for skilled men.[2] As might be expected from these preparations, the coinage in Bristol in this reign was considerable. Several changes in the types of the coins were introduced, and silver halfpennies and farthings were made here for the first time. The following is an exact list of the Bristol pieces of Edward. It will be observed that the name of the moneyer disappears, and that the *reverse* inscription on all is a Latinised form of the name of the town: VILLA BRISTOLIE (the town of Bristol):—



Ball Mouldings. 14th Century.

PENNIES, No. 1. *Obverse*, full face bust of the king, crowned, with drapery on the shoulders. All within a beaded inner circle. A cross patée at the commencement of the legend, which is EDW R' ANGL' DNS HYB. *Reverse*, a large cross extending to the edge of the coin. In each angle of the cross are three pellets, within a beaded inner circle. Legend, VILLA BRISTOLLIE. This is a rather common coin. No. 2. The type of both sides is similar to No. 1, but the letters and the coin are both smaller, and the legend on the *Reverse* is VILL BRISTOLIE. No 3. Similar to No. 2, but with a star upon the king's breast. HALFPENNIES, No. 1. *Obverse* and *Reverse* exactly as in No. 1 penny; weight 8·9 grains. No. 2. *Obverse*, bust, &c., as before. Legend, EDWARDUS REX. *Reverse* type as No. 1. Legend, VILL BRISTOLIE; weight 7 grains. FARTHING. *Obverse*, king's bust, full faced, crowned. Drapery on shoulders. No inner circle. Legend, E. R. ANGLIE, preceded by a cross patée. *Reverse*, large cross, pellets and inner circle as on the pennies. Legend, VILLA BRIS-

[1] Claus. 34 Edwd. I. [2] Creasy's Great Events, date 1307.

[3] Ricart's Calendar, but not in Ricart's handwriting. This should read "*re*-build."—ED.

[1] Ricart. [2] Numismatic Chron., N.S., XI., 265.

TOLLIE; weight 5 grains (very rare). Silver of the old standard.[1]

17. During this year (1272) the first foreign treaty of commerce was made by England; it was with the Flemings. The next year coal was prohibited in London as injurious to health. In 1274 Parliament allowed the king customs on imports and exports. Coroners were appointed for every county in 1276. Tallow candles began to be generally used in 1290. Pleaders at the Bar were first appointed in 1291. Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, were to Edward what Hampden became to Charles I. When the king was exacting ruinous sums from the clergy, taxing wool and hides at an unprecedented rate in the towns, seizing in wanton purveyance merchandise and produce in exorbitant quantities without prompt payment at the seaports, these two earls called upon the sheriffs of the counties to levy no more taxes until the charter was confirmed without any ruinous reservation of the rights of the Crown, and openly resisted the king's command that they should sail with a reinforcement of troops to his army in Flanders. "By God, Sir Earl, you shall go or hang!" swore the king. "By God, Sir King," was the cool reply, "I will neither go nor hang!" The fiery Plantagenet, more wise in his generation than the ill-advised Stuart, yielded, "and from that day (October 10th, 1297) the sole right of raising supplies has been invested in the people."[2]

Edward greatly encouraged archery, and many of the manors granted in his reign were on archery tenures. The pay of an archer or cross-bowman was 2*d.* per day (2*s.* 6*d.*); of a knight, 12*d.* (15*s.*); of a captain of archers, 4*d.* (5*s.*); of a constable or commander of 100 archers or bowmen, 6*d.* (7*s.* 6*d.*)

18. Edward was conspicuous for his great ability; so many excellent laws were passed in his reign that he received the title of the English Justinian. He was in every sense a national king; his golden hair and lofty stature endeared him to his subjects; he was the first English king since the Conquest who showed any love for his people and desired to have theirs in return. His temper was imperious, hasty, self-willed, at times unjust and cruel, proud, stubborn and tenacious of his kingly rights; yet for the most part honest, unselfish, conscientious, truthful, temperate, religious and generous. "No man ever asked mercy of me and was refused," he said in his old age. Devotedly attached to his wife and family, he forms a striking contrast to the Angevin kings.

In his quarrels with his people, neither disputant doubted the worth or affection of the other; and Edward never rose so high in the estimation of the English as when he stood face to face with them in Westminster hall at the close of the long contest over the charter, and, with a sudden burst of tears, frankly owned that he was in the wrong. A born soldier, an able general, a model knight, he had his share of conflict, and more than once saved his life by his personal prowess. "He shared to the full his people's love of hard fighting;" but his devotion to chivalry narrowed his sympathies to a class, and from it the peasant and the craftsman were excluded. It is the knight without reproach who sees in William Wallace only a "common robber." The "defiance" by which a vassal renounced service to his lord became, in his view, treason; feudal customs were quietly dropped when adverse to the ruling powers, but hardened into written law when in their favour; allegiance became subjection, and conditional service a definite vassalage. Obligations that were unrecorded, rights, privileges and liberties unregistered in charters, were valueless in his eyes; and, as we have seen, he exercised a despotic power, seizing these at his will by way of punishment. His whole character is a strange anomaly of justice and wrongdoing, of nobleness and meanness, of mercy and cruelty; these were based upon a rough soldierly nature, and accompanied by a frankness of speech which was thoroughly English.

19. Edward II., surnamed of Carnarvon, the first English Prince of Wales, was born in the castle of Carnarvon April 25th, 1284, and began to reign July 7th, 1307, at the age of twenty-three years. Unfortunately, for the formation of this prince's character, Eleanor died when her son was only seven years old. A motherless boy, of a mobile affectionate temperament, without decision of character or firmness, surrounded by the parasites of a court, with wealth at command and a father absent in war, or too busy to waste time upon the training of his child, would be morally certain to form evil habits and become the tool of ambitious sycophants.

A clever Gascon, Piers de Gaveston, became the idol of the prince. He was accomplished in chivalric games, and at a tournament had unhorsed in succession the four greatest earls in England, Lancaster, Pembroke, Warwick and Surrey; moreover, he had a tongue as trenchant as his sword, and an unhappy facility for giving nicknames that clung to the reviled, but which sharpened the axe that ended his own life. Edward I. had imprisoned his son Prince Edward when sixteen years of age, together with Gaveston and others, for riotously breaking the park of the Bishop of Chester and destroying his game. When the prince was twenty-one he had another quarrel with the same prelate, for

[1] Henfrey, 350. [2] Knight's Pop. Hist., I., 413.

which his father forbade him his house and stopped his supplies. In February, 1307, at a parliament held at Lanercrost, near Carlisle, Gaveston had been ordered to be banished from the kingdom for ever as a corruptor of the Prince of Wales. Five months after this date the prince ascended the throne. The transition from Edward I. to Edward II. brings us into a new era, new men, new manners, new ideas, men of meaner moral stature, owing to the influx of foreign manners. Edward II. was incapable of recognising the idea of kingship; he was indeed the *rex illiteratus* whom his ancestor, Fulk the Good, had declared to be "no better than a crowned ass."[1] One of Edward II.'s first acts as king was to revoke the sentence passed by his sagacious father, and to recall his minion, Gaveston. He loaded him with wealth and honours, married him to his niece, Margaret, and appointed him Regent of the kingdom when he himself went to France to marry Isabella.

At the Coronation all precedents were set aside, and the place of greatest honour was given to the favourite, who carried the crown walking in procession before the king. Three days afterwards the offended nobles petitioned for Gaveston's banishment. The matter was referred to Parliament, who decreed his exile, would listen to no compromise, and the Gascon was compelled to take a solemn oath that he would leave the kingdom and never return. The king confirmed the sentence by letters patent, but as soon as the Parliament was dismissed, he granted Gaveston fresh estates in England and Gascony; and when he found it impossible to retain him near his throne without incurring the censures of the church and the dangers of civil war, he evaded the decree by making him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Edward came to Bristol with Gaveston on 23rd June, 1308, and saw him embark, and stayed until July 2nd; but unable to endure his absence he used all his arts to soften the barons, prevailed with the Pope to absolve the exile from his oath, and flew with joyful impatience to Chester to meet him on his return in June, 1309. More arrogant than ever, raised almost to royal dignity as Earl of Cornwall, Gaveston was again banished in 1311, but was recalled from Flanders by his infatuated king the ensuing year. This return was fatal. Edward and he spent a few halcyon days at York, heedless of the ominous storm that, gathering all over England, was rapidly nearing them. It soon burst; Gaveston was taken at Scarborough on the 19th of May, and was executed by the barons at Blacklow hill, Warwick, on the 1st of July. "The blood of Gaveston, illegally shed, was the first drop of the deluge which, within a century and a half, carried away nearly all the ancient baronage and a great portion of the royal race of England. Edward, in revenge, mingled the blood of Lancaster with the rising stream."[1]

[1] Stubbs, Constit. Hist., II., 318.

The king and his barons were outwardly, to all appearance, reconciled in October, 1313; and at the Parliament held on that date (the members of which were allowed 2*s.* 6*d.* per day for their expenses by their constituents in Bristol), it was decreed that no one should be appealed of the taking or death of Gaveston, and that all who had been his adherents should be amnestied. The property found in his possession was given up to Edward. The gifts, of which the infatuated king had despoiled his treasury, were thus restored. The collection comprised 196 items of great value; among them were heirlooms and gifts from the Queen's mother to her son, sacred religious relics, one ruby estimated at the worth of £1,000, diamonds, sapphires, emeralds, chains of gold and enamel, crosses, rings, cups, buckles, girdles, and sets of massive gold and silver plate. Some of the dresses this man wore would have been a fortune for a nobleman.

20. The use of surnames had now become almost universal, but they could not be said as yet to be hereditary, although doubtless the great majority of them became so. They seem to have been given or assumed either from the occupation, the birth-town, or from some peculiarity of the individual. For instance, we have amongst our earliest recorded names in Bristol of the first class Langboarde, Shumakre, Spycer, Coke, Webber, Tucker, Weaver, Blanket (these four from the woollen manufacture), Taverner, Hosteler, Turtle, Scriven, Colepitt, Hatter, Roper, and a host of others whose derivation is self-evident. Those of the second class are of equally definite origin, Richard de Welles, de Kerdiff, de Frampton, le Derby, de Cheddre, Malmsbury, Axbrugge, Ottery, Wicombe, &c. From peculiarities of individuals, or some accidental or acquired gift, excellence, defect, complexion, stature, or character, &c., we get Wellshotte, Springam, Belleyeater, Snake, Pickrage, Free, Freebody, Winfield, Sharpe, Seeley, Langleg, Updish, Holdbush, Woodrover, Wen, Moneypenny, Vinepenne, Beaupene, Winpenny, Browne, Whitt, Blacke, Rede, &c.; Long, Short, Round, Flatman, Cut, Soar; whilst Willson, Jackson, Tomson, come evidently by descent. The old deeds of All Saints give us some valuable information showing how names were acquired, and the manner in which they underwent changes in successive generations. In 1310, John Wyzche, ironmonger, a burgess of Bristol, grants 10*s.* a year which he receives as rent out of a tenement in Worchlype street (Bridge street) to Humphrey Wen, of Cirencester, hangman, and a co-burgess of the said city (so that we see

[1] Stubbs, Constit. Hist., II., 332.

Bristol at that date was occasionally termed a city). Three years later the hangman, Wen, grants the said 10*s.* per annum to Richard de Welles. In 1357 Joanna, widow of the son of Richard de Welles, grants for her life a shop and cellar on this property to Simon Halway, on condition of his bringing her yearly one red rose. In the next deed she is referred to as the wife of Thomas, son of Richard Richeman, of Wells, who had by thrift evidently left her considerable property. She granted 20*s.* a year out of a shop, cellar and tenement in Worschep street to Simon Halway, and on the next Sunday after signature she executed a lease to him of all that her shop with its appurts, situate in Worshype street, in the parish of St. Peter, all those four halls, five shops and two cellars situated in the same street, also on the Monday she leased to John Whyte, Butcher, and to Maud his wife, one hall, with one shop adjoining, in the same street, for 15*s.* yearly, the rent to begin in 1360, or three years after date. In the subsequent deeds Richman has become the fixed family name, and the descendants bear it honourably in Somerset to this day.



Lecture on Anatomy.

From an ancient MS. on Surgery preserved in the City Library, Bristol. Circa 1380-1400.

21. The wealthy, both in town and country, during the 12th century had indulged in profuse hospitality. The Earl of Leicester expended in one year money equivalent to £150,000 of present value, one item alone, that of wine, is enormous, 371 pipes being consumed. The produce of the domain, and the revenues from the land were principally spent in the castle, the doors of which were open to all strangers of condition. At Martinmas the supply of fresh meat ceased, except on rare occasions. Oxen, sheep, swine, and deer, were killed in prodigious numbers for each baron's household and salted down in immense tubs for the winter's provision. The hides were made into rude leather, the fat was melted for candles. Wines were laid in from Bristol, hugh stacks of brushwood for the ovens, and logs of wood for the hearth surrounded the dwelling. The household servants were many, they and the farm inmates fared not amiss, but the serf-born thralls, bondsmen of one manor, all whose goods belonged to their master, and who could be sold ("in this year we sold one slave by birth, William Pike and all his family, and received one mark from the buyer"[1]) at the will of their lord, were left in a pitiable condition both for food and raiment.

The rise of the craftsmen and their struggle for a share in the power hitherto monopolised by the older burghers in the towns, and especially in Bristol, is a characteristic feature of this age. Every man permanently resident within the walls of the burgh was either by birth or by service a freeman, his rights were as rigidly defined as were those of the Lord of the Honour, he could demand a fair trial on any charge, and that justice should be administered only by his fellow-burgesses, or in their presence by the King's justiciaries. When the town's bell rang out, the burgesses gathered in the Common Hall for deliberation and free speech. All townsmen stood on one common footing, but there were as great differences, as now, in condition, degree, and wealth.

The Frith guild, now grown into the Merchants' guild, regulated trade, assessed the sums payable by each burgess for dues and taxes, and were continually on the *qui vive* to get privileges for the town, as well as to keep the unruly, headstrong members of the community in order. The King's treasury was often filled as the price of a charter. These, by repeated additions and confirmations, publicly recited to the burgesses, infused a spirit of independence and of progress that was unknown to their less favoured countrymen employed in agriculture; their commercial privileges were most extensive and valuable, exemption from tolls was an immense boon to a town that imported foreign produce, and whose burgesses attended most of the established fairs (at these fairs, which often lasted for a week, or even two, all the shops of the town in which they were held were obliged by law to be closed, and nothing was bought or sold but in the fair itself). The burgesses

[1] Annals Dunstab., 1283.

also framed their own laws, had control of their markets, and established courts for the recovery of debts.

As the necessities of trade, and the growing increase of commerce demanded, strangers, escaped serfs, artisans, and traders without landed holdings, were tolerated within the walls; the increase of an industrious population meant an increase of wealth and of power. The wealthier burgesses purchased land, grew select, and undertook the larger commercial operations only. Hitherto the term merchant had been applied indiscriminately to shopkeepers and tradesmen, but thenceforth it was gradually withdrawn from the craftsmen and traders.

These latter now formed themselves into trade or craft guilds, the admittance to which was an absolute apprenticeship of seven years to the trade chosen, and no man who had not served his apprenticeship was allowed to carry on any trade in the borough.

The guild master and his court inspected all work done, fixed prices, confiscated unlawful tools, or bad work, and punished disobedience by fines or expulsion, which was absolute ruin (wholesome despotism in some respects, certainly not an unmixed evil).

A common fund was raised by the weekly payments of the members, and in order to proceed legally a royal charter was obtained as soon as practicable. Then began the struggle between the merchants' guild (the greater folk) and the trades' guilds (the lesser folk), the weight of numbers finally prevailed, and the control of trade finally passed into the hands of the trades, or as they are more commonly termed, the crafts' guilds. Under the barons' war, the contest of the guilds raged in London with this result, that every trade won its charter, was properly enrolled, and had its livery appointed, forming what are now known as the "Livery Companies of the City." In Bristol the struggle came later. Ricart says[1] "Forasmuch as at all times this worshipful town of Bristol hath take a precedent of the noble city of London in exercising their laudable customs," &c., &c., so now the contest that culminated in what is called the Great Insurrection in Bristol, arose it seems to us, originally from a difference between the older wealthy burgess' or merchants' guild, and the crafts' guilds, with whom, ambitious to become leaders, some of the wealthy merchants of standing had allied themselves.



Bandaging a Fractured Limb.
From an ancient MS. on Surgery preserved in the City Library, Bristol. Circa 1380-1400.

As there will come before us prominently the name of one man whose business is not held in such repute at the present time as to make it reasonably likely that one of his calling would be chosen as Mayor on three separate occasions, and also to represent the burgesses in three, if not four, different Parliaments, viz., 1295, 1298, 1306, and according to some returns, also in 1322, we will briefly explain the position that was held in the beginning of the 14th century by a taverner, hosteller, or innkeeper.

We have mentioned the profuse hospitality shown by the noble and wealthy to those of the like condition when travelling.

The burden in the country had become onerous, but in the towns it had, of course, ceased. When, for instance, earls, barons, bishops, rich abbots and priors were summoned to a Parliament and brought with them necessarily, according to the custom of the time, a large retinue of followers, it became impossible to find free quarters for such an assemblage. Hence arose a new trade, that of the taverner, or hosteller, who found accommodation for the strangers for recognised rates of payment. They would, therefore, be men of good standing among the merchants of the town. To these houses also the burgesses would resort to drink their evening cup of wine. The homes of the burgesses for the most part were neither clean nor comfortable, and few of them kept wine in stock, cheap though it was.

22. Such would be the condition of the great mass of the townsfolk, and especially of the crafts' guilds. In London, as early as 1261, the craftsmen had forced their way into the town mote, had thrust aside the

[1] Ricart's Calendar.

aldermen, and had chosen their own mayor. The craftsmen of Bristol herein followed the example set them by the London citizens, as we find repeated instances about this period of craftsmen being chosen both for mayors and seneschals. Taverner, Spycer, Hose, Seller, Wineman and Mariner are examples.

A most interesting account of this struggle, derived from the *Rolls of Parliament*, I., 309, and from Thomas Hearne's *Annales de Trockelowe*, with copies of the original documents in Latin, may be seen in Seyer, II., 89, 90-1-2-3-4-5, to which we refer the curious reader. They narrate somewhat at length the following facts. *Fourteen of the principal burgesses had assumed the direction, collection and management of the revenues of the town, and arrogated a prerogative and superiority over their fellow-burgesses, who were possessed of, or rather entitled to, equal rights and privileges.* The names given are William Randolph, who was four times mayor, John Snow, twice mayor, John de Celer, mayor in 1311, Peter le Frauncis (several of this family had been mayors and senestors), Laurence de Cary, senestor in 1313, Robert de Ottery, senestor in 1293, 1305, 1309, Raymund Fermbaud, constable of the castle in 1304, John de London, Martin de Horncastle, William de Kerdiff, William de Hanyngfield, bailiff in 1320, Richard de Camera, Stephen de Salisbury, the baker, John le Parker, William Gylemyn, clerk, John, servant to Laurence de Cary, John Wodelok, Adam du Temple, Roger de Stanes, clerk, John Russel, Henry Fraunceys and John de Chen. These names given are twenty-two in number, and it is probable they were all of them on the side of "the greater folk." Three of them were certainly servants of the Crown, viz., Temple, Laurence de Cary and his man; they were undoubtedly persons of consequence in the town, are distinctly said to have been all of them burgesses, and were men who had a considerable and influential following, although not so numerous a one as their opponents. They were moreover supported by the castle influence, and were protected by the constable. There can be little doubt that they were the principal men in the Merchants' Company or Guild, which we have seen existed in 1218 and 1235 (see pages 90 and 119). *The malcontents were not led by mere demagogues, the leaders are termed "majores communitates," principal men of the commonalty*—men who, if not wardens of the crafts' guilds, had evidently cast in their lot with them.

The chief leader was John le Taverner, who, having been mayor in 1308 and 1309, was re-elected in 1313, and was supported by John de Horncastle and Richard Legat as bailiffs, and John Hasard as coroner; these men, it is said, all exercised their offices independently of the royal authority. This list is taken from the accusation of these men, and differs from the one given in the Mayor's Calendar, from which we gather that there were conflicting appointments of magistrates by both parties.

The immediate cause of the tumult which led to a violent outbreak in February, 1312, was the attempt to impose *certain tolls in the market* and to levy the cocket imposed contrary to the charter given by Earl John just 100 years previously, and which cocket Edward I. had arbitrarily confirmed in 1284. The town being in a state of tumult, Edward II., who had ordered a new tallage of one-fifteenth of movables and one-tenth of rents, and who was at issue with his barons on account of their having put his favourite, Gaveston, to death, sent letters to the constable of the castle and to the mayor of Bristol, enjoining them to be upon their guard against certain persons who were collecting companies of men without his authority. He soon afterwards, by an exercise of his prerogative, took the government and revenues of the town into his own hands, and appointed a custos, whose authority was to control or, if necessary, supersede the regular administration. William Randolph, who had been four times mayor, assumed the collection of the revenues of the town, in which he was assisted by Bartholomew de Baddlesmere, a baron of great power and property in Kent and elsewhere, constable of the castle of Bristol, who was appointed custos on September 30th; the farm of the town at an annual rent was granted to him, he was authorised to collect all the rents, customs and profits, to hold pleas, to keep the prison, &c., &c., and a writ directed to the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol, informing them of his appointment and requiring their obedience and assistance, was delivered on October 6th. John de Celer, who was just out of office, William Hore, the new mayor, with John Beauflower and Thomas le Spycer, the new bailiffs, would not obey, declaring that they would keep the town safe as they had been ordered for the king's use, so that neither the Custos nor his officers could enter the town or exercise any jurisdiction therein. Thereupon the king, in May, 1313, sent a mandate to the sheriff of Gloucestershire ordering him no longer to make a return of writs to the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol. That year John le Taverner was chosen as mayor, and John de Horncastle and Richard Legat as bailiffs by the malcontents, but Laurence de Cary and Richard White were appointed by the other side. The king then, in answer to petitions sent to him by both parties, appointed four persons to act as judges in the matter, who were authorised to settle all disputes and put an end to the disturbances. The constitution of

this commission was, it is evident, very unfair. Thomas de Berkeley, he who had been at feud with the Bristol men and had lost his estates and been so heavily fined for his *lâches*, was at its head; associated with him were John de Wyllyngton, lord of another Gloucestershire manor, John de Button and Richard de Abington, a priest.

They met the burgesses in the Guildhall, but their jurisdiction was objected to on the ground "that the fourteen had procured foreigners to be associated with them in the inquisition, and that it was not right that questions relating to their local rights, customs and privileges should be submitted to such persons as judges." No notice being taken of their objections some of them went outside and told the people *that the judges were in the interest of their adversaries, that the dispute would be settled by party prejudice and not by reason, and that in all probability their liberties and privileges would be utterly lost.* Then arose a terrible tumult, the common town bell swung out its summons, all the burgesses and commonalty gathered, the rabble burst into the Guildhall and with fists and sticks attacked the opposite party. Nearly twenty men were killed on the spot, and so great was the terror that many, rich and poor, got out of the windows, and leaping or falling from the penthouse, or the leads, some broke their legs and others were grievously wounded. The judges were in great danger, but at length the mayor so far restrained the madness of the populace that they were suffered to depart unhurt. The commonalty were accused of imprisoning them, possibly the authorities shut them up awhile to save their lives. *About eighty persons were indicted for this riot before the king's justices at Gloucester, and refusing to appear they were outlawed.* This gave them little trouble, the main body of the burgesses sided with the men who had defended the liberties of Bristol, and who now had the uninterrupted management of its affairs in their own hands, and they immediately took measures to defend the town from an attack from the castle.

William Randolph and his party escaped into the fortress with their wives, children, vassals and tenants. In vain did Edward send his mandate ordering the commonalty to re-admit them and to use them favourably as their fellow-burgesses, the order was treated with contempt, and wine, salt, goods and chattels belonging to them were wasted or stolen to the value of £2,000. The king's officers and bailiffs who ventured into the town were imprisoned (Geoffry Justice and Laurence de Cary for upwards of seven weeks, and then driven ignominiously out of the town); Alexander de Overton, Henry de Caerwent and Walter de Beyfield, king's servants, were expelled; but three others, Adam de Temple, Richard de Langeton and John Swyft, they kept in prison for a long time, suffering no collection of rents or customs in the town or port for the king, but applying the same to the use of the town.

Whether or no there may, at that time, have existed an outer wall to the castle in advance of the barbican and of Newgate, cutting the hill-top by Chequer lane, certain it is that the burgesses now built one in the line of Dolphin street to guard against sallies from the stronghold, and from this spot they kept up an irregular warfare against the castle with the bolts from their crossbows and cloth-yard-shafts from their long bows, so that no one could come into the town from thence but by permission. They of the castle were by no means slow in returning the compliment. For two years and more the Bristol insurgents maintained this position of revolt against authority. The pusillanimous weakness of Edward for his favourites having involved him again in war with the barons, gave the burgesses a favourable opportunity to defy the king, when he sought to make this contention between two factions of the town a means of asserting a prerogative which in stronger hands than his had been at times successful.

William I., Henry II. and Edward I. never struck such a blow without the warrant of a strong arm, backed by a determined will. Edward II., naturally impulsive, weak and passionate, a prey from his youth to the insidious wiles of flatterers, and personally given to excess in wine, could threaten, but was powerless to enforce.

From that riotous day in 1313 until the early autumn of 1316 Bristol was practically an independent State, an *imperium in imperio*, making and executing its own laws and collecting and expending its own revenues.

23. There is no record of the men of Bristol assisting in the strife of the barons with the king, and when peace was made between the belligerents in October, 1313, the monarch was too busy with the Scottish war to enforce his demands on Bristol. The fatal day of Bannockburn (June 24th, 1314), when the Scotch, with a sacrifice of 4,000 men, slew 10,000 English, was followed by a deficient harvest. The tillers of the soil had, during the previous three years, been drawn off into the armed ranks of king or barons, and now in 1314–15 famine stalked openly through the land, followed by her twin sister, pestilence. Wheat reached a price equivalent to 20*s.* per bushel; and the Parliament, with an ignorance of political economy that was not confined to that age, fixed a maximum price on provisions. An ox was not to be sold for more than 16*s.*; a cow, 12*s.*; a sheep in the wool, 20*d.*; a shorn sheep, 14*d.*; a goose, 2½*d.*; capons, 2*d.*; a hen, 1*d.*; 24 eggs,

1*d.*; and a quarter of wheat, peas or beans, 20*s.* This enactment simply closed the barn door and the stall-gate and increased the distress of the starving poor.

The next season was even worse. A murrain amongst the cattle followed the general pestilence; the brewing of beer from grain was suspended; the nobles cleared their castles of the swarms of hungry retainers, for whom they could find no food; and the land was filled with the dead, the dying, and those who sought by plunder to maintain their existence. The prisoners in Bristol "did pluck and tear those who were newly brought in, and devoured them half alive; and men and women were fain to eat their own children towards the borders of Scotland by reason of the Scotts."[1]

In such a crisis no wonder "horseflesh and dogs' flesh was counted good meat." Another of our MS. Calendars states that both the summer and autumn were very wet, and that the dearth of corn was such that wheat fetched 40*s.* per quarter. Knighton says it reached "44*s.* in Leicester, and many who were rich and abounding in all goods were reduced to irrecoverable poverty and subject to beggary." If we take Hallam's standard for the relative value, we shall find that the maximum price of wheat was equivalent to £5 10*s.* or £6 per bushel.

This fearful state of the whole land and the raids into England of the victorious Scots, are sufficient to account for the fact that, beyond sending to Bristol repeated mandates commanding the burgesses to return to their obedience, Edward could do nothing effective. These commands the townsmen refused to obey, asserting that "every so-called legal process against them was unjust and null, as being contrary to their charter privileges and rights." About the end of the year 1313 writs were ordered to the sheriffs of the counties of Gloucestershire, Somerset and Wiltshire to raise the *posse comitatus* of each county to march against Bristol and to reduce it to obedience.

24. A force of 20,000 men under the Earl of Gloucester, appeared before the town; but so undisciplined a mob of men could effect nothing save to beleaguer its gates, which John le Taverner, backed by his armed co-burgesses, had shut against them. He knew right well that the king wanted all the men he could raise for his war in Scotland, and many of the poor fellows who in the spring of 1314 camped in the meadows around Bristol fell on the bloody field of Bannockburn on Midsummer's Day. In fact, we learn from the *Close Rolls of Edw. II.*, 7 m. 26, that the earl had received private orders not to proceed to extremities against the town. This first siege was, it is evident, merely a device to raise men for the king's army.

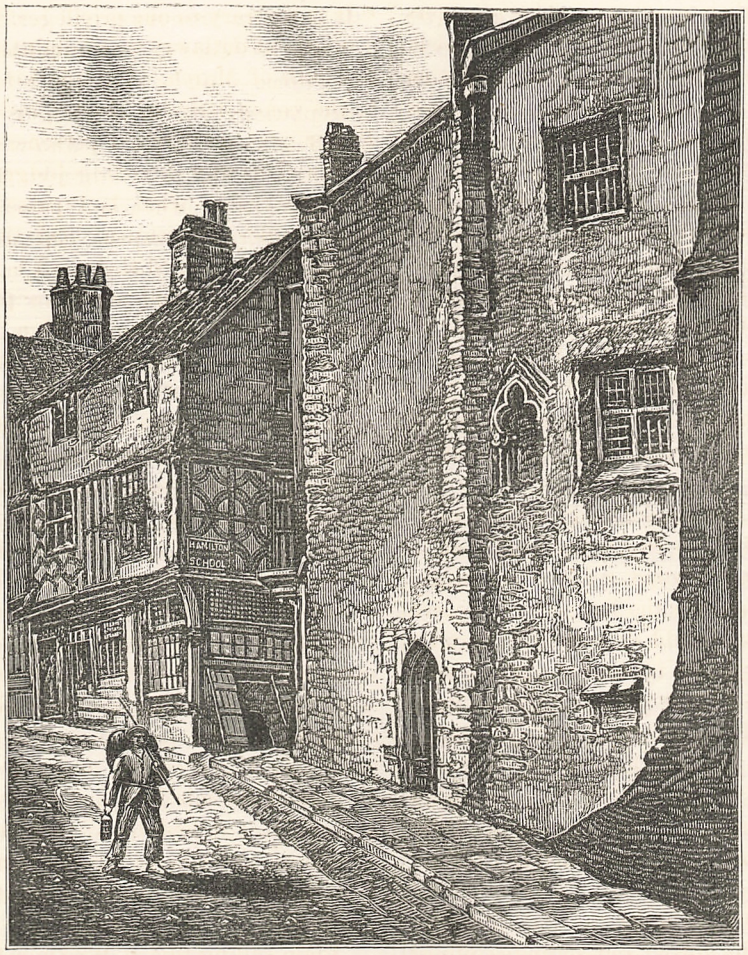
In 1316 another name appears in the story, that of one whose cruel treatment and death have left an indelible, but we hope to prove an undeserved, stain upon Bristol's escutcheon. Hugh Despencer, the elder, in conjunction with Baddlesmere, who, as warden of the castle, had made himself most unpopular, summoned once more the mayor and burgesses to appear at Gloucester, there to answer for their misconduct, to which they replied, "It is contrary to our privileges," and again the empty sentence of outlawry was fulminated against them. On the 30th of March, 1316, the king issued another writ to the commonalty of Bristol, ordering them to send at Easter next six discreet persons, such as had not been outlawed by any preceding judgment, to give information concerning what had passed and to receive the king's orders thereupon. On the appointed day the commonalty returned their writ before the king's council at Westminster, and sent (we presume under a safe conduct) six such persons, with a letter patent under the common seal, viz., Nicholas Roughborow (senestor 1302, 1305, both years of the mayoralty of Simon de Burton), John le Hunt, John Veys, Roger Thornhill, Robert Hampton and Vincent Gower. Three prosecutors on the king's part accused the commonalty of acts of rebellion, which the six deputies denied or justified. Whereupon a writ was issued to the sheriff of Gloucestershire ordering him to bring to Westminster a jury of twenty-four persons a fortnight after Trinity, by whom the truth of the accusation might be inquired into. This jury (as might have been, and doubtless was on both sides expected, seeing how and whence it had been impannelled) found the commonalty guilty of rebellion in protecting those eighty men, who were the original authors of the mischief, and guilty of all the enormities recited; that it had been disobedient to the king and rebellious, and was still disobedient and rebellious; and that the six deputies were guilty as associates and abettors.

Plain sailing this at Westminster, and equally plain was that at Bristol, where Aylmer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, came as a last messenger from the king and told the principal persons who attended his summons "that the king was satisfied of their guilt, and advised and commanded them to submit to law. 'Give up these murderers,' said he, 'and you and your town abide in peace. If you will do so I undertake that you shall find our lord the king well inclined to mercy.'" We may differ in opinion as to the conduct of these men, but cannot but respect the sturdy independence that denied being the authors of any breach of the law, stood by

[1] Seyer II., 109.

their champions and refused a mercy which would imply their guilt. They replied, "We are not the authors of this injury, *nor have we committed any offence against our lord the king. Certain persons endeavoured to deprive us of our rights, which we defended as it was our duty to do.* Therefore, if our lord the king will remit those imposts that were laid upon us, if he will grant us life and limb, rents and lands, we will obey him as our lord and do whatever he shall require. Otherwise we will go on as we began, and will defend our liberties and privileges even to death."

25. Upon receiving this answer, Edward resolved to subdue the town by force of arms. Maurice de Berkeley was ordered to cut off the communication by sea; John de Cherlton, the king's chamberlain, Roger de Mortimer, John de Wyllyngton, who had been illtreated in the *mêlée* at the guildhall, Bartholomew Baddlesmere, and many other barons and knights besieged the town by land. They raised bulwarks against the walls (the *chatte* most probably is meant here, it was a machine constructed of timber by which, when it was thrust against a wall, the assailants could undermine the same, being themselves protected, or could use the machine as a bridge to surmount the defence), battering-rams were also brought into play from the castle. For some days the townsmen resisted, hoping to tire out the assailants, as they had previously succeeded in doing; but when they found that the walls as well as their houses were being shaken, and that there was no hope of a successful defence, they surrendered to the king's mercy. Taverner made his escape or he doubtless would have been hanged, the principal burgesses were thrown into Newgate and many of them were committed to the Tower of London. The king took the town into his own hands and held it until December, 1316, making Maurice de Berkeley custos, who put in as his deputy Sir Simon Warde. In the above-named month Edward signified in council his pleasure to grant the commonalty, with the exception of John le Taverner, Thomas his son, and Robert Martyn, a pardon for all their offences upon payment of a fine. Whereupon twelve deputies were ordered by the commonalty to attend the king, viz., William Randolph (who had returned to the town and been appointed mayor), Thomas de la Grave, Roger Turtle (this name occurs nine times in the list of mayors between 1289 and 1341), Henry le Mariner, Robert Hornhurst (senestor with Simon Burton, 1304), Robert de Ottery (senestor 1294, 1296 and 1305 with Burton, again 1309 with Taverner, apparently a man of the same kidney as the Vicar of Bray), John Wellshott (bailiff that year), Richard le Wythe, John de Axebrugg, Richard de Woodhull and Gilbert Pickerill (senestor with Taverner in 1308 and bailiff in 1320), went to plead with Edward. Some of these men had been unquestionably loyal to their principles, others of them had been among the malcontents. Now united in their efforts to restore peace and good order in Bristol, "they carried with them a letter patent under the common seal, dated December 20th, 1316, expressed in reverential terms, imploring the king's favour, and professing themselves ready to submit to any conditions to which the said twelve persons as their attorneys



Newgate at the close of the 18th Century, showing the Almsbox for Poor Prisoners.

should agree." Hereupon a fine of 4,000 marks was imposed on the town, one half of which was to be paid at certain times then agreed on, and the other half was to remain on good behaviour, which fine is expressed to be for a pardon to the town and to all individuals (with the before-mentioned exceptions) concerned in the disturbances from the 2nd of February, 1311–2, to that date, and for the king's pardon of the outlaws and those who had protected them, and for the burgesses having their liberties and franchises restored. Nevertheless the king held firm to the obnoxious cocket or fish tax. Taverner and Martyn had their property confiscated. Maurice de Berkeley, although he must have had a grudge against the Bristol men, appears to have acted with great moderation. Smyth speaks of the matter as an "*intestine uproar, wherein one half of the townsmen were for some years rebelliously in arms against the other*," and gives a large number of references to the rolls. That Maurice de Berkeley did not always at this time comport himself with moderation towards those who could not resist him is shown by the following:—

Somewhere about 1316–7 Lord Maurice Berkeley fancied a bit of land and divers houses in the suburbs of Bristol that "lay fit to his manor of Bedminster." They belonged to Richard Bolour, in right of his wife, Joan. Lord Maurice carried these good people to his castle of Berkeley, and there, to use the language of Smyth "entered into covenants, that they should prosecute a writ '*quod ei deforciat*' against Roger Apleby and others who held the said lands, &c., until they should recover; and this suit be at the charges of the said Lord Maurice and his counsell; and that they should use no other counsell but his and such as he appoints; and that after recovery they should within 15 days grant the same to him, the said Maurice, and his heirs, reserving to the said Joan her life in one of the said houses, and to have £10 in money from this lord: for performance of which covenants this lord took of them a statute of £100." The honest historian continues: "I leave the censure of this to the divine rule *quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.* To prevent all presentments against him in the commission of *Trailbaston* against intruders into other men's lands, extortioners, oppressors, champerners, and the like offenders, this lord bribed the jury for Portbury Hundred with the guift of 20*s.*; and such as would have given evidence against him with 49*s.*, *pro favore habendo coram justitiariis de Trailbaston in negotiis suis ibidem.*" [1]

26. Long consideration and study of this sad outbreak only confirms our opinion that it was a fight for the mastery between the merchants' guild and the craftsmen (certain lines that we have italicised bear only this interpretation) to which quarrel the king was made a party by the refusal of the burgesses to pay a fish tax that was imposed contrary to their charters, but which the merchants, being of the king's party, were willing to pay. The king persistently in his pardon demands that this payment shall be continued; but all local matters, such as collection, direction and management of the revenues, arrogated superiority and prerogatives over their fellow-burgesses, and certain tolls in the market, his majesty does not mention, they being evidently local exactions. Had it been a rebellion in the ordinary acceptation of the word, the burgesses would have called in the aid of the barons, who were not reconciled to the king until after this outbreak. This, no doubt, Edward remembered, and it won for them more favourable consideration. The names of the men are significant. Most of the fourteen have place names indicating a higher rank by the *de* or *le*, whereas the few names given of their opponents, or associated with the leaders in office, are names derived from occupations, such as Taverner, Legat (lawyer), Martyn, Hunte, Beauflower (fine flour), Spycer (grocer), &c.

Above all, the easy terms on which the king received them to grace, without a single execution, and making one half of the fine imposed conditional upon their maintaining the peace, corroborate, we think, our view that the monarch did not look upon this primarily as an insurrection against the royal authority. Nor must we forget the notable fact that Ricart himself, one of the Guild of Calendars, who lived in the middle of the following century, and whose business it was to record all events connected with the history of Bristol, is significantly silent about transactions which in the temper of his age would be considered a disgrace to his class and to the city. The fact that Taverner, twenty-one years afterwards, took the first opportunity of petitioning a new king, Edward III., for a restitution of his property, that he does not in his petition admit any breach of the law, but respectfully, yet firmly, defends his acts, and that Edward III. ordered the Justices of the King's Bench to inquire into the matter, is, we think, strongly corroborative of our opinion. The petition is as follows:—from "John Taverner and other *citizens* of Bristoll, showing to the king and his council, that whereas the earle of Glouc' came before Bristoll with twenty thousand men and more, and demanded the same city to be delivered to him, which hee (being then Mayor) and the other citizens denyed, and defended the city: whereunto the said Earle by the Counsell of Hugh Spencer, the father, and Bartholomew Baddlesmere

[1] Smyth, 211.—Comp de Portbury. 2 Edw. II. in Castro de Berkeley.

purchased of the king oyer and terminer against them to be enquired of, at Gloucester, contrary to the liberties of their city: and for that they appeared not, and the sheriffs returned falsely '*Non sunt inventi*,' they were outlawed and their lands and goods seized for the king; they pray that it would please the King and his Council to cause the record and process to come before them, or to command the Justices of the King's Bench to reverse the said utlawry, and to restore them to the common law, that they may recover their lands and goods." [1]

It is answered thus:—"Let them have a writ in Chancery to the Justices of the King's Bench, that they proceed in the process laid before the said justices upon the premises; and if there bee error found in the record and process of the foresaid utlawry, then that they should cause that error to be amended."

Not a word of confession of fault, or a sueing for pardon in the above petition, but a manly defence of acting within the rights of the city and its citizens (five times they are thus termed) and a simple prayer for a restoration of their privileges and property, which had been seized illegally. Edward III.'s answer is in accordance with his noble character, but we have sought in vain for the result of the proceedings. As we have before stated, some returns give Taverner's name as one of the members of Parliament in 1322, from which it would appear that he had returned to Bristol, and was still in high repute in the burgh.

27. The weak, irresolute king, Edward II., was in 1318 again at issue with his Parliament. Unable to exist without a favourite, he had fixed his affections upon the Despencers, father and son, both bearing the same Christian name—Hugh. Men of good family, already rich, Edward soon largely increased their possessions. He made the younger his chamberlain, and married him to the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, who had been slain at Bannockburn, and thus conferred upon him the greater portion of the county of Glamorgan.

Despencer was soon embroiled with his neighbours, the Earls of Hereford and Lancaster; these joined the lords of the Welsh borders and marched with an army to St. Albans, where Edward then was, plundering as they went the manors of the elder Despencer. They demanded of the king the banishment of this man, the ablest and most faithful of Edward's friends, whom they looked upon as a deserter from their cause, and of his son Hugh, the younger, a man of parts, who had attempted to form a league by which the despotic will of the king should be limited, and who held that it was to the Crown, rather than to the person of the king, that the subject is bound to pay honour and allegiance—that if the king did wrong it was the bounden duty of the subject to put him right, &c.

On Edward's refusal to grant the barons' demand they continued their march to London, where the Parliament was then sitting, and procured from it a sentence of exile against both Despencers, who were accused of arrogating to themselves royal power, of leading the king to act with violence, of preventing his showing himself to his people or giving audience except at their pleasure, of removing good men from office and appointing evil counsellors and unlearned justices for bribes, of exciting to civil war and inducing the king to exact unreasonable fines, and of extorting moneys from newly-created bishops and abbots before they were allowed to see the king. This was in March, 1321, at which time Despencer, the younger, was in possession by grant from the king, of the castle and town of Bristol, drawing from the latter a rent of £210. On his banishment the grant was it appears transferred to Matthew de Clendon and John his brother. Having, in 1321, failed to gain the support of London, Edward came to Bristol, whence he issued orders to Thomas de Berkeley for preservation of the peace of the town.[1]

In May the king issued another mandate from Westminster, directed to the mayor, bailiffs and commonalty, to the same effect, and ordering them not to suffer any suspicious persons to enter the town.[2] The Earl of Hereford had sent a mendicant friar to persuade the burgesses to give their adhesion to the barons; but in this case, as in the previous war, they declined the alliance.[3]

Edward having been successful and overcome the barons, the Parliament at York annulled the sentence of exile against the Despencers on the ground of coercion by force of arms, and carrying their acquiescence with the king's wishes to the extreme of servility, they "repealed all ordinances and provisions that had curtailed the royal power of the ancestors of our lord the king." The Despencers returned to England and reigned supreme in the palace, the escheats of the attainted barons were assigned to them, and Hugh Despencer, the younger, had a re-grant of the castle and town of Bristol for his life.

On the 22nd April, 1320, the king granted two charters by which the burgesses had the customs on imports for five years for repairing the walls and the quay. These seem to have been renewals of former charters granted by him for three years on February 19th, 1316, for the same purposes.

28. On February 17th, 1321–2, a month before the decisive battle at Boroughbridge, Edward, for a grant

[1] Roll. Par. II., 434.

[1] Claus. Rot., 14 Edwd. II., m. 2. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

of money and men, confirmed the charters of Bristol without specifying any new privilege. The above battle was fought on March 16th, and great numbers of the confederated barons were taken prisoners. Many of these were sent for execution to different large towns, and Bristol was favoured with two of these hideous presents. Sir Henry Wyllyngton, lord of the manor of Culverden, Gloucestershire, and Sir Henry de Montfort were hanged and quartered here in April, 1322. The cause in which they fell was popular with the masses of the people, and miracles were said to be wrought at the place of their execution. A year and a quarter at least after these men had suffered, a proclamation was issued, viz., between July 7th, 1323, and July, 1324, to this effect:—"Know ye that Henry de Montfort and Henry Wyllyngton, our late enemies and rebels, were hanged at Bristol, and their bodies are to remain on the gallows as long as they endure . . . and that Reginald de Montfort, W. de Clyfford, W. Curteys and John, his brother, went many times to the place and falsely feigned that miracles were there wrought."[1]

At this time also perished a man whose name will have become familiar to our readers—Bartholomew Baddlesmere. He was nephew to the Bishop of Lincoln, had been the king's constable of Bristol, and had received at the monarch's hands one of the ancient castles of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, viz., Leeds, in Kent. This man had deserted the king and wished to join the party of the barons. His constable at Leeds refused admittance to the Queen Isabella in 1321, who thereupon besieged and took the castle whilst Edward was absent, the barons refusing to assist Baddlesmere; in fact, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, popularly named "the good," refused to join their cause if he were allowed to continue in their army.

"After the battle of Boroughbridge the king excepted Baddlesmere from the general pardon. He was taken prisoner at Stow park, drawn from Canterbury to the gallows at Bleen, and there hanged on April 14th, 1322. Afterwards his head was cut off and fixed on a pole at Burgate and his body again hung up."[2]

The king made a flying visit from Gloucester to Bristol in one day, 26th January, 1324, returning by way of Iron Acton. He came again on the 1st of February; on the 3rd he was at Berkeley, on his way back to Gloucester; on the 8th he came again, apparently to consult Despencer. These rapid movements betoken his agitation and distrust.

Roger de Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, "was kept in a filthie prison verie discourteously; at length he died in 1324, and was buried at Bristow." His nephew Roger escaped the extreme penalty of treason and was imprisoned in the Tower of London, from whence he escaped to France, where he became the paramour of Edward's queen, Isabella.

29. Being sister to the King of France, Isabella had been despatched to that kingdom by her husband, ostensibly to conclude a treaty with her brother; and having got her son, Prince Edward, in her power, she renounced every sentiment of love and loyalty to her husband, refused to return to England, asserting that the Despencers were her bitter foes, entered into illicit relations with Roger de Mortimer, whom she made the chief of her household, kept the prince with her, notwithstanding the entreaties and commands of his father that he should return, and gathering around her the English who had escaped to the Continent she, with only 300 men, landed at Orwell on September 24th, 1326, and proclaimed war against her husband, the king.

Edward's mania, for it was nothing less, had worn out the patience of even his relatives. His brother, the Earl of Kent, the Earls of Suffolk, Richmond, and a number of barons and bishops joined Isabella in this odious and unnatural war. A wife in arms against her husband, a boy employed as a tool to ruin his father, a people thirsting for revenge upon an indolent, incapable, and, we may add, a maudlin king, English history has not its parallel.

30. Edward's party rapidly losing adherents, the king retired into the Tower of London, and sent circular letters to the seaports ordering the authorities to search for letters coming from beyond sea and to arrest and commit to prison all suspected persons arriving from abroad. One of these letters was addressed to the mayor, bailiffs and commonalty of Bristol. On the 27th and 28th September the king issued proclamations against the Queen, his son Edward, his brother the Earl of Kent, and Roger de Mortimer, 'our traytor and mortal enemy;" he ordered the Queen's letters to the towns to be sent to him unopened. One of these proclamations is directed under the Great Seal to the mayor and bailiffs of Bristol. London being thoroughly disaffected toward him, the king resolved to retreat westward and to make a stand at Bristol. On October 12th he sent a writ to William Tracy, Sheriff of Gloucestershire, ordering him to victual immediately the castles of Bristol and Chepstow. This was done, for Tracy petitioned Edward III., in 1330, for payment of £24 15*s.* 0*d.* for provisions delivered to Roger Barnard at Chepstow, and for a further sum of £84 12*s.* 0*d.* for provisions sent by Edward II.'s orders to Donald, Earl of Mar, the governor of Bristol castle. Mar had been

[1] Pat. 17 Edwd. II., Par. I., m. 15.

[2] Seyer, II., 112, from Leland and others.

liberated at the demand of Robert Bruce after Bannockburn. He seems from this to have so well liked his cage as to return voluntarily to it, and to have been highly in favour with Edward.

London opened its gates to the Queen, but she stayed there only a few days, steadily following the king with an ever increasing force. Morality in high places was at a discount, and noble and prelate were ready with pen, sword, and voice to defend the conduct of an adulterous, rebellious wife. There can be little doubt that the people felt that any change of rulers must of necessity be for the better. At Wallingford a manifesto was issued in the names of the Queen, Prince, and Earl of Kent, detailing the tyranny and unlawful oppressions of Hugh Despencer, Robert Baldock and others, and justifying the step the allied parties had taken. At Oxford the Bishop of Hereford preached before the Prince and the chiefs of the party from the text, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman." He drew a resemblance between the Queen and Eve, and between Chancellor Baldock and the devil, and in the course of his sermon he read the Wallingford proclamation.

31. Lord Maurice de Berkeley, having taken part against the younger Despencer, was thrown into gaol at Wallingford castle, where, after an ineffectual attempt at escape, he died on the 31st of May, 1326. During his imprisonment Richard Tilley, the Mayor of Bristol 1319-20 and 1321, and the burgesses revived the old struggle with Berkeley's tenants of Redcliff, committing some to gaol and ill-treating others. Upon the complaint of these sufferers special commissions were awarded under the great seal to two judges of the King's Bench to enquire by juries of Gloucestershire into the causes of these commitments and pillage, whereupon ten or more were bailed and discharged, and many found to have been unjustly committed, to the reproof of the mayor. No doubt his worship thought that he had got well off with only a rebuke. A Gloucestershire jury would be inimical to any claim of jurisdiction by Bristol over "Berkeley's men of Redcliff." The evils of a divided jurisdiction will be apparent from a petition sent to the king and his council in 1325 by the mayor and commonalty of Bristol, which sheweth "that whereas the said town of Bristol and its suburbs is within the county of Gloucester and is obedient to the sheriff of that county, except parcel of a street called Temple street, which is within the walls, and the inhabitants of the said street are burgesses of the said town of Bristol: which street is obedient to the sheriff of Somerset; therefore when our lord the king commands the Sheriff of Gloucester to make his executions, the people of the town of Bristol cause their goods to be removed to the said Temple street, which is in the county of Somerset; so that neither the Sheriff of Gloucester nor the bailiffs of the said town are able to make execution of the mandates of our lord the king, to the great damage of the king and of all the commonalty. Wherefore the said Mayor and commonalty pray our lord the king that he would please to grant them that the said street may be obedient and respondent in all cases there where the other people of the said town of Bristol are respondent, and nowhere else, so as at any time the progenitors of our lord the king granted by their charter, that Radcliff street should be obedient to the said town as in their charter is more fully contained." The king answers, "Let John de Stonore, with John de Clyveden, John de Anesley, or any two of them, so that Stonore be one, be assigned to inquire in presence of the sheriffs of Somerset and Gloucester, and of the men of Temple street, of what damage to the king it may be if the king should grant the contents of the petition."[1] The Templars' manor, at their dissolution in 1312, was granted to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who exercised certain manorial rights therein until the Reformation. The Calendars state that in 1543 Temple fee was broken and incorporated in the city of Bristol.

Maurice was succeeded by Thomas de Berkeley, who had been liberated by the queen from his prison in Pevensey castle (for he, too, had fought against the Despencers), and in gratitude had joined her at Oxford. He accompanied her to Gloucester, and thence went with her to Berkeley which she appears to have restored to him. "Her forces increasing like a snowball, she came before this great and goodly city of Bristol about the 22nd of October." "Great damage was done," Smyth says, "to the tenants of Berkeley and to the neighbourhood by the number of soldiers who, coming from the north to join the queen, passed through Berkeley." The estate had been given to the younger Despencer, which probably was the cause of the spoliation of property.

32. Edward finding himself in danger in Bristol left it ere the queen's forces arrived; Hugh Despencer, jun., and Chancellor Baldock accompanied him, leaving Hugh Despencer, sen., a man ninety years of age, in command of the castle and town. The king fled by sea, intending to take refuge in the Isle of Lundy, which he had fortified; but the very winds and waves, like all his late subjects, were against him, and after beating about the channel for many days, he landed first at Chepstow and finally at Swansea.

33. The Bristol men had been thus far faithful to

[1] Rolls Par. I., 434. Seyer, II., 135.

their faithless king, but it is evident that his favourites were as unpopular here as they were in other parts of the kingdom. Nevertheless, the burgesses did not at once yield to the Earl of Kent who, with Sir John Henneque, was in command of the besieging army. For three days they sought to obtain terms for the king's friends, but the queen demanded an unconditional surrender with which they were obliged to comply. As soon as the queen's forces had obtained possession of the town the unfortunate old Despencer was brought to trial before a court martial. Sir Thomas Madge, the provost marshal, recited a short statement of the crimes laid to his charge, of which they all pronounced him guilty, and without further process condemned him to death.

The circumstances attending his execution exhibit a degree of ferocity that is appalling. Stowe says, "He was drawn to the gallows and hanged in his armour, taken down alive and disembowelled, his bowels burned and his head smitten off and his body hanged up again, and after four days cut all to pieces and cast to the dogs to be eaten; but his head was sent to Winchester," of which city he was count. Bristol was the theatre on which was enacted this cruel tragedy; but her burgesses are guiltless of the blood of this aged nobleman, who, whatever his demerits, was treated in a manner disgraceful to a professedly Christian land.

The list of the council which sat in Bristol the day following its surrender, and whose members sentenced him and witnessed his execution, is as follows:—

The Archbishop of Dublin,
Bishop of Winchester,
" Ely,
" Lincoln,
" Hereford,
" Norwich,
and other prelates;
Thomas Earl of Norfolk and
Edmund Earl of Kent, the
king's brothers.
Henry Earl of Lancaster and
Leicester,
Thomas Wake,
Henry de Belmont,
William la Zouche de Assheby,
Robert de Montalt,
Robert de Morle,
Robert de Wateville,
and other barons and
knights.

On the very day that the Earl of Winchester (the elder Despencer) was hanged, Isabella had her son Edward proclaimed guardian of the realm which the king had deserted. Prince Edward issued writs, from Bristol, for a parliament in his father's name on the 28th of October. In these he stated that on the day named for their assembling, December 15th, the king would be absent from the kingdom, but that the business would be transacted before the queen, and her son as guardian of the realm. After the great seal had been wrested from the king the meeting of Parliament was adjourned to the 7th of January.

34. The escape of the king from Bristol disappointed the queen's party. "Early in the morning of October 16th he had got on board a small vessel at the watergate (Queen street) with a design to get to the island of Lundy, in the Bristol channel, a place plentiful of provisions, abounding with conies, fish and fowl, and the island hard of access, as having only one place in it where it could be entered, and that so narrow that a few might easily keep out many." On the 29th he was at Caerphilly, endeavouring to induce the Welsh to rise and aid him. Failing in this, all other resources gone, he sought a shelter in the abbey of Neath, and on November 10th he sent the abbot with a retinue to the queen. He surrendered, on receiving a letter of safe conduct and a promise of protection from Isabella, to the Earl of Lancaster, William de la Zouche and Rice ap Howell, at Monmouth, on November 20th, when the great seal was forced from him, on receiving which the queen by easy stages, returned to London, and was there received with great joy as the deliverer of the nation. There is some doubt whether Bristol castle was surrendered at the same time as the town. One writer states that it was kept until the queen brought her unfortunate husband before its gates and told the king to give orders for its surrender.[1] Leland corroborates this view in these terms, "Donald Earl of Marre was made by King Edward guardian of the Castle of Bristow, the which he delivered to the Queen, and so repaired to Scotland."[2] It would seem from these statements that the elder Despencer had been in the town when it surrendered (not in the castle), and reasonably expected to share in the promise of life and liberty granted to the inhabitants.

Robert Baldock, the king's chancellor, was taken with Edward, being a priest he escaped immediate execution. He was claimed by the Bishop of Hereford who confined him in his own hotel, but the populace of London broke into the hotel, carried him off, and he was thrown into Newgate where he soon died, under, it is said, very severe usage.

The privileges of the clergy were very great. They claimed, when apprehended by civil officers, to be delivered to their bishop for trial, and not to be kept in prison. The Bishop of Hereford, before mentioned, when taken in arms at Boroughbridge, had pleaded his privilege as a clerk not to be tried by laymen; and when the king attempted to bring him to trial before the court of King's Bench, the Archbishops of Canterbury, York and Dublin came into the court, with crosses borne in procession before them, and carried him off in triumph to live and consummate his treason by joining Mortimer and the queen. This was the prelate who, in addition to his notable sermon before the prince and the leaders

[1] Harl., Miscel. I., 84. [2] Lel., Col. II., 550.

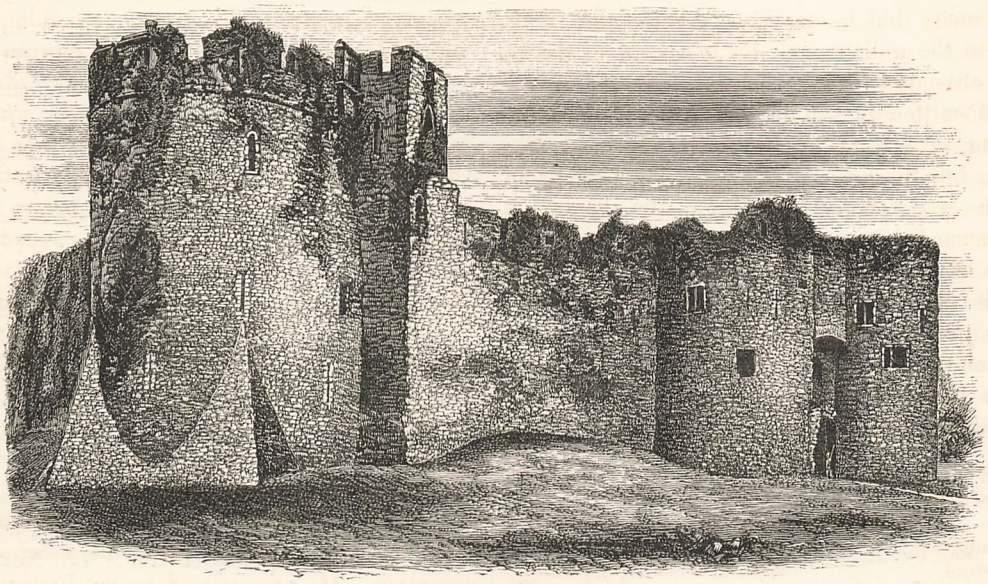
of the insurrection at Oxford, wrote afterwards the famous letter to the keepers of Edward II. at Berkeley castle, "*Edwardum regem occidere nolite timere bonum est,*" which may be rendered, "Fear not to kill the king, 'tis good he die," or, "Kill not the king, 'tis good to fear the act," having previously preached before the queen on the text "*doleo caput,*" signifying that a distempered head should be removed.

The hated and most obnoxious favourite, Hugh Despencer, jun. and another, were taken in the wood of Llantressan, and brought before the queen ere she left Hereford. "He was set upon a lean, miserable hack, despoiled of all his rich apparel and clothed in a ragged tabarce, a garment worn by thieves and rascals, and so was led through all the market towns and villages with trumpets sounding, and all the disgrace that could be devised heaped up on him."[1] The intention was to thus lead him in triumph to London, but he defeated the design by refusing food and drink, so that for very feebleness he could not travel. He was executed therefore in Hereford, being drawn to the gallows (50 feet high), clothed in a vestment, with his coat of arms reversed, and on his breast was written the first six verses of the 52nd Psalm, "Why boastest thou thyself, thou tyrant," &c. They crowned him with nettles, and after hanging he was quartered, as his father had been previously. Never was gathered such a concourse; every man blew a horn, or shouted "Hue! Hue!" heaping upon the *miserable* every form of contumely and insult. Simon de Reading was hanged on the same gallows, but 10 feet lower to show the disparity of rank.[2] Edward's faithful friends, Arundel, Charleton and others, were also hanged, some at Hereford and others elsewhere.

[1] Harl. Miscel., II., 84. [2] Lel. Col., II., 468. Knyghton.

35. From Hereford Edward was taken to Kenilworth, where on the 20th of January he was compelled to resign his crown. In April he was removed out of the custody of the Earl of Lancaster, who, being his cousin, had treated him courteously, and delivered by indenture to Thomas, Lord de Berkeley, who had married the daughter of Roger de Mortimer, had suffered much at the king's hands, and was not likely, it was supposed, to err on the side of leniency.

But with all their faults there was a true nobility of soul in these rough Berkeleys, they could fight, whether for the right or the wrong it did not much matter; but they did not care to trample upon the fallen. Sir John Maltravers and Sir Thomas Gournay were associated with Berkeley as the king's keepers. These kept him each a month in turn. Thus he was shifted "by night, thinly clothed, and without head covering,"[1] from castle to castle—Corfe, Bristol and Berkeley.



Chepstow Castle.

For ten months the miserable king was thus bandied about, only finding any degree of comfort when with Berkeley, who by universal testimony treated him kindly. Meanwhile a reaction had set in. The queen and Mortimer were beginning to exhibit their true characters, disgust succeeded to laudation, and pity began to override vengeance. Schemes were devised by the people of Bristol and the Dominican Friars for setting Edward at liberty.[2] His keepers, Maltravers and Gournay, on this alarm, removed him from Bristol castle. "These champions," says Stowe, "bring Edward towards Berkeley, being guarded by a rabble of hell-hounds, along by the grange belonging to the Castle of Bristowe; where that wicked man Gorney, making a crowne of haye, put it on his head; and the soldiers that were present mocked him, saying, '*Tut—prut avaunte,*

[1] J. de la More, 600. [2] Lel. Itin., II., 475.

Sir King!' . . . . They feared to be met of any that should know Edward; they bent their journey towards the left hande, riding over the marish grounds lying by the river Severne; moreover, desiring to disfigure him that he should not be known, they determined to shave his head and beard." (The king was very choice of his whiskers and beard, which curled, the latter in three long curls from the chin.) "Wherefore, as they travelled by a little water that ran in a ditch, they commanded him to lyghte from his horse, to be shaven with the said cold water by the barber, who said 'that water must serve for this time.' Edward answered, 'Would they, nould they,' he would have warm water for his beard, so shed tears plentifully."

Alas! poor king! he was learning the "alphabet of tears," but there was worse adversity in store. The Lord of Berkeley was commanded by letter to use no familiarity with his captive guest, but to deliver up his castle unto his fellow custodians. In a half-round tower of the Norman shell Keep, at Berkeley, which projects on the south into the inner ward, is a room which is shown, traditionally, as the chamber into which the king was thrust by Sir Thomas Gournay and Sir William Ogle, who was now to be associated with the gaolers in one of the darkest deeds that defile any history. Under this room is a circular dungeon, 25 feet in depth, into which it is said the villains had thrown a quantity of dead carcases, hoping that the stench would produce a mortal disease. Disappointed in this they removed the king to a small chamber on the wall, remote from the usual residence of the family, where he was murdered by Gournay and Ogle at the instigation of Roger de Mortimer. The method adopted by these miscreants in order to secure their end, yet conceal their crime, is one which makes humanity shudder at the thought and all but paralyzes the hand that has to record it.

A piece of red hot iron was thrust through a horn up into the body, leaving no outward mark of violence. Then reverberated within the massive walls, and welled out into the murky night, through the narrow loopholes, the "shrieks of an agonizing king," so that the sleeping peasants, starting from their slumbers, cried, "Now God be merciful to the poor king."

Next day certain of the principal inhabitants of Bristol and Gloucester were sent for to view the body, who seeing no visible signs to the contrary, and utterly unconscious of the tragedy that had been enacted, testified that Edward had died a natural death. This examination, carefully attested, was immediately dispersed over the whole kingdom. Thomas, Lord de Berkeley, justified himself from any knowledge of this horrible affair which occurred on September 22nd, by asserting before Parliament in the ensuing reign that he was lying sick and in danger of death at the time at Bradley.[1] On Michaelmas day he was still there, and on the evening of that day he sent Sir Thomas Gournay with the news of the death of the king to Nottingham, where Isabella was with the young king.[2] The messenger brought back word that the fact was to be kept secret until All Saints' day, when it was first published in the Parliament at Lincoln.[3]

The abbots of Malmesbury, Kingswood and Bristol declined to take charge of the funeral; but the monks of St. Peter's, Gloucester, had more courage, and the murdered remains were buried with solemnity in the church of their convent. There are several sculptured memorials of this king in Bristol, notably a head recently discovered in the most ancient portion of the crypt of St. Nicholas, under the High street. It is a delicate face, forehead high but very narrow, frontal bones projecting over the eyes; nose aquiline; lips thin, well curved; chin small, but rather long apparently; moustache, beard and whiskers in curled flowing ringlets. A physiognomist would at once decide that such a face betokens weakness and irresolution, that of a man who could form ardent attachments, and whose fate for good or for evil would depend not upon himself so much as upon his surroundings. This opinion we have verified from a cast taken and shown to those who had no idea whose "fair counterfeit" it was they judged. Emphatically, a creature of circumstances, Edward's cruel treatment and most foul murder, excite our pity and tend to soften the harshness of our judgment.

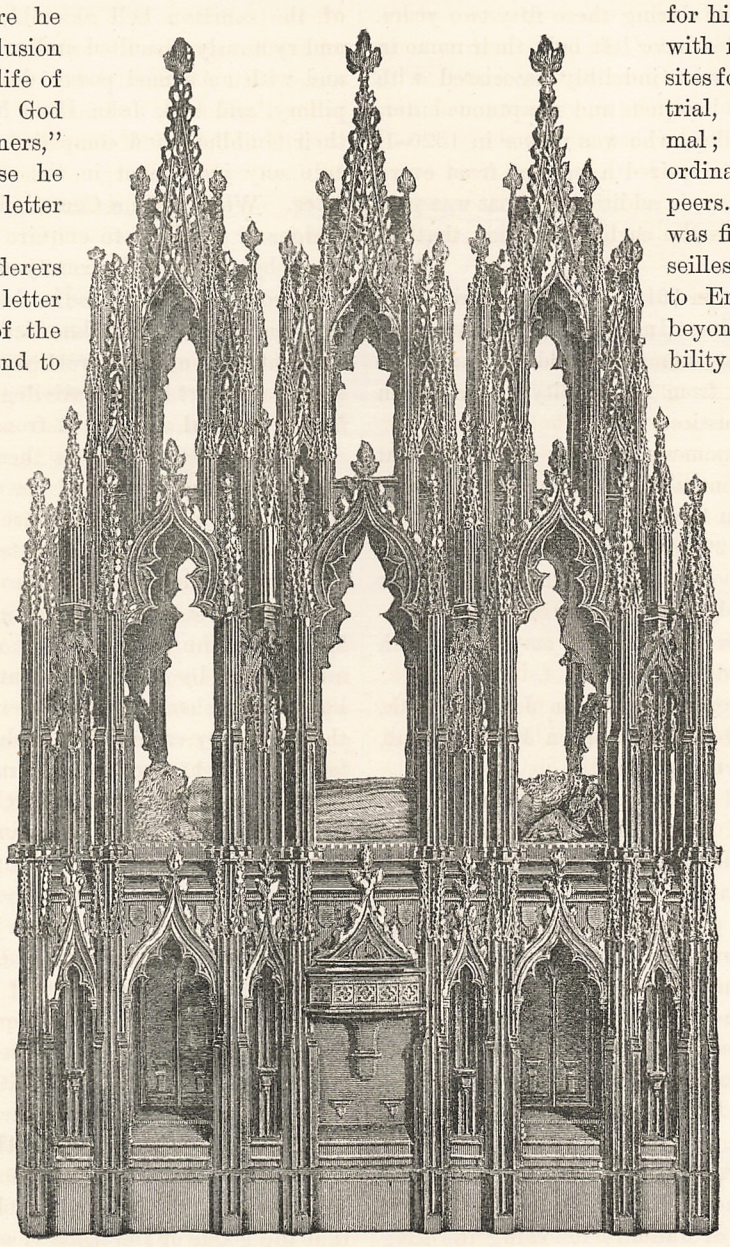
[Whilst we write a controversy has arisen in *Notes and Queries* on this subject (6th S. II., Nov. 13, '80).

A letter is said to have been discovered in a cartulary which belonged to the Bishopric of Maguelone, at Montpelier, which was written by Manuele Fieschi, Canon of York, Notary of the Pope, and was addressed to Edward III. (the Fieschies were undoubtedly personal friends of Edward II.), in which he states that a faithful servant exchanged clothes with the king in Berkeley castle, that in this disguise Edward II. escaped, having killed the porter at the gate. That he then fled to Corfe castle, where he was concealed by the keeper without the knowledge of its lord, Sir John Maltravers. That on hearing that his brother, the Earl of Kent, had been beheaded for asserting his (the king's) existence, he sailed for Ireland, where he lived nine months. That then, in a hermit's dress, he marched through England, crossing from Sandwich to Sluys, thence travelling *viâ* Normandy and Languedoc to Avignon, where he had an interview with the Pope, John XXII., who entertained

[1] Rolls Par. II., 57, 4 Edw. III. [2] Smyth, 260. [3] Knyghton.

him secretly for 15 days. Thence he went to Paris, Brabant, and on pilgrimage to the tomb of the three kings of Cologne. He then crossed through Germany into Lombardy, and from Milan he went into a certain hermitage in the castle of Cecima, belonging to the diocese of Pavia; there he "remained in strict seclusion for two years, living a life of penitence and praying God for us and other sinners," from which we suppose he was dead at the time the letter was written.

The would-be murderers are further said in the letter to have put the body of the slain porter in a coffin and to have passed it off for that of the king, who had been so disfigured by the loss of his beard, &c., that it was easy to deceive the Bristol burgesses who had been called to verify his death. In testimony of the truth, Fieschi stamps the letter with his seal. There is no evidence that this letter, or a copy of it, was ever delivered to Edward III. The subject is interesting, and this view is not without corroborative evidence; for instance, Roger de Mortimer, at his execution, declared that Edward, Duke of Kent, was innocent, and publicly asked pardon of God for the death of the earl. Again, Smyth says that "Thomas Berkeley was not sick at Bradley when the king was murdered, that he never came there till the Michaelmas following, nor had he lost his memory; for he sent Gurney, the regicide, at the very time with letters of the king's death to the queen and Mortimer at Nottingham castle, and upon second direction, from thence brought back by Gurney, kept secret the king's death till All Saints."[1]



Tomb of Edward II. in Gloucester Cathedral.

Moreover, "Berkeley concealed Gurney till his own trial was over, and then, upon a private letter of attorney of his lands of Beverstone, Over, and others for his life, he furnished him with money and other requisites for his flight." Berkeley's trial, Smyth adds, was informal; he was tried before an ordinary jury and not by his peers. Gournay fled to Spain, was finally captured at Marseilles, and died on his voyage to England. And it is not beyond the bounds of probability to suppose that another historical romance may yet be expunged from our annals, and that Edward II. died a peaceful death in a monk's cell instead of in frightful agony in Berkeley castle.]

36. Edward II. coined no money in Bristol, unless, as is probably the case, he used the dies, &c., of his father; the commerce of the town had largely increased. Like his predecessors, the king claimed a right to the service of all merchant ships; he remonstrated with the king of Norway because he had detained three English vessels. "He cannot," he says, "quietly put up with the detention of vessels belonging to his kingdom, which ought at all times to be ready for his service, being detained in foreign countries."[2]

Etymologists are not agreed whether the turtle soup delicacy, for which for centuries Bristol has been famous,

[1] Fosbroke's Berkeley MSS.

[2] Macpherson's Annals of Commerce.

derived its name from a Bristol mayor, or the mayor from the amphibious luxury. Roger Turtle was mayor in 1289, 1299, 1326, 1330, 1332–3, 1335, 1340–1, and in one old MS. calendar the name is given as mayor also in 1319. There were probably three men of the name who filled the office during these fifty-two years. But although the Turtles have left only their name in our annals, it has become indelibly associated with gastronomic feasts, civic banquets and sumptuous entertainments. Richard Tilley, who was mayor in 1320–1, is charged with having required a present from every ship that came to the quay, in addition to what was paid to the constable. This is the earliest mention that we have of the mayor's dues.[1]

William Hore, mayor in 1312, we have seen resisting the Government at the Great Insurrection, pacifying the rioters when they burst into the Guildhall, and also having great influence, from his dignity as mayor, in saving the lives of the justices.

The first regular summons by writ requiring that two persons should be sent to the Parliament was issued to the mayor of Bristol in 1283. But the list of members does not commence till 1295, when John le Taverner was elected, and thrice subsequently. His large experience in the National Assembly probably suggested his competency to efficiently serve the office of mayor, to which dignity he was appointed three times.

37. Edward III. began to reign on January 25th, 1327, and was crowned at Windsor on February 1st, being then scarcely 15 years old.

On the 21st of April in the same year Sir Maurice de Berkeley, the second son of the late Lord Maurice, being then constable of the castle of Bristol, was ordered, with two others, by Edward, to bring from Bristol castle with him into the north parts, where the king then was with his army, "such armories and other munitions as were there, with a mandate to all sheriffs and other subjects to be aiding them in that service, and to provide them with carriages," &c. One of Maurice's aids was his brother John, and as a return for good service from father and sons, Edward this year restored all their lands which had been seized by the late king.[2]

On the 14th of December, 1330, the burgesses obtained by charter the farm of the town for five years, and on the 20th of January following the king granted them a confirmation of their charters, amongst the rest that of Henry III. which decreed that Redcliff street (that part within the Port walls) should answer to the jurisdiction alone of Bristol. This revived the feud with the Berkeleys, and Thomas, Lord de Berkeley, complained to the king, "that whereas he had in certain places within the suburbs of the town of Bristol, amongst his tenants and inhabitants there, the reformation of the assizes of bread and beer, pillory, tumbrell, and other liberties; that the maior and baylyes of the towne and the cominalty there by ringing of the common bell assembled themselves togeather, and ryotously assaulted and wounded his baylyes there, and with an armed power destroyed the tumbrill and pillory, and took John Hind his bayly, carried him to their Guildhall and compelled him to swear not to execute any judgement in the courts there at any time after. Whereupon a Commission was sent to the three Judges of the land to enquire of the truth of the premises by a jury of the county of Gloucester."[1] Thomas had spotted a weak place in the Bristol men's authority; they had no written acknowledgment in any charter to warrant their ancient practice of holding view of frankpledge (a court leet), a privilege which they claimed to have exercised as a right from time immemorial. No chicken-hearted race were these old ancestors of ours, when the "trumpet of insurrection" sounded its stirring notes, the shops were left to the care of the mistresses and maids, the masters each joined his Guild. The cry, "Clubs! 'Prentices! Clubs!" rang from street to street, and in force they marched to the Guildhall, where the burgesses were armed from the armoury, and headed by their magistrates, and with a cloud of light skirmishers in the apprentices, ripe and ready for the fray, they crossed the bridge into Redcliff to maintain their rights by force of arms.

Chatterton, although he pitched upon a most unlikely man to run a tilt in a tournament (Simon de Burton), was not far wrong when he supposed that Bristol men were not only spectators but were often actors in such knightly pastimes. They often joined in the play of war, and this made them ready to take their part in its stern realities. There is a record of a gift by this very Lord de Berkeley of 28*s.* 8*d.* to his squires for a tournament at Bristol. In order to set the question of legality at rest for ever, the Bristol commonalty, for a fine of £40, obtained from the king at Westminster, 16th October, 1331, another confirmation of their charters, in which it is especially mentioned that non-usage of any of their liberties hitherto shall not involve a forfeiture of them; that the goods or freeholds of orphans which have been alienated and wasted by guardians who have withdrawn from the town and suburbs and have not left property in the place, from which the justices could recoup the orphan, the mayor shall for ever have power to seize and to restore, without regard to the parties into whose hands they have fallen; that two of the king's justices,

[1] Robert's Social Hist., 4. [2] Rolls Par., II., 422-3-32.

[1] Seyer, II., 131.

William Shareshall and Robert de Ashton, having examined by the king's command, and found that from time of which there is no memory the burgesses have always held the court leet in the town and suburbs, together with all things appertaining to such view of frankpledge, of the men who dwell in Bristol (Redcliff and Temple), and whereas the said burgesses fear that they may be molested or impeached for the same, because they can show no special warrant for the practice in any charter, the king confirms their power to hold the court in the town and suburbs, together with all their liberties for ever. One would think this settled the matter, but Lord de Berkeley would not relinquish his claim or own himself beaten. In 1333 he brought a writ of escheat against William . . . . . a burgess of Bristol, and demanded a messuage in the suburb of Bristol which was his, forasmuch as Robert de Lardiner held of him by certain services, and now the said Robert having committed felony and forswore the kingdom, the messuage should revert to him Thomas, Lord de Berkeley, as his escheat. Whereupon stepped in the bailiff of Bristol with the new charter and demanded cognizance of the plea in the court of Bristol.

Again, there was a suit over John le Taverner's property in 1340; Taverner had fled the country in consequence, as we have seen, of the part he took in the Great Insurrection, his land in Redcliff, Lord de Berkeley claimed as his escheat by ancient grant from the crown. The land was held by John Fraunces (Mayor 1330) either as heir, assignee, or officially, more probably as an escheat due to the mayor and commonalty of Bristol. There is no record of the result of this suit unless it be that it was the cause of the following incident:—In the year 1342, in execution of a process from the court of Bristol, John Neel and others took away £100 worth of this lord's goods at Bedminster, under the king's protection he asserted, and beat and imprisoned his man Woodesend, then in defence thereof, whereby he lost his service, &c.[1] How this dispute ended we are not informed, further than this, "that Berkeley sped the better because the commission was issued to John Fitznicholl, his next neighbour, and other of his approved friends." The influence of the town gradually prevailed over the controverted jurisdiction of Redcliff, and in 1373 the charter, which made the town and suburbs a defined boundary as a county with county courts and officers of its own, settled the dispute for ever.

By the machinations of Mortimer, Edward, Earl of Kent, inveigled into a belief of the existence of Edward II., was convicted of treason, and was most unjustly beheaded on the 21st of March. But the young king was tired of being kept in leading strings, and knowing that the nation had become disgusted with the open profligacy of the queen and her paramour, he determined to assert his authority. By a stratagem, Isabella and Mortimer, Earl of March, were seized in Nottingham castle; the queen was imprisoned for her life in her manor of Risings, and Mortimer, being condemned by a parliament held at Westminster, was hanged at Tyburn on the 26th of November, 1329.

38. A coarse, rough kind of woollen cloth had been woven in this country ever since the Conquest, and many weavers' guilds were established; but an impetus was now given to the home manufacture by the settlement of seventy families of skilled Flemish weavers and fullers in England in 1331–2, at the invitation and under the special protection of the king. The exportation of wool or sheep was forbidden in 1337 and was made an act of felony; but it is affirmed that a flock of sheep smuggled out of the country at this time became the source of the famous merinoes of Spain. The chief article of export from England hitherto had been its wool, its length of fibre and fineness being unequalled upon the continent; these qualities caused it to be in great demand with the Flemings.

When Edward, in 1338, began the war with France, the Parliament voted him one half of the wool for the year, estimated at 20,000 sacks, as a subsidy. Knyghton says it was collected and sold for £400,000.[1] In allusion to this Edward's adversary, Philip de Valois, gave him the nickname of "the wool merchant." In 1340 the king received a further grant of 30,000 sacks upon giving his consent to the demand of his people that thenceforth ministers should be responsible to Parliament, and that the acts of Government should be examined every session, a privilege cheaply purchased and tenaciously held. The people were steadily rising into a higher stratum of liberty. At the Parliament held in Westminster, in 1332, the prelates and inferior clergy consulted apart, the barons and knights of the shires formed a second conclave, and the citizens and burgesses a third; these united and amalgamated their reports into one general advice which they presented to the king.

The inferior clergy were the first to object to this system, which they did upon the ground that they were overborne by the laity, and compelled to give more than their share in grants to the crown than they would have done in convocation. Again, the barons, who sat in their own right, had little sympathy with the knights, who, sitting by election, had in some degree to consider the interests of their constituents. The result was that the knights were driven to coalesce with the burgesses, and

[1] Smyth, 290.

[1] Knyghton, 270.

the prelates, deserted by the inferior clergy in the house, identified themselves with the barons, so that in 1343, at Westminster, on the 23rd of April, upon the question of peace with France, the prelates and barons were desired by the king to deliberate by themselves, and the knights and commons to meet in the painted chamber, and form their own conclusion; both parties to meet in full Parliament on May 1st and to report to the king.

In the first or upper chamber there were only the clergy and laity who held of the crown by barony, and who were summoned by writ directed to each personally. In the second chamber were the representatives of the lesser barons or county freeholders, the citizens and the burgesses. This division into the two houses of Lords and Commons was as happy a conception as it has been durable and beneficial. The members of each house, being nearer in social rank, deliberated more calmly, the *hauteur* of the barons could scarcely be expended on their own class; whilst the commons, freed from their presence, spake out freely, and gradually acquired weight and influence.

The advantage of two distinct assemblies, jealous of each other's power and watchful over each other's conduct, was seen in this; every law underwent close examination ere it was presented to the king for his assent; each House was a check upon the other, and both of them were watchful over the prerogatives of the crown.

In 1332, Edward was engaged in a war with Scotland, seeking to put Balliol upon its throne. The regent, Donald, Earl of Mar, whilom a prisoner in Bristol castle, and afterwards its governor and the friend of Edward II., was defeated in two bloody battles near Perth on the 11th and 12th of August, and slain. Young David Bruce, the rival of Balliol, fled to Scotland, and helped to complicate still further the relations between Philip and Edward.

39. In 1334 the merchants of Gascony complained to the king that, contrary to their charters of protection granted by his father and grandfather, many grievances and hardships were imposed upon them, more especially by the towns of London and Bristol, which, if they were not remedied, would prevent their coming with wines and merchandise to England; they prayed that the king would send a sergeant-at-arms to make proclamation in these towns, that they are under the king's protection, and that he would cause these outrages to cease, and the offenders to be punished. Amongst other causes of offence we find that the Bristol men had attacked an Italian ship carrying wine to Holland and robbed it of £40, for which they were duly punished.

"About this time, January 28th, 1331, and again in 1334," says Seyer, "the king granted letters patent to the town for the purpose of repairing the walls and the quay, to be collected from all ships and boats laden with merchandise, from some one penny each and from others twopence, which aid was to continue six years. Whereupon one Philip de Whitton procured a charter from the king whereby he was appointed to the office of Quayager for his life, with a profit or salary out of the above duties, which office was supposed to be perpetual. Upon which the mayor and bailiffs presented a petition to the king representing the affair, and praying him to annul the charter granted to William Whitton" (*i.e.* granted to the father and held by William). Inasmuch as the town had charters granted for the above purpose continuously, and renewed at dates that extended from 1330 to 1334, 1337, 1340, 1344, 1347 and 1353,[1] this grant would appear only to have been to the office of collector at a salary, or by a commission on the amounts realised, which William Whitton, the son of Philip, sought to make hereditary.

40. The growth of the woollen cloth trade was now most rapid, and Bristol appears, in 1341, to have contributed its full share; in the grant of 30,000 sacks to the king to aid him in his war with France, Bristol is rated at 63½ bags, 4 stone, 10¼ lbs. Thirteen-fourteenths of the custom's export duty in 1354 was on wool; it exceeded 40 per cent. on the value: only one provincial town exceeded this—Newcastle was rated at 73¼ bags, 2 stones, 3¾ lbs.[2] In 1337, when the export of wool was prohibited, cloth workers were permitted to settle in England, from whatever country they might come, and it was ordained that none but the king, queen, and a few privileged persons, should wear cloth made beyond sea. The chief English-made cloths up to this period appear to have been bluett, russet, and faldings: the first two apparently woven of the undyed wool, the other a coarse cloth dyed in the piece; there was also a striped cloth for servants, with a long nap, called Bristol cotton, that could be re-shorn when the garment grew shabby. The name cotton, as applied to the produce of the shrub *Gossypium herbaceum*, was derived from this fabric.

Now an enterprising burgess of Bristol, with greater foresight than his fellow townsmen, began, with the aid of some of these foreigners, to introduce into Bristol a new manufacture, which eventually gave him a name and immortalised his fame.

The vast mass of the community had hitherto been confined to the above-mentioned cloths for personal use. Thomas, henceforth known as Thomas Blanket (Blanchette, a white cloth), set up looms in his house, with other inhabitants of Bristol, and hired weavers to make

[1] Reports on Municipal Corp., 75. [2] Seyer, II., 137.

a better kind of fabric, bleached in the wool, close woven, almost like felt, and fairly waterproof. As a matter of course there was an outcry against this, the authorities, and the weavers in particular, did not like to see foreign and better skilled artizans brought into their town, so the mayor and bailiffs levied a rate upon them for the setting up of their machines. The king, however, had more perspicacity than they, and by the following letter relieved the young manufacturers from the impolitic burden. It is addressed to the mayor and bailiffs of the town of Bristol:—"Whereas lately with the assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and others being at our parliament then assembled at Westminster, it was ordained and agreed, that wool should be made into cloths within our kingdom, and that all those who were willing to make and work cloths of this kind, should be enabled to make them in all places of the kingdom without any kind of hindrance; and whereas now we have heard on the part of Thomas Blanket and others, burgesses of the said town, that whereas they by favor of the aforesaid agreement and ordinance and of a proclamation made thereupon on our part (as it is said) have caused various machines for weaving and making cloths of this sort to be made in their own houses, and have hired weavers and other workmen for this purpose: but that you, not considering the premises, exact divers sums of money from the said Thomas and the others, on account of the making and setting up (levationis) the aforesaid machines, and that you trouble and aggrieve them in various ways on that account, unjustly, as they assert, to the no small expence of Thomas and the others, and contrary to the ordinance, agreement, and proclamation aforesaid; whereupon they have petitioned us, that a suitable remedy in this respect may be provided for them by us; We considering that the said ordinance, agreement, and proclamation, if they should be holden and observed in our kingdom, may turn out to the great advantage of us and of all the people of our kingdom, and being willing that the said Thomas and the others who have chosen to work and make cloths of this sort, and also the workmen, should be protected and defended from injuries and improper exactions on that account, Order you, that you permit the said Thomas and the others who are willing to make cloths of this kind to cause machines to be erected in their own houses at their choice for the weaving and making cloths of this kind, and to have and hold those workmen in the same place, without making on that account any hindrance, or reproach [*calumniâ*] or undue exaction: not molesting or aggrieving them in any respect contrary to the form of the aforesaid ordinance, agreement and proclamation. Provided always, that the Customs and other profits due to us from such cloths, if there be any, shall be paid to our use, as is proper. Witness the Regent [*Custode*] of England at Langele xxv day of Nov."[1]

From the fact that this letter is written in 1339, it is evident that Blanket must have begun his new trade before, or at least very soon after the passing of the statute of 1337. The king's wise letter brought peace between the parties in Bristol, and his favour speedily exalted Blanket in the estimation of his fellow-burgesses, inasmuch as they chose him as one of the bailiffs in 1341. Edmundus Blanket was also chosen bailiff in 1350.

The strife against the foreign weavers continued longer in London. The men were cruelly insulted and their lives endangered, so that "in 1344 the king issued his mandate to the mayor and sheriff of London commanding them to apprehend any person who disturbed the clothweavers, commit them to Newgate, and send him their names that he might punish them."[2]

The king's favour caused the woollen manufacture to develop rapidly in Bristol and the West, new kinds of cloth were woven, and soon we read of serges, broadcloths, medley and Dorset kerseys, Dorsetshire dozens, and single bays. The Bristol cottons were also woven at Bridgwater and Taunton, their long nap and fluffy face was the reason why their appellation was in after years transferred to a very different material.

The men employed in the cloth trade were weavers, webbers, tuckers, walkers (who thickened the cloth by walking and stamping upon it), fullers, millmen, shearmen, dyers, forcers, carders, and sorters of wool, spinners and spullars of yarn, &c. The colours which were in general use in the West were black, blue, bottle green, invisible green, scarlet, tawney, russet, sadnew, Asewer, Watchet (sky blue), sheep's colour, lion colour, crane colour, old medley, marble grey, iron grey or motley, puke or dark grey, friars' grey, &c. Some of these trade names and colours are of a later date.

41. We have abstracted the following from Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce* and Craik's *British Commerce*, in order to show the pitiable condition of the merchants who dealt in staple goods, and the difficulty they must have experienced in such a series of changes, to know when and where to charter their ships:—

"The merchants of the staple (otherwise the merchants of England, being all natives of the country, and so called to distinguish them from the merchants of the Steelyard, the merchants of Cologne, &c.), were incorporated in 1313 by Edward II. to purchase and collect all that could be spared of the chief commodities of the kingdom, wool, woolfells (sheep skins) and leather (tin and lead were afterwards added), and to convey the same to certain towns which were called staple towns, in order

[1] Seyer, II., 138, 139. [2] Rym. Foed, 5, 429.

that the king's customs might be collected with ease, and that foreign merchants might know where to meet with a supply. Also to export these wares to foreign countries in return for goods, coin, and bullion. Merchants of the staple were exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary magistrates and subjected only to the authority of a mayor and constable of the staple chosen annually in each of these towns, who were to judge in all disputes by merchant law, and not by the common law.[1] It was, in fact, a combination of the principle of the guild and of the royal privilege of establishing fairs and markets. Correctors were chosen in each staple town to register all bargains, who were paid by fee. Six mediators, as a jury, were also appointed, two being Germans, two Lombards, and two Englishmen, who were to settle all disputes in the presence of the mayor and constables of the staple. Many privileges and immunities were conferred upon this incorporation, and it was made felony to attempt to deprive it of its privileges."[2] Antwerp was made the first staple, then it was removed from the Continent and, in 1326, Cardiff, which was at that date the property of Hugh Despencer, the younger, was one and the only one of the towns whose name has been preserved, probably Bristol, however, was another. In 1328 Edward III. ordered that all staples beyond sea and on this side should cease, and all trade be carried on upon the principles of the great charter. In 1332 they were re-enacted, as far as certain English towns were concerned. In 1334 again abolished by Parliament at York. In 1341 re-established at Bruges, in Flanders. In 1348, because the young Flemish Earl refused to marry Edward's daughter, the privilege was withdrawn, and Calais, being then most thoroughly English (all natives with the exception of one priest and two lawyers had been removed), Edward, anxious to people it with Englishmen so that he might have a gate into France or the Low Countries and keep the command of the Channel, made it the staple town for tin, lead, feathers, English-made woollen cloths and worsted stuff for seven years. In 1353 the staple was again removed by Act of Parliament from the Continent and fixed "for ever" to be for England at nine towns, Bristol being one of them; at Carmarthen for Wales; and Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Drogheda for Ireland. The "everlasting" of Parliament, it seems, lasted 10 years exactly, for in 1363 the staple was once more shifted to Calais on their plea of decaying trade. During the French war it was conferred upon towns on the east and north-east coasts of England, and also to Bristol; it was given back to Calais upon the same old plea, in 1376, with the addition of cheese, butter, honey, tallow, peltry (skins of all kinds) and *gaulæ*, which are supposed to have been osiers for basket weaving. In 1378 a breach of the Act was made in favour of Genoa, Venice, Catalonia and Arragon, which towns were permitted to trade in goods of the staple at Southampton, by paying the Calais scale of duties. In 1382 all merchants were allowed to carry wool, leather and woolfells to any country except France upon the same condition. In 1384 the staple was shifted to Middleburgh. In 1388 it was given back to Calais. In 1390 it was brought back to Bristol and the other towns, as in 1353. In 1391 it was again shifted, and was ordered to be where the lords of the council should direct, but for at least a part of the year the staple of tin and wool was to be at Calais. Finally, in 1538, when the French recovered that town, it was fixed at Bruges, by which date, however, the staple laws had become, to a great extent, inoperative.

Bristol still possesses the seal granted her by Edward III. for the mayor of the staple, who appears always to have been the mayor of the town for the time being. From these beginnings the woollen trade in Bristol greatly increased and became a source of wealth to the town. The weavers dwelt chiefly in Thomas and Temple streets, where they had a chapel for their craft between the two, and another in Temple church. Tucker street was the home of the tuckers or fullers who, by beating, thickened the cloth; two of the rack hays, or fields, for stretching the cloth, still retain the name, and a part of High street was called the Drapery. Many sums of money were, in subsequent years, bequeathed for the purpose of being lent, free of interest, to young clothiers. In 1377 the citizens of Bath, being many of them cloth-makers, complained of the jealousy of the Bristol manufacturers, and they procured an order from the king prohibiting the men of Bristol from holding a fair on the same day that the cloth fair was held in Bath.[1] Skelton, the poet, in the reign of Henry VIII., mentions, as part of the dress of a lady, "her kirtle was of Bristol red." Watchet was famed for its fine light blue cloth. Some of our most notable citizens, it will be seen hereafter, were connected with this trade.

Edward persisting in his claim to the throne of France, as being the nearest male heir (he claimed through his mother Isabella), gathered, in 1344, troops from all quarters, and Thomas, Lord de Berkeley, was, with others, authorised to raise and arm at first 222 men, and afterwards 400 more out of the county of Gloucestershire and the town of Bristol. Many of these were among the heroes and the bombardiers of Cressy, which was fought in 1346.

The king, in 1344, granted to Maurice de Berkeley, for some unrecorded piece of service, two hogsheads of wine yearly, for his life, out of the port of Bristol; probably the above-named levy will supply the reason for the grant; a warrant was given to his officers there to deliver the same.

42. William de Coleford, the recorder, at the request of the commonalty of Bristol, drew up and recorded in writing, in 1345, the ordinances, customs, liberties, and by-laws of the town [following the precedent example of the citizens of London for whom, in 1274, *the liber Antiquis Legibus* of London had been written]. This is still in existence, and is known as the *Little Red Book*. The following is the heading in Latin to a body of ordinances begun at folio 13 (it follows after a copy of the *Roules dè Oleroun*[2] in Norman French):—"*In honorem dei omnipotentis et pro tranquillitate pacis villam B. inhabitantium,*

[1] Statutes 27 Edw. III. [2] Statutes 21 and 24 Edw. III.

[1] Warner's Hist. of Bath, 174.

[2] These rules were, for many years, the accepted code of law for the government of shipping, they lie at the foundation of our naval common law or custom. They were terribly despotic and severe; for instance, "If a captain discovered that a pilot had played him false he might take him to the lee side of the ship and without form of trial behead him."

ad rogatum communitatis ejusdem ville, ego W. de Colford extunc ibidem recordator 18 *Edw. III., ordinaciones consuetudines ac libertates subscriptas pro communitate ville predicte factas recordari feci et in presenti papiro, &c. ascribi, &c.*" Upon the outside of this remarkable book is the following, written by Robert Ricart upon parchment and preserved by a covering of horn (a veritable horn-book, showing the way in which desirable mementoes were preserved):—*Liber rubeus ville Bristollie, in quo continentur plurime libertates franchesieque, constitucione[s] dicte ville, Ordinaciones diuersarum arcium, composicionesque pluri[m]arum canteriarum, ac aliarum multarum cartarum libertatum a tempore quo non existat memoria impetratarum.* Its chief contents are—The Oath of the electors to the Council, Rentals of the Town, lists of the Mayors and of the 48 electors, Redcliff Charters, Lex Mercatoria, Ordinances of the Crafts, the Estatuz de la Myer, the towns within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty of Bristol, Copies of Bristol Charters, Compositions of Chantries, enrolments of the Charters of other towns for allocatio, Oaths of Officers, an order to proclaim "The leege taken bytwixt Englond and Castyle 12 July 7 Edw. [IV.]," Proclamations to be made in the town periodically,[1] besides the Ordinances and the Roules de Oleroun before mentioned. As the last date is 1574, many of these, it is evident, were added by Ricart and others. There are many subjects of interest in the above enumeration, one especially showing what indeed we had a hint of in the Great Insurrection, that the burgesses had formed a common council twenty-eight years before it was established by charter in 1373, and that the number fixed upon continues to the present day, notwithstanding the enormous increase in the population.

Seyer thought that he had discovered a palpable error in this record which states that the commonalty had agreed on many useful laws, &c., which were confirmed by the charter obtained from Edward on the 16th of October, 1331. He says, ordinances made in 1345 could not be confirmed in 1331. It seems to us to mean that they all (men of Bristol, Redcliff and Temple), as co-burgesses, were simply agreeing together that the said charter of 1331, which united the contested jurisdictions, should be read and confirmed by themselves, as the Mayor and Commonalty, in 1345, and being put upon record should form, as indeed it did, a basis for that permanent settlement which was subsequently confirmed by the king and carried out when Bristol was made a county in 1373. One of the regulations enacts "that no leprous man stay within the precincts of the town, nor any common woman within its walls; and if such women be found residing there, then the doors and windows of the house shall be unhung and carried by the serjeants of the mayor to the house of the constable of the ward, and there be kept till the women be removed. That no whores should ever appear in the streets, or even within the Barrs without their head covered." The law of 1353 compelled such persons to wear striped hoods and dresses turned inside out. The Barrs lay between the house of the Dominican Friars and the priory of St. James, and was a leading highway into Gloucestershire; it continued to be, until 1480 at least, the residence of the class alluded to; it is still known as Barrs lane.

[1] Ricart's Calendar, Ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, xxv.

The great highway of nations was at this period infested not merely with pirates who preyed upon and captured ships of other nations than their own, but ships belonging to England were actually fitted out for piratical attacks on their fellow-countrymen hailing from different ports; thus, "in 1342, the men of Yarmouth were fined 1,000 marks, because that in conjunction with the men of Hull they had sent out marauders against the shipping of London and Bristol."[1]

43. The royal navy at the time of the war consisted of only 25 ships, and in order to convey his troops to the continent the king had to rely upon his seaport towns for the means of transport. The following is a list of ships and men furnished by the named ports:—

	Ships.	Men.		Ships.	Men.
Bristol	22	608	Cardiff	1	51
London	22	662	Bridgwater ...	1	15
Sandwich... ...	22	508	Hull	16	466
Fowey	47	770	Southampton ...	21	576
Yarmouth ...	43	1,950	Looe	20	315
Ilfracombe ...	6	79	Dartmouth ...	32	756

The total number of ships (the term ships includes vessels of every kind of rig then known) taken up was 477; the complement of mariners for each was 20. Not only were men and ships required, but money was sorely needed; the king, in 1345, directed his commission to Thomas, Lord de Berkeley, and others, who were to inquire upon oath what each man's estate in lands in the county of Gloucestershire and the town of Bristol was worth from £5 to £1,000. Smyth considers that Lord de Berkeley had scruples as to the legality of this commission, some of the returns being still left in Berkeley castle; this is most probable, for Edward frequently extorted money by his own authority from his subjects, and even maintained his right to impose taxes for the defence of the realm without the consent of Parliament or people; but he was too sagacious to push the matter to extremity, hence when he found a strong, determined

[1] Robert's Social Hist., 76.

opposition, he let the right which he claimed lie in abeyance, and adopted more suave measures.

England was at this time prosperous, wealthy and victorious. At Cressy on August 26th, 1346, Edward's little army of 5,500 men, every man on foot, had stood shoulder to shoulder fighting. English prowess left of the enemy dead upon the field 11 princes, 80 bannerets, 1,200 knights, and 30,000 soldiers. At Neville's Cross in the same year, on October 17th, Queen Philippa defeated with terrible slaughter the invading Scotch army, and took their king, David Bruce, prisoner. These victories were won by the English archers. "Every English archer," said the Scottish proverb, "carries under his girdle 24 Scottish lives," alluding to the number of arrows carried by them, and to their skill with the bow.

Edward, himself the very soul of chivalry, which was the nobleness of feudalism, became practically its destroyer. On the proud day of Cressy the yeoman of England learned that in fair fight he was the equal of the haughtiest knight. Churls had smitten down nobles, bondsmen had sent their arrows through corslets of mail and their long knives into the hearts of princes and barons. The whole political military fabric of feudalism was doomed when Philip, with the bare remnant of his chivalry, turned and galloped away from "the base English churls," who still stood an unbroken phalanx on the little hill close by the village of Cressy. The shouts of exultation that rang throughout England at the glorious news from the valley of the Somme, nerved the arms of the men who routed the Scottish host, and took captive their king. But the climax was reached when a handful of famished men, about 7,500 in number (camp followers included), encountered, in 1356, amidst the vineyards of Maupertuis, the flower of the chivalry of France, in a second trial of strength, and, after slaying 8,000 of their foes and taking the French king, a host of his nobles and 2,000 men-at-arms prisoners, pursued the remaining 3,000 to the very gates of Poictiers. From that hour the feudal pretension of the knights to be the only men who knew how to fight was shattered. "The English had twice conquered France with a handful of yeomen," henceforth the military power must be sought in the people, and in many a desperate struggle from Cressy down to Rorke's Drift, and from Agincourt to Innkerman, the rank and file of the British army have verified the pettish exclamation of the greatest warrior of the 19th century, "These English, they never know when they are beaten!"

In 1347 Edward besieged and took Calais, and expelling the inhabitants, all but one priest and two lawyers, colonised it with Englishmen. Bristol furnished 22 ships and 608 men to aid in this undertaking, for which, and taking advantage of the king's need of money, and the unsettled state of the kingdom, the burgesses now obtained the following charter:—

"Edward by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland to all, to whom these present letters shall come, [sendeth] health. Whereas, as we have heard, very many evil doers and disturbers of our peace wander and run about by day and night in the town of Bristol doing harms, mischiefs and excesses in various ways to our subjects of those parts, to the no small terror of our people there, and to the manifest breach of our said peace; We, desiring that our peace should be strictly kept in the town aforesaid as in the other places of our kingdom of England, and willing that the disturbers and violaters of the same our peace should be duly punished, as is right; have granted for ourselves and our heirs to our beloved the mayor, bailiffs and good men of the said town of Bristol, that they be empowered to make anew and to have and hold for themselves and their successors for ever one place of confinement for prisoners within the town aforesaid, in order to imprison in the same such evil doers and disturbers of our peace, if any shall happen to be found in the same place wandering about by night, in the same manner as is usual in our city of London. We have also granted for ourselves and our heirs to the same mayor, bailiffs and good men, that they and their successors aforesaid for the better keeping of the assize of bread to be made in the town aforesaid, shall be empowered in future to inflict such a punishment on bakers who break that assize in the same place; viz., to draw such bakers who offend against that assize upon sledges thro' the streets of the town aforesaid, and otherwise to punish them, as is practised in like manner with regard to such bakers in our city of London. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness, our most dear son Lionel, guardian of England. At Reading the 24th day of April, in the 21st year of our reign of England, but of our reign of France the 8th."

44. But now, when exultant with victory and rejoicing in material prosperity, our countrymen had to meet with and combat unarmed a sterner, deadlier foe, to whom their ignorance of sanitary measures had everywhere shown an open door, and whose desolating march swept the whole world from Eastern India to the shores of the Atlantic.

We give a summary from historians of this terrible visitation:—This year and the following there was a general mortality of men throughout the whole world. It first began in India, then it came to Tarsus, then to the Saracens, and lastly to the Christians and the Jews; so that in the space of one year, *i.e.*, from Easter to Easter, as the report prevailed in the court of Rome, there died, nearly by a sudden death, in those remote regions eight millions of persons besides Christians. . . . There died at Avignon (the residence of the Pope) in one day 1,312 persons, and on another day more than 400 persons. Of the Friars Preachers in Provence there died 358 in Lent; and at Montpelier out of 140 friars there remained only 7. At Magdalene out of 160 there remained only 7 friars, and yet there were enough. At Marseilles

out of 160 and 10 Friars Minors there did not remain a single one who might inform the rest, which was well. Of the Carmelites, there died at Avignon 66 before the citizens discovered what had happened, for they thought they had killed each other. Of the hermits of England at Avignon there did not remain one; and no matter.[1] . . . At the same time the plague prevailed in England, beginning in autumn at some places, and, running through the country, it ceased at the same time next year. . . . It entered the maritime parts of the country by Southampton and came to Bristol, and there died in a manner the whole strength of the town, seized, as it were, by a sudden death; for there were few who kept their bed more than three or two days, or half a day; afterwards cruel death itself broke out all around them according to the course of the sun. . . . The plague raged to such a degree in Bristol that the living were scarcely able to bury their dead. The grass grew several inches high in High street and Broad street, for the pestilence raged at first chiefly in the centre of the city, scarce the tenth person was left alive male or female. The Gloucestershire men would not suffer the Bristol people to have any access to them. Nevertheless the "Black Death" reached Gloucester, Oxford and London, where it was equally fatal, and it is computed that one half of the people of England perished in one year. The churchyards were not sufficient for the dead, and other places had to be appointed. The churches were without officiating priests; before this a man might have a chaplain for two marks a year and his board, after this awful visitation scarce anyone would accept a vicarage at £20 per annum. . . . Then followed a sacerdotal infliction on the land such as once befel the Israelites of old. Multitudes of illiterate men and widowers flocked into orders "for a morsel of bread," men who could scarcely read, and who were to a great extent ignorant of the sacred duties, and far more destitute of the spirit in which they should have been performed. . . . At the same time there fell a great murrain upon the beasts and sheep all over the kingdom, in one pasture there died 5,000, which putrefied so that neither bird nor beast would eat them.

Prices ruled very low through fear of death, for few in their despondency cared for wealth; a man might have a horse worth 40*s.* for 6*s.* 8*d.*, a large fat ox for 4*s.*, a cow for 1*s.*, a heifer for 6*d.*, a fat wether for 4*d.*, a sheep for 3*d.*, a lamb for 2*d.*, a large hog for 5*d.*, and a stone of wool for 9*d.* The sheep and oxen wandered untended amongst the fields of corn, and died in incalculable numbers in ditches and hedges, uncared for "because there was so great a want of slaves and servants that there was no one who knew what to do."

45. As Cressy had liberated the yeoman and enabled him to set a value upon himself, so did this calamity, horrible as are its details, set the poor bondsman free, or at least show him a road that led out of serfdom. The following autumn mowers asked 8*d.* and reapers 1*s.* per day, sums that may be multiplied at least by 15 or perhaps 20 to find an equivalent at the present time. Much corn, of course, perished in the fields. There was a surplus of material for trading purposes, but a deficiency of labour and artisans. Barns and houses in country and town fell to pieces for lack of repairs, buildings as yet were chiefly "treene" (*i.e.* wooden from the ground floor upwards). Villages were deserted, and many a hamlet, whose green had been wont to resound on Sundays and on a summer's eve with the noisy sports in which a servile race are apt to seek relief from the cowed labour of daily life, was now silent and deserted. The antiquary occasionally finds sites once busy with country life, whose worn foundations point to a time of sudden extermination of their inhabitants, and superstition haunts them with shades of the long since dead.

The following winter, agricultural servants were at a premium everywhere, flocks were shepherdless, swine roamed at will in the pannage, and not even a herdboy could be found to tend the beasts. In consequence of this scarcity of workmen and servants all kinds of food and goods went up to famine prices, as much as 400 or 500 per cent. above the ordinary rates. The lords who, by custom, largely took the value of their rentals out in service by day's work from their tenants, were compelled to remit or excuse them, or consent to take a small money rent, rather than allow the lands to go altogether uncultivated and the houses and buildings fall into ruin.

By the extravagant demands of the thus emancipated labouring class and the bands of landless men who wandered about seeking professedly for work, but acting, as occasion served, the part of sturdy beggars, highwaymen, or bandits of the woods, the labour market had been completely changed. The populace were everywhere masters of the situation, and this for the first time in England's history. To remedy this the Statute of Labourers was passed, which enacted that every man under three score years of age, not possessed of lands or private means, should be compelled to serve any master who required his services, and that at the rate of wage which had been customary in 1346. Refusal, to be punished with imprisonment. This proving inefficient every man was once more tied to the soil, being forbidden to leave his parish in search of better paid employment on pain

[1] Knyghton was one of the canons regular, his inhuman glorying over the death of the friars shows the "brotherly love" that united these sections of the Romish church.

of being declared a "fugitive," and as such liable to imprisonment. Fines and forfeiture to the king were inflicted upon all who engaged such men, or any servant, at an advanced rate of wage. Still, where a man by his labour at the old rate could not earn enough to buy himself food, this law necessarily failed, although for a time it largely increased the royal revenue. Employers joined with the men in evading it. Then runaway labourers were branded in the forehead with a red hot iron, and the harbouring of serfs in towns was put down with rigour. In the towns strikes and combinations of artisans became, for the first time, an acknowledged fact. In the country the allied villans and free labourers combined, organised an armed resistance, and were helped with funds by the wealthy yeomen. It culminated at last under the leadership of John Ball, the "mad priest," as Froissart terms him, who preached openly the rights of man. It was, in fact, Communistic Socialism defying the tyranny of property. The shrewd wit of Englishmen condensed Ball's levelling doctrine into the popular rhyme—

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

This struggle, which lasted to the death of Edward III., a period of some thirty years, will be again alluded to.

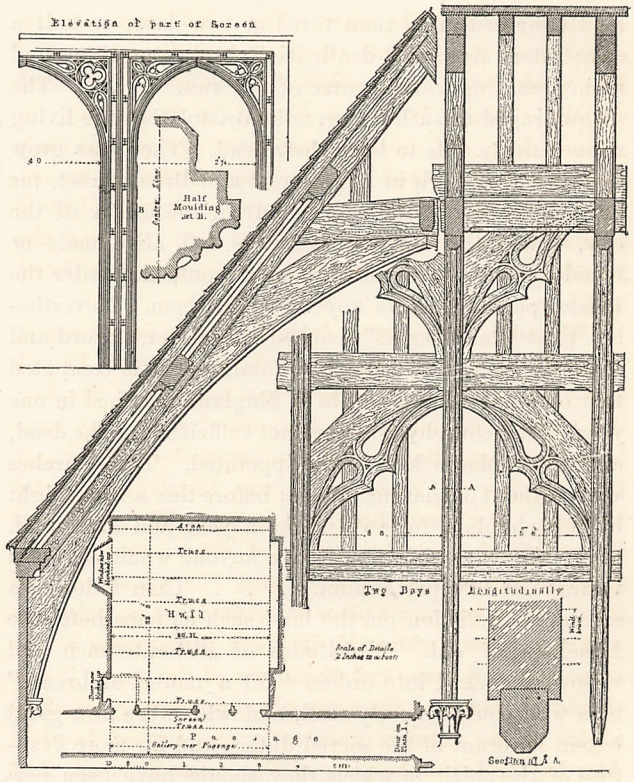
In our own neighbourhood the conflict began early. Thomas, Lord de Berkeley, had special commissions sent him to suppress the violence that arose; and "nothing gave him more trouble than the appeasing and punishing of a very great assembly of most riotous and rebellious persons of the counties of Gloucester, Somerset and Bristol, who had taken upon them regal power, and chosen a captain in the nature of a king to govern them; and, after proclamations by them made, had entered upon divers ships laden with corn and other provisions ready to go by the king's command to Gascony (held at that time by the Black Prince and his English soldiers), and by violence had taken the same away, and had beaten and wounded divers mariners." [1]

One wishes naturally for some more definite record of this Bristol Jack Cade and particulars of his exploits, but the chronicles are mute. Only one name is recorded of such a partisan leader, and the locality of his operations is not given; he wore upon his coat, embroidered in letters of silver, the blasphemous inscription, "I am Captain Warner, commander of a troop of robbers, an enemy to God, without pity, and without mercy." (They robbed without scruple.) "Peter, the king of Cyprus and Jerusalem, was stopped by such a troop on the highway and stripped of his money and baggage." [2]

[1] Rot. Pat., 21 Edw. III., m. 32.
[2] Henry, Hist. Eng., VIII., 386.

In 1351 Lucy de Newchurch, who desired to quit the world for a secluded life, after due inquiry into her conduct, purity of life, and possession of the necessary virtues by the Bishop of Worcester, obtained leave so to do, and was shut up in a hermitage on Brandon hill; she had a piece of ground, walled in, and a croft near by. This hill was, at that period, an isolated spot, the nearest inhabited dwelling being most probably down in Woodwell lane.

46. In 1356 Edward, wishing to consult the merchants of England on certain affairs which much concerned the interests of the realm, directed letters, on the



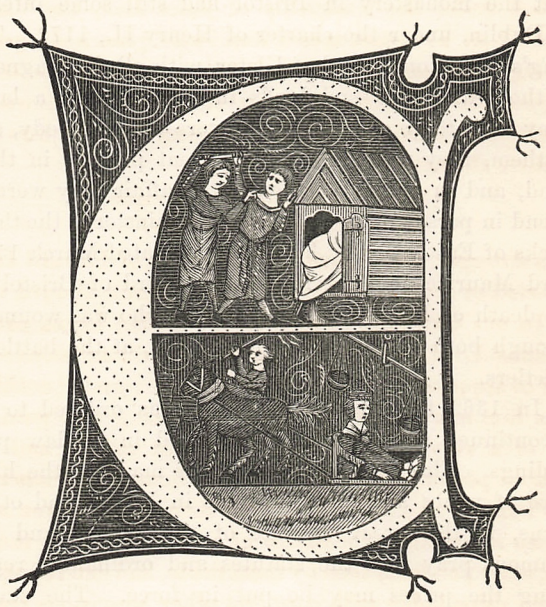
Details of Roof of the Hall of Spycer's House.

8th June, at Westminster, to about 180 persons of this description, requiring their attendance on the Sunday following June 24th. Amongst the recipients of these letters in Bristol were the following:—Walter de Frampton (the man who rebuilt the church of St. John the Baptist), John de Wycombe, Robert Cheddre, Robert Beauflower, Edmund Blanket, Thomas Blanket, John de Cobyndon, and Richard le Spycer.

[The beautifully carved door of Spycer's house, with panelled side posts and spandrells, of the Decorated period, may still be seen on the Welsh Back; within are some interesting remains which consist of an open oak roof, the arches springing from grotesque corbel

heads in the wall. "In the rear of the house there are the remains of the screen forming the entrance to the hall, now entirely bare, deserted, and decayed, the dimensions of which are 32ft. by 21ft. The roof, which longitudinally is divided into ten bays, is plain, but good in character, and consists constructionally of principal and common rafters, collar, and purlins, the angles of which are chamfered, and moulded wall-plate. Under the collar, which is high up between the rafters, is a main arch, with chamfered edges, resting at the foot on a foliated capital in each alternate truss, the intermediate one abutting direct on the wall. There are two lines of arched wind-braces, the centres of which alternate one over the other. The wind-braces are traceried, and the general effect is exceedingly good."[1] The work dates from about the middle of the 14th century. There is also a piscina in a wall on the ground floor, and in the inner court are several early doorways and masked corbels; the four-leaved moulding (of which an illustration is given on page 149) is seen in many portions of the woodwork. Spycer also founded the chapel of St. George, adjoining the Guildhall.]

What the king wanted from these men is not stated, probably money or ships, or both, for the French war (the battle of Poictiers was fought on Sunday, the 18th of the following September), or it may have been to consult them upon the removal of the staple from Bruges to Calais, which was then contemplated by him. But one thing seems tolerably clear that these Bristol burgesses obtained some months after this visit the charter given on page 172, which enabled them "to make anew a place of confinement for prisoners within the town aforesaid, in order to imprison in the same such evil doers and disturbers of the peace, if any should be found in the same place wandering about by night, in the same manner as in the city of London. Also for the better keeping of the assize of bread, they are empowered in future to inflict such a punishment on bakers who break that assize in the same place; viz., to draw such bakers who offend against that assize through the streets of the town aforesaid, and otherwise to punish them as is practised in like manner with regard to such bakers in the city of London." The witness to this charter is "our most dear son Lionel [not 9 years old], guardian of England: dated Reading, 24th April, the 21st of our reign of England, but of our reign of France the 8th." The charter, which is in beautiful preservation in the Archives of Bristol, has an illuminated initial letter (engraved on this page) which contains in the upper half the constable with his staff driving two persons into a sort of huge wooden dog kennel. In the lower half an unhappy baker, bound upon a sledge with his unjust scales suspended over his head, is being drawn through the streets by two horses, driven by a man with a triple-lashed whip. The "like manner," or custom of London was, for the first offence, "let him be drawn on a hurdle from the Guildhall to his own house, through the great streets where there may be most people assembled, and through the great streets that are most dirty, with the faulty loaf hanging from his neck." For the second offence "he is to be drawn from the Guildhall to the pillory, to stand therein one hour;" for the third default, "he shall be drawn, his oven pulled down, and he forswear the trade in the city for ever."[1]



Initial Letter from old Bristol Charter.

47. Queen Philippa was dowered, in 1328, with the town of Bristol and its castle, after the usual practice. The castle and tower of London for the king, the castle of Bristol for the queen. In 1360 she granted to Edmund Flambard the constableship of Bristol, which he resigned; she then granted it to Robert de Foulehurst, whose appointment the king confirmed.[2] This queen was greatly and deservedly beloved in Bristol. There are heads representing her in St. Philip's, St. Michael's, and there was another in Clifton church; that she had a share in the building of the crypt of St. Nicholas is likely from the fact that the boss on the key rib of the first groining on the west side of the south aisle contains a fine mask of her face, in the same head-dress as that of her effigy on her tomb in Westminster abbey. On

[1] F. T. Dollman, Ancient Domestic Architecture.

[1] Liber Albus, 232. [2] Evans, 87.

the south tierceron key is also one of Edward III. This proves that the Perpendicular style of architecture was commenced in England rather earlier than is usually supposed. Philippa died in 1370.

In 1358 the society of Thomas à Becket, which merged, we think, in after years into the society of the Merchant Adventurers, was founded. This was the second maritime trading company of England, the Staple Merchant Company, founded in 1319, being the first.

In 1361 the state of Ireland was so dangerous and alarming that the king summoned a council to advise with him as to its defence; one of the writs is directed to the abbot of St. Augustine. As the writs were only directed to those who had lands in Ireland, we infer that the monastery in Bristol had still some interest in Dublin, under the charter of Henry II., 1172. The king's son, Lionel, Earl of Ulster, with all the magnates of the realm who had lands in Ireland, and a large army were to go over. If they were weak of body, any of them, they were to send sufficient persons in their stead, and in order to expedite the affair they were to attend in person or by proxy at Westminster in the three weeks of Easter next. The writ was dated March 15th. Lord Maurice de Berkeley became Lord of Bristol on the death of his father. This is he who was wounded through both thighs, as before related, at the battle of Poictiers.

In 1362 the French language was ordered to be discontinued and English to be used in all law proceedings. This year complaint was made of the high price of wines and other victuals in Bristol and other towns, to the great damage of the people, and the commons pray that the statutes and ordinances regulating the prices may be put in force. The staple of wool was this year established in Bristol, and the mayor was made mayor of the staple and held a staple court; Edmund Blanket was the appropriate name of the mayor.

In 1366 Sir John de Gournay, Lord of Knowle, granted the ground for an aqueduct from Pile hill to Temple gate, from a fountain called Raven's well, at a place called Hales, and in 1368 the above-named Lord Maurice de Berkeley died, and was succeeded by his son, the fourth Lord Thomas, who married Margaret, daughter of Warren de Lisle.

48. Upon the death of Queen Philippa the king took the town and castle into his own hands, and farmed it out to Walter Derby and Henry Derneford, both Bristol burgesses, for £100 a year, upon these conditions:— They were to hold from Michaelmas to Michaelmas the "houses, shops, cottages, selds, tofts, gardens, mills, ponds, tine of the castle, landgables, rents, tolls, pleas of courts, fair of market, customs, and all other rights in the same manner as the mayor and commonalty held the same town from the grant of Philippa, late queen of England. The garden below the castle (King's Orchard) and the garden towards Berton only excepted. Saving all royal liberties and prerogatives. Saving also to our constable of the said castle the grinding of corn for his own table, and that of his family and of the garrison, at the mills of the said town free of expense. Rent to be paid in equal instalments at Easter and Michaelmas. The ponds of the mills to be repaired by the farmers, who may dig stone for the purpose on the king's land, with the approval of the steward. The farmers also to pay £20 a year wages to the constable of the castle, 2*d.* a day for the wages of the porter, and 3*d.* a day for the wages of two day watchmen, and for the same watchmen halfpenny a night, said wages to be paid weekly or quarterly at the option of the constable; also to pay to the abbot of Tewkesbury £14 10*s.* for the year's tithe of the town; to the prior of St. James', of Bristol, 60*s.* out of the rent of the town mill; to the water bailiff of the town 26*s.*, and 8*d.* a year for his robe; to the keeper of the Kingswood forest 7½*d.* every day; to pay all other accustomed rents, alms and burdens; to keep intact the payment to the king of the said £100, and to keep all buildings, mills, pools, &c., in good repair. The mayor and commonalty are ordered to transfer all their rights, as previous farmers, to Derby and Derneford, so that they may make their own advantage, &c. This farm altogether amounts to only £158 11*s.*, which shows how the town had suffered from the great plague and its subsequent results." [1]

49. In 1372 Walter Derby and John Stokes were members for Bristol. These were the last burgesses returned to Parliament for the town by the sheriffs of Gloucestershire. The king sent another naval expedition to the coast of France. Some of the returns of the fleet of 1357, and the charges incident to its equipment, have been preserved, from which we gather that the ships ranged in size from 40 to 100 tons, and that very few of them were of so great a burden as 200 tons. These had a master and constable, whose daily pay was 6*d.* each; the mariners had 3*d.* and the pages 1½*d.* In some instances (for going into action we suppose) these had extra rewards given, the archers had 6*d.* and the men-at-arms 1*s.* per day. Philip Scorlewe was master of the *George*, of Bristol, 90 tons; she carried 16 men-at-arms, 16 archers, 76 mariners and 1 page, besides the constable and master. At another period she carried 23 archers and 56 mariners. Larger ships had, in

[1] Seyer, II., 149–50–1.

addition, a captain to command the fighting men. The Bristol ships named are as follow:—

Ship.	Master.	Money paid. £ s.	Owners.	Money paid. £ s.
Trinity	John Davy	12 0	John Dodyng, John Davy and John Bord	11 4
Katerine	John Piers	6 0	John Piers, John Wygen and Nicholas Phelps	6 13
The Cogge John	Thomas Knappe.	10 0	Thomas Knappe	11 4
James	Walter Frampton and Elias Spelly.	12 0	Walter Frampton and Elias Spelly	17 10
Godbizete or Godbiete	John Castell and John Seley	10 0	John Castell and John Seley.	10 10
The Cog Saint mari	John Spelly	3 0	John Spelly	5 5
Margaret.	John Godefroy	6 0	John Sloo.	24 0
Elyanore.	Walter Herford.	3 0	Roger Gournay, Hugh Frauncys and John Hardewych	4 11
The Cogg Thomas	Richard Andrew.	12 0	Robert Barbour and Simon Pichmaker	20 0
Grace dieu	Walter Cogan	13 6	Walter Derby	40 0

From the above account it seems that many of these merchant sailors actually commanded and sailed their own ships. Knappe, Frampton, Derby and Spelly were elevated to the mayoralty subsequently, each of them several times; and the same names repeatedly occur in the lists of bailiffs and sheriffs of the town. Frampton was twice returned to Parliament, Derby twice, and Spelly four times; Sloo was bailiff in 1366. This shows the honourable estimation in which the maritime profession was still held. Although Athelstane's law, which made such men nobles, had become inoperative, they continued to be regarded by their co-burgesses and the sheriffs as noblemen and worthy of the highest civic honours. That the system of impressing the ships for a naval expedition was not always and to all shipowners satisfactory is evident from other items of these accounts, and this, we apprehend, will explain the great disparity often shown in the number of ships furnished by such large seaports as Bristol and London when compared with those supplied by the smaller towns. The merchants had the earliest news, and when the press came their ships were missing, despatched upon some mercantile venture that was more likely to return a better profit and more prompt payment. Hence we read, "For the hire of two sailors sailing from ship to ship carrying James Lyons, the king's sergeant-at-arms, and John Wetewang, clerk, to arrest all the ships in Kirkeley Road, because the said ships were ready to remove from the said port, for fear of arrest, with the first wind that should blow in their course, 2*s*. Also for a boat from London to Gravesend for Walter Leycestre, and Elyas Richards, going by Thames to examine the ship arrested, 3*s*. 4*d*. . . . . Paid to Richard Swyft sent with a letter of Privy Seal to arrest the ships at Gravesend, and to collect a fleet in the Thames, 16*d*."

From the above specimens it is clear that the returns of ships furnished to take part in the king's foreign wars, are no criteria of the shipping belonging to ports that were in a position to get an early inkling of the coming event. At the first presage of the coming storm the anchor was weighed and the ship despatched. There are two other items that specially relate to Bristol; James Treverbien had carried 1,000 marks in gold from London to Plymouth for the king: he seems to have gone further, as there is a charge "for the hire of three horses for the same James from Mousehole to Bristol, 24*s*. And for the hire of three horses from Bristol to Chepstow and from thence to Haverford by the sea coast, and from thence returning to Bristol, 30*s*."[1]

50. The franchise of Bristol, it will be remembered, at this period, was extended to two separate counties, divided geographically by the winding river Avon. All the land on the northern side of that river which is now known as the Floating harbour, was in Gloucestershire; that which lay on the southern side was in Somerset. This occasioned great inconvenience to the burgesses, who were compelled to attend the county courts and transact legal business, over which their town's magistrate had no jurisdiction, either at Gloucester or at Ilchester.

The mayor and commonalty therefore, in 1373, petitioned the king for a remedy, they pleaded the deep and dangerous roads through which they had to travel to reach these towns, and the desirability of having the boundaries of the town unchangeably fixed.

John of Gaunt had lost a great part of the English army and almost all his horses in France, so that Edward needing money was graciously pleased to listen to their plea, and for a consideration of 600 marks, equivalent, Seyer says, to £4,000, but according to Hallam's reckoning more like double that amount of present value, he granted to them a charter whereby the town was separated from the counties of Gloucestershire and Somerset, and was made a county of itself, having the usual county officers. The mayor was made the king's escheator, the office of sheriff was created, that of coroner was continued, as also were those of the two bailiffs. In the appointment of sheriff three names were to be presented to the king, who was to select one of them. This officer was to hold county courts monthly, to which the legal business of the burgesses was to be transferred, and ample civil and criminal jurisdiction was given to

[1] Seyer, II., 154-5.

the mayor and sheriff. The mayor was no longer to be sworn in before the king's constable of the castle, but before his predecessor in office and the commonalty in the Guildhall. The sheriff to make his oath by writ *dedimus potestatem* before the mayor. The gaol to be in the keeping of the burgesses. Mayor and sheriff to have cognizance of all pleas excepting those in the Tolzey court, which were still to be held before the king's steward, as before. No justices of the adjoining counties were to interfere, except in cases of error, of subsidies, and those belonging of right to the Tolzey court. The mayor to have power to recognise deeds, and, with the sheriff, to levy fines, estreats to be delivered by them under their seals on the morrow of Michaelmas day into the exchequer of the king. The mayor and sheriff to receive probate of wills, and after public proclamation of the same in full court in the Guildhall, to put them in execution by their officers. All writs concerning property in Bristol to be directed to the officers of the town. The town to send two men to Parliament as knights of the county, and as burgesses of the town and borough. The mayor, sheriff and commonalty to elect forty of the better and more honest men of the town as a council, who shall have power to levy rates and taxes, two treasurers to be appointed who shall be held accountable. Disobedient and contentious persons who create disturbances about the elections to be punished by the mayor and sheriff according to the law and custom of the kingdom and the enormity of the offence. All former privileges enjoyed by the burgesses, "from time to the contrary of which there is no memory," are to be continued, &c.

The above notable charter was signed at Woodstock on the 8th of August, 1373. It was followed, on the 1st of September, by an appointment, under letters patent from the king, of ten commissioners, who were to perambulate the township and settle its boundaries, so that the perpetual divisions between the town, its suburbs, and precincts should be firmly settled "without ambiguity." Six of them were to form a quorum, and were to certify under their seals and those of four lawful knights present at the perambulation, and report to the king's chancery. The commissioners named are the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and Worcester; the Abbots of Glastonbury and Cirencester; Edmund Clivedon, Richard de Acton, Theobald Gorges, Henry Percehay, Walter Clopton and John Sergeaunt. The six lay justices met at Temple gate on September 30th, 1373, to examine the evidences, having, as jurors, twelve knights or other good lawful men from each of the three counties, viz., Gloucestershire, Somerset and Bristol. The twelve Bristol jurors were as follow:—

	Bailiff.	Sheriff.	Mayor.	M.P.
Robert Cheddre* ...	1352	.....	1361-3	.....
Walter Frampton*	.....	.....	1358-66-75	1362-79
Walter Derby... ..	1352-7-62	.....	1364-8-77-81-5	1372-3
Elias Spelley	1361-3	.....	1370-79-83-91	1376-85-6
Richard Brandon ...	.....	.....	1362	.....
William Coomb ...	1377	1379	.....	1353
John Jackson, Senr.	.....	.....	.....	.....
William Woodforde	1364	.....	.....	.....
William Somerwell	1361-7	1377	1388	1365-84
John Vyell	1369-70	1372-3	1389	.....
Henry Vyell	1359-71	1376	.....	.....
John Somerwell ...	.....	1386	1394	.....

We give the above list of names from the mayors' calendar, premising two things, firstly, that Ricart herein gives the year of occupation of the mayor, and hence is a year later than the list given by Pryce and others, who date from the appointment; and, secondly, that whilst we give all of the same christian and surname who held office within a reasonable period of the date 1373, we have little doubt but that in some of the cases they represent two generations. The names of the jurors for Gloucestershire were Ralph Wallys,* John Crooke,* John de Weston, Junr., John Kent de Wike, Robert Atthy or Athay, John Westburne, Laurence Campe, John Wickenwick, William Atteaute, Robert Tellare, Thomas Overnon, and Thomas Attheath. The twelve from Somerset were John Becket,* Walter Laurence,* William Sambrooke, Simon Draycott, John Babington, Richard Callveton, Richard Oldmixon, Richard Sheyne de Acton or Ashton, Richard English, Thomas Attemulle, Richard Neale, and John Arthur. William Canynges being mayor and king's escheator during the above year his name does not appear, it would have been undignified.

Those marked with *, together with the six justices, attested and sealed the copy of the perambulation, which is as follows:—

"Beginning the said perambulation at the end of the common wall of the same town of Bristol, which wall extends itself from a certain tower of the same town called *Tower-harratz*, into the water of Avon on the eastern part of the same town, which water is in the same place the division between the said county of Glouc' on the north part and the said county of Bristol on the south part: and so going upwards from the same end of the said wall by the end of the same water of Avon strait eastward to a stone lately fixed at the end of the ditch of a certain croft called *the Hales;* which ditch is between the said county of Bristol and county of Somerset on the south part of the same county of Bristol: and from the said end of the same ditch on a line along the same ditch on the north side of the same ditch westward to a great stone fixed at the western corner of the same ditch near the king's highway which leads from Temple-gate towards Bath: and from the same stone along the same road along the ditch of the same road southward on the eastern part of the same road to another stone

fixed on the eastern part of a certain bridge called *Pill-hill-bridge:* and from that stone to a spring in the way near the same bridge: and from the same spring strait westward to another stone fixed near the hedge of *Aldeburiham* between the king's highway, which leads from the town of Bristol towards Pensford, and the same hedge: and so going down towards the north along the same road towards Bristol to a stone fixed at the northern angle of a certain meadow called *Waremead:* and from that angle strait westward along a certain ditch to a great stone fixed in a corner of the same ditch in the same meadow: and from the same stone northward and by another ditch to another great stone fixed in another corner of the same meadow: and so strait along the same ditch westward to another great stone fixed near the same meadow in the angle of the ditch of a certain croft, which formerly belonged to the fraternity of Satinors: and from that stone along another ditch northwards to another great stone fixed under a ditch near the head of a certain lane called the *Red-lane:* and from the same stone westward strait as far as another great stone fixed under the ditch of *Ergle-croft:* and thence along the same ditch southward as far as another great stone fixed in the corner of the said ditch: and from that stone on a line along the ditch of the same croft of Ergle-croft westward as far as another great stone fixed in the western part of the path which leads from Knolle towards Redcliffe church: and from the same stone along the same path northward as far as a great stone fixed near the wall in the eastern corner of Redcliffe church-yard: And from thence southward along the middle of a certain lane, which leads towards the meadow of *Langmeade* as far as another stone fixed in the same meadow at the corner of a certain croft belonging to the master of the hospital of St. John Baptist of Bristol, called *Langcroft:* and from thence in the same meadow strait along a ditch northward as far as another great stone fixed in another corner of the same meadow of *Langmead:* and from the same stone strait westward along a certain gutter and a certain trench, which extends along a certain croft called *Lokeing* on the south side of the same trench as far as another great stone fixed in the corner of a certain little croft: and from thence along a certain ditch on the eastern side of the same ditch northward to another great stone fixed at the head of the same ditch in the king's high-way which leads from Bristol towards Bedminster: and from the same stone strait westward along a certain ditch on the southern side of the same king's highway as far as the middle of *Brightnee-bridge:* and from thence strait northward along a certain ditch on the western side of the same ditch as far as a stone fixed in a meadow called *Katharine-meade,* at the corner of a certain croft called *Cardiff's croft:* and from thence along a ditch of the same croft, which extends eastward, as far as another great stone fixed in the same meadow in a certain corner of the same meadow: and from thence along a certain other ditch, which extends toward *Trenelly-mill,* as far as another great stone fixed in the northern angle of the same meadow of Katharine-mead: and from thence along a certain ditch strait westward as far as the thread of the water of *Bishop's-worth-brook* at the western head of the same ditch: and so across the same water northward to a stone fixed on the northern side of the same water at the southern head of the ditch of a certain close belonging to the abbot of St. Austin's of Bristol: and from thence on a line eastward on the northern side of the pool of *Trene-mill* as far as a great stone fixed on the mill-bay of the same mill and from the same stone strait on the northern side of the same mill to another stone fixed on the water of Avon near the same mill: and from the same stone strait northward into the said water of Avon, which is there on the western side of the same county of Bristol: and so along the margin of the same water of Avon westward and on the southern side of the same water of Avon as far as *Crockerne Pill:* and from thence westward along the margin of the water of the Severn as far as *Portshead-ford:* and from thence along the margin of the same water of the Severn westward on the southern side of the same water as far as a certain rock called *Clevedon's Hoe:* and from thence strait westward in the water of the Severn aforesaid as far as the northern corner of a certain island in the same called the *Steep-Holme;* which island is the division between the said county of Somerset on the southern part, and the said county of Bristol on the eastern part, and the said county of Gloucester on the northern part: and so from the aforesaid island of Steep-holme strait northward in the same water of the Severn, as far as the southern corner of a certain other island called the *Flat-holme:* and from thence strait eastward in the same water as far as the southern corner of a certain little island called *the Duny:* and from thence in like manner strait eastward in the same water to *Avonroad,* which is on the northern side of the water of Avon aforesaid: and from thence along the margin of the same water of Avon on the northern side of the same water eastward as far as a certain great stone fixed on the same water of Avon near a certain rivulet called *Woodwill's Lake* on the eastern side of the same rivulet: and from thence going up strait northward along the course of the same rivulet from a great stone to a great stone fixed near the same rivulet as far as a great stone fixed near the conduit of the abbot of St. Austin's of Bristol on the western part of the same conduit: and from thence going up northward along a certain lane called *Woodwill's Lane* on the western side of the same lane, from a great stone to a great stone fixed for a boundary in the same lane, as far as a certain stone fixed near a certain wall called *Langcroft Wall* in the same lane, as far as another stone fixed near the corner of a certain field called *Bartholomew's Close:* and from thence along the ditch of the same field northward on the western side of the same ditch as far as a stone fixed in the corner of a certain close called *Fokeing Grove:* and from thence strait eastward along a certain long ditch from stone to stone as far as a stone fixed in the north corner of a certain close called *Cantoke's Glose:* and from thence along the ditch of the same close strait eastward on the northern side of the same ditch as far as a stone fixed at the eastern corner of a certain croft belonging to the houses of the religious of Magdalen and Bartholomew of Bristol: and from thence strait southward along a ditch of the same croft as far as another stone fixed in another corner of the same croft: and from thence strait along another hedge eastward on the north side of the same hedge as far as the king's highroad which leads from Bristol to Henbury: and so along the same highroad strait northward on the western side of the same highroad strait as far as a certain cross called *Bewell's Cross:* and from thence still northward as far as a stone fixed near *Bewell's Well* on the eastern side of the same well: and from that stone strait eastward across the king's same highroad as far as another stone fixed on the eastern side of the king's same highroad near the same highway: and from thence returning strait towards the south on the eastern side of the king's same highroad as far as another stone fixed near the said cross on the eastern side of the said cross: and from thence strait southward on the eastern side of the king's same highroad as far as a great stone fixed in the king's same highroad at the head of the ditch of a certain croft called *Brompton's Close:* and from the same stone along the same ditch, eastward on the northern side of the same ditch as far as another stone fixed in the eastern head of the same ditch: and from thence southward along another ditch on the eastern side of the same ditch as far as another stone fixed in the corner of the same ditch: and from thence strait westward along a certain other ditch as far as another stone fixed at the head of a certain lane called the *Mill-Lane:* and from thence going down southward along another ditch as far as a stone fixed in a corner of the same

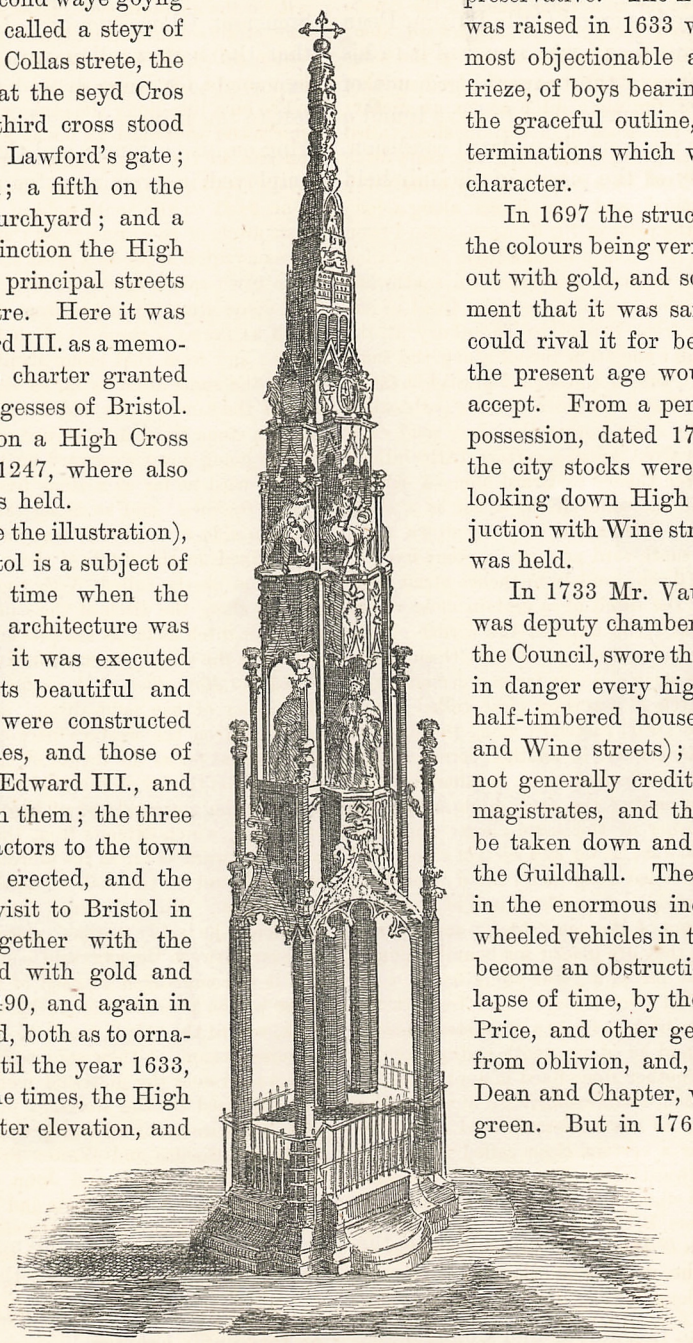
ditch near a certain close called *Prior's Croft:* and from thence along another ditch eastward as far as another stone fixed at the end of the same ditch in a certain highroad called *Maudlin-Lane:* and so across that highroad along another ditch eastward on the north side of the same ditch as far as a stone fixed in the corner of the same ditch: and from thence strait southward along another ditch as far as a stone fixed in the corner of the same ditch: and from the same stone strait westward along another ditch on the southern side of the same ditch as far as another stone fixed in a corner near the ditch of a certain close called *Prior's close:* and from thence going down along the same ditch southward as far as a stone fixed in a corner of the same ditch close adjoining to *Prior's Orchard:* and from thence along a long ditch of a close belonging to the prior of St. James eastward from a large stone fixed in the east corner of a certain little close called *Doucer-Croft:* and so from the same stone going down southward along the ditch of the same close as far as a stone fixed in the king's highroad which leads from Bristol to Thornbury at the south corner of the same ditch: and from thence along the same road northward on the western side of the same highroad as far as a stone fixed in the same road opposite to a certain path called *Apsherd:* and from the same stone across the same road eastward as far as another stone fixed upon a certain little hillock near the Apsherd: and so from thence eastward along a certain ditch on the northern side of the same ditch, as far as a stone fixed in the corner of the same ditch: and so going down along the middle of a certain ditch southward as far as a stone fixed at the southern end of the same ditch: and from thence strait eastward through the middle of the ditch of a certain close called *Mere-Furlong* as far as a great stone fixed at the corner of the same ditch: and from thence going down southward through the middle of another ditch of the same close, as far as a certain stone fixed in an angle near the ditch of a certain close called *Beane-flower-Croft:* and from thence strait eastward along the ditch of the same close as far as a stone fixed in another corner of the same close: and from thence southward along another ditch of the same close on the eastern part of the same ditch, as far as a stone fixed in the eastern corner of the same close: and from thence along another ditch eastward as far as a certain stone fixed in the angle of a certain croft called *Longesden's Land:* and from thence northward along the middle of another ditch of the same croft, as far as the north corner of the same ditch: and so from great stone to great stone, as they are placed for bounds, along a certain long ditch eastward as far as a great stone fixed in the corner of a certain croft called *Cock's Croft:* and from thence strait northward along another ditch as far as a great stone fixed in a corner of the same croft: and so along another ditch of the same croft eastward as far as another stone fixed in another corner of the same croft: and from thence strait southward along another ditch of the same croft as far as another stone fixed in another corner of the same croft near a certain close called the *Piked-Croft:* and thence strait eastward along the ditch of the same close of Piked-croft as far as a stone in a corner of the same croft, near the road which leads from Bristol to Stoke: and from the same stone along another ditch of the same close southward as far as a stone fixed in another corner of the same close: and from the same stone strait westward along another ditch of the same close on the southern side of the same ditch as far as another great stone fixed on the opposite side of the road aforesaid which leads to Stoke in a corner of a certain little close called *Wrington's Croft*: and from the same stone along a ditch of the same close strait southward as far as a stone fixed in another corner of the same close in the road which leads from Bristol to *Lekenbridge:* and from the same stone along the ditch of the same close strait westward as far as a stone fixed in the northern side of the road which leads from Bristol to the conduit of the same town called *Key-pipe-conduit:* and from thence strait westward along a certain long ditch from stone to stone on the southern side of the same ditch as far as a stone fixed near a certain spring called *Begger-well,* on the northern side of the same spring: and from the same stone strait southward on the eastern side of the ditch of a certain garden called *Ditche's Orchard,* as far as a certain stone fixed on the water of the *Froom* on the northern side of the same water: and so on a line along the same water on the northern side of the same water westward as far as a stone fixed on the same water opposite to the great ditch of the town of Bristol: and from thence strait eastward across the same water of Frome as far as a stone fixed on the south side of the same water in the aforesaid great ditch of the same town: and from that stone strait along the same ditch as far as a great stone fixed outside the gate of the same town called *Lawford's Gate* near the same gate: and from that stone strait eastward from stone to stone in the same great ditch as far as a stone fixed in the eastern corner of the same ditch: and from that stone strait westward from stone to stone along the same ditch as far as another stone fixed at the western end of the same ditch: and from that stone across northward as far as a stone fixed in a corner under the same ditch: and from thence going down westward on the southern side of St. Philip's church-yard as far as a stone fixed in the corner of the ditch of *King's Orchard:* and so along the same ditch northward on the western side of a certain lane called *St. Philip's Lane* as far as a stone fixed on the ditch of the castle of Bristol near the gate of the same castle called *Nether-gate:* and from the same stone always along the ditch of the same castle on the northern side of the same ditch as far as the gate of the same town called *Newgate:* and from the same gate westward on the western side of the ditch called the *Moat-ditch* of the same castle as far as a stone fixed in the corner of the same ditch: and from the same stone strait southward on the western part of the same ditch of the castle aforesaid as far as the thread of the said water of the Avon: and so along the thread of the said water of the Avon strait eastward as far as the aforesaid end of the common wall of the same town of Bristol, which extends from the same thread of water in that place westward as far as the aforesaid tower called *Tower-Harratz,* at which end of the wall aforesaid the foregoing perambulation was begun. Which bounds according to the signs, metes and divisions the said justices place, set and adjudge to endure for ever between the aforesaid counties, and as before mentioned: and it is commanded to each of the aforesaid sheriffs that they cause public proclamation to be made in all places of their bailiwick, where they shall see it to be most expedient, that all and singular persons of their said bailiwick shall inviolably keep and observe for ever the aforesaid metes and divisions set, appointed and adjudged by the aforesaid justices in their said perambulation. In witness of all which things as well as the said justices as Robert Chedre and Walter Frampton of the said county of Bristol, Ralph Wales and John Crooke of the said county of Gloucester, and John Beckett and Walter Lawrence of the county of Somerset, [being some] of the aforesaid jurors present at making that perambulation, have hereto set their seals."

51. Bristol High Cross is said to have been erected by the burgesses in gratitude to Edward for the grant of this noble charter.

"Several ancient stone crosses are mentioned by William Wyrcestre as existing in Bristol before the Reformation. One called 'Stallage, or Market Cross, stood in the midst of the market stalls, near Temple church, belonging to the Knights Templars, for the

supply of the tenants of their peculiar district.' A second cross stood 'yn Baldwyne strete been IIII crosse wayes metyng, one waye goyng ys a grete wyde way goyng to Bafft strete, the second waye goyng northward by a hygh grese called a steyr of XXXII steppys ynto Seynt Collas strete, the other tweyn metyng wayes at the seyd Cros of Baldwyne streete.' A third cross stood in Old Market street, near Lawford's gate; a fourth in the Castle ditch; a fifth on the bridge near St. James' churchyard; and a sixth, called by way of distinction the High Cross, stood where the four principal streets of the town met in the centre. Here it was placed in the reign of Edward III. as a memorial to future ages of the charter granted by that monarch to the burgesses of Bristol. Some MS. calendars mention a High Cross standing on this spot in 1247, where also the market, it is said, was held.

"The High Cross," (see the illustration), "whose absence from Bristol is a subject of regret, was erected at a time when the Decorated style of English architecture was in full practice, and when it was executed by British artists in all its beautiful and elaborate detail. Niches were constructed for the reception of statues, and those of Kings John, Henry III., Edward III., and Edward IV., were placed in them; the three former having been benefactors to the town when the cross was first erected, and the latter subsequent to his visit to Bristol in 1461. These effigies, together with the entire cross, were enriched with gold and colours in profusion, in 1490, and again in 1495; and they so remained, both as to ornamentation and position, until the year 1633, when, in the bad taste of the times, the High Cross was raised to a greater elevation, and enlarged so as to receive four more figures, in as many niches prepared for the purpose. These figures were representations of Henry VI., Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I."[1] From examination of the structure at Stourhead it would seem that the oxidization of the original iron cramp ties had caused the joints to heave and separate, and lead ties were substituted. The stone is a coarse-grained oolite, very liable to decay under climatic influences, hence the necessity of paint, not as a thing desirable, but simply preservative. The height to which the cross was raised in 1633 was 39 ft. 6 in., and the most objectionable addition was a tier, or frieze, of boys bearing shields, which marred the graceful outline, and some of the cusp terminations which were of the cherub-head character.



High Cross, as altered in 1633.

In 1697 the structure was again painted, the colours being vermilion and blue, pricked out with gold, and so lavish was the adornment that it was said no cross in England could rival it for beauty, a statement that the present age would perhaps hesitate to accept. From a pen and ink sketch in our possession, dated 1703, it would seem that the city stocks were then fixed at its base, looking down High street, wherein, in conjuction with Wine street, the principal market was held.

In 1733 Mr. Vaughan, silversmith, who was deputy chamberlain, and had the ear of the Council, swore that his life and house were in danger every high wind (he lived in the half-timbered house at the corner of High and Wine streets); the statement, although not generally credited, was accepted by the magistrates, and they ordered the cross to be taken down and placed in the cellars of the Guildhall. There can be no doubt that, in the enormous increase of traffic and of wheeled vehicles in the city, the structure had become an obstruction to business. After a lapse of time, by the exertions of Alderman Price, and other gentlemen, it was rescued from oblivion, and, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter, was re-erected in College green. But in 1763, when the green had become the fashionable promenade for the Macaronies (as the beaux and the belles with preposterous hooped dresses were termed), who were in the habit of walking five or six abreast, it was found to inconvenience their perambulations. Then Mr. Champion, of Bristol china fame, always busy projecting something new, raised a subscription for widening and beautifying the walks, removing the cross, and

[1] Pryce, Hist. Bris., 72.

re-erecting it in some less inconvenient situation. The money raised was expended upon the walks, and the demolished cross was deposited in a corner of the cathedral, where it lay until it was *given away* in September, 1768, by the Very Reverend Cutts Barton, Dean of Bristol, to Henry Hoare, Esq., who removed it to his seat, Stourhead, Wiltshire, in the beautiful grounds of which delightful retreat it seems at last to have found a resting place. It is now in a very dilapidated condition.

52. In 1374, a moiety of the profits of the fair held in St. James' churchyard was granted to the prior, for permission for the people who had built up to and around the priory to hear mass, *i.e.*, we presume, to have a portion of the church set apart for their use. They were to build the belfry at their own expense, the prior finding the stone and earth for mortar, the bells to be at the joint expense of both parties.



Silver Street and Entrance to St. James' Fair.

In 1376, the election of the mayor, sheriffs and bailiffs was fixed to be on Holy Rood day, September 14th. On Michaelmas day they were to take the oath before the whole Commonalty in the Guildhall, and in the afternoon all the Council were to attend the mayor to divine service in St. Michael's church.

In the same year, also, the Mayor and Commonalty of Bath presented a petition to the King and Parliament at Westminster, praying that the fines imposed on Bristol cloth merchants who attended the cloth fair at Bath, of half a mark for selling a whole piece of cloth, &c., by the Bristol Commonalty, who have set up a cloth fair at the same time, may be redressed, and that every man may have free liberty to come and to sell in Bath.

In the same Parliament the representatives of Wilts, Somerset, Gloucestershire, Dorset and Bristol complain that the best woollen yarn made in those counties is exported to Normandy and Lombardy, the refuse being left to the injury of the home trade and the loss to the king on his customs; and that the men are so profitably employed in preparing for a foreign market that they will not work at haymaking and harvest time in the fields, and in consequence become weak in body. They therefore pray that no woollen yarn may be exported, but that it shall all be made into cloth and then sold. The king complied with the request of these protectionists.

Perhaps the most graphic picture which has ever been portrayed of the manners and customs of any age is that which is given us of this reign by the courtly Chaucer in his immortal *Canterbury Tales*, in which thirty distinct representatives of all classes of society, from the noble to the ploughman, are drawn to the life. We see the

"Verray perfit gentil Knight arrayed in gipon and habergeon; the Squier with lockes crull, singing or floyting alle the day; the Yeoman, in cote and hode of green, and in his honde a mighty bowe; the Nonne Prioress, hire mouthe ful small, her broche with *Amor vincit omnia*. Another Nonne had she that was hire chapellaine, and Preestes three. The Monk, with manie a daintee hors in stable, bridle gingling like a chapell belle, his sleeves adorned with costly ermine, and his hood fastened with a pin of

gold wroight into a true lovers knot, &c. The Friar, wanton and merry, with his tippet full of knives and pins to give to worthy wives; he was the best beggar in all his house, who farmed his district, and never left even a poor widow without extracting a fee. The Merchant in motley (gray cloth), bragging of his winnings, who would have 'the sea kept at any price,' who understood exchange and chevisance (financing). The Clerke that was of Oxenforde, lean as his horse, with 'twenty bookes at his beedes hed,' 'and gladly wolde he lerne and gladly teche' the Serjeant-at-law, who 'seemed besier than he was.' The Franklin, who wore an 'anelace and gipciere all of silk, hang at his girdel white as morwe-milk, it snewed in his hous of mete and drinke.'

"An 'Haberdasher' and a 'Carpenter,' a 'Webbe,' a 'Deyer,' and a 'Tapiser,' were 'alle y clothed in a liverie of a solempne, and grete fraternitie; their knives ornamented not with brass but silver, so also their purses and girdles, each man a fair burgess fitted to sit on the dais of his hall of Gild, and shapely enough for an alderman, with cattle and rent sufficient for the position; their wives longing to be called Madame, and have their robes and mantles borne royally. The Cook, to boil the chickens and the marrow bones, &c. The Shipman, who rode upon 'a rouncie' as he could, 'with gowne of falding to the knee, a dagger hanging by a lace had hee,' brown of hue from sunburn, fond of wine, not nice of conscience if so be he got the upper hand in a fight; 'with many a tempest had his berde be shake'; one who 'knew all the havens from Gotland to Finisterre, and all the crekes in Bretayne and



"With Powles wyndowes corven on his schoos."
CHAUCER *(Miller's Tale).*

Speyne; his barge ycleped was the Magdelaine.' The doctor of physick, who 'knew the cause of every maladie,' were it of cold, or hote, or moiste, or drie, 'a vary parfite practisour,' whose 'studie was but litel on the Bibel,' who 'kept that he wan in the pestilence,' &c. The good wife of Bath, a cloth maker, the first of her craft in standing in her parish, with fine 'scarlet hosen, ful strait tyed, and shoon ful moist and newe,' who had been thrice on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, also 'to Rome, Boloine, St. James in Galice, and at Coloine.' The good 'Clerke who Christes gospel treweley wolde preche,' poor, and having a large scattered parish, who was not hindered by storm or thunder from visiting his sick people, who sought no preferment or lazy work as a chantry priest, but dwelt at home, kept well his fold, not disputatious, but 'to drawen folk to heven with fairenesse, by good ensample, was his besinesse.' 'Christes lore and his Apostles twelve he taught, but first he folwed it himselve.' With him was his brother, the Ploughman, a true labourer and a good, that loved God with all his heart, and then his neighbour, whether he gained or lost, who would 'thresh, dike and delve for Christes sake, for any poure wight, withouten hire, if it lay in his might.' The stout old Miller, who at wrestling could bear away the ram, who could break in any door with his head, or burst the bars with a heave, a roystering, obscene jangler, he had 'a thombe of golde,' in dealing with the grist of the poor. The gentle Manciple, wise in buying of victuals. The Reeve, a 'slender, cholerick man, lean, long-legid, close shorn and shaven,' who had managed his Lords business so well that he could live in a better house and lend money to his Master. The Sumpnour, 'with fire-red cherubinnes chekes,' from whose face the children fled away in terror, who loved garlick onions and leeks, and wine strong and red as blood, of which when he had drunk he would speak only Latin, in 'termes two or three that he had learned out of some decree.' The 'gentil Pardonere,' whose 'wallett lay beforere him on his lappe, bretful of perdon, come from Rome all hotte,' who 'with fained flattering and japes he made the parsonne and the peple his apes.' The Host, a seemly man, fit to be a Marshall in a Hall; no fairer burges in Cheap than he, bold of speech, wise and well taught, an early riser and a sound adviser."

These word-pictures portray correctly the costume, manners, sentiments, tempers, actions and speech of the characters and of the age.

The late Samuel Tovey, an artist of no mean reputation, and a writer whose diligent researches were recorded in a pleasant flowing style, contributed to the *Bristol Mercury* a series of sketches of our mayors, &c., under the title of *Local Jottings*. We have compared these sketches with the source from which they were derived,—the books of the Corporation,—and, finding them substantially correct, coloured here and there with a light free hand, but on the whole a fair holding up of the mirror to the times, abstract the following particulars:—

Walter de Frampton, who was Mayor in 1357-65-74, and M.P. in 1362, did by his Will demise unto Isable, his wife, fifteen Tenements in Bristol for term of her life, upon condition that if she marry or live unchaste, then the Mayor and Bailiffs of Bristol should enter upon the said lands, and the same should sell, and that the money thereof coming should be divided into four equal parts, whereof one quarter part should be distributed amongst the poor, blind, lame people of this town; another part should be employed to the marriage of poor maidens; another part should be spent in repairing and constructing the highways and bridges about Bristol. The portion of the said fifteen Tenements after the decease of his said wife to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Bristol, to the intent that the same should be sold, and the money thereof proceeding should be distributed to the use aforesaid. He appointed that fifteen other Tenements in Bristol should presently after his decease be sold by the Mayor and Bailiffs aforesaid, or his Executors, and that the money thereof arising should be divided and distributed to the use aforesaid; and gave thirty other Tenements to his sonne and other his kindred, and ordereth that if they should decease without issue of their bodies, then the Mayor and Bailiffs of Bristol should sell the same and employ the money to the uses aforesaid, and gave twenty-two shillings a week to the poor for four years after his decease. The residue of all his goods he ordereth to be sold, and the money be distributed to the uses aforesaid, as appeareth in the Great Book of Orphans. He also built the Parish Church of St. John the Baptist in Bristol. His tomb is in the church, on the north side of the altar. His effigy has a robe over a coat of mail, the latter visible from the elbows. His hands are raised in supplication—prayerful in death! He founded a chantry in this church, of which Richard, son of John Coke, was chantry priest.

Contemporaneous with Walter de Frampton was Richard le Spycer, founder of St. George's chapel, adjoining the old Guildhall. Mayor in 1353, 1354 and 1371; also representative of the town in Parliament. By his Will, bearing date 1377, he bequeathed unto Cicely, his wife, for term of her life, the Tenement lying upon the Back of Avon, within the suburbs of the Town of Bristol, wherein he then dwelleth, with three tenements or shops thereunto adjoining, and five tenements or shops lying in Baldwin street, and four tenements or shops, with the garden, situate in Back street, and four others also lying in Back street, upon conditions expressed in his will; and if the said Cicely did not perform the conditions, then the Mayor and Commonalty should enter upon the said land, and enjoy it and dispose it to the gift of the town, which houses and tenements are now converted to the city's use, and part of them is called Spycer's hall (now the Back hall), and made a place for the keeping and weighing of strangers' goods, which yieldeth a yearly profit to the said Mayor and Commonalty.[1]

Another merchant prince, Walter Derby, rich with ancestral merchandise, was Mayor five times, and also M.P. for the town in two Parliaments. But if this were all that is known concerning him he would have remained in official oblivion, and not had his name revived. He gave £40 towards the re-building of St. Werburgh's church. This sum is to be estimated according to the currency of the period. He died in 1385, and was buried in the chapel of St. Anne, in the parish of St. Werburgh. He gave towards the building of the same church (the tower thereof being then in building) the sum of forty pounds. He gave to the Mayor and Commonalty seventeen tenements in reversion of his wife, who had term of her life therein, and appointed that the said tenements should be sold, and the money should be distributed to Godly uses, at the discretion of the Mayor and Commonalty. He gave tokens of his love and bounty to most parish churches and Fraternities in Bristol and to the religious people of the same. He remembered the poor, and every Almshouse, and every poor, blind and lame person in Bristol, and likewise every salt-bearer and labourer frequenting the Key. He forgot not the religious houses and brethren in the outskirts, and amongst said persons by particular sums did bequeath the sum of [writing illegible] or thereabout. He was very liberal to his servants, who were many in number, and to some of his special servants he gave ships. He also, in 1376, and during life, at the yearly cost of £10, brought the water into the Key, All Saints' and St. John's pipes.

The first mention of the distinguished name of Canynges in our civic annals is in 1361, when William Canynges served the office of bailiff in conjunction with Walter Derby. Six times was he elected mayor, viz., in 1372–73–75–81–85 and 89. He represented the city in Parliament in 1364–83–84. Barrett says, his father was Robert Canynges, of Touker street; but Chatterton is his only authority. He was a woollen cloth manufacturer of great opulence, whose name is associated, in 1376, with that of the first merchants of his day in a deed of conveyance of a tenement in Redcliff street, from William Sutton to Adam Stable, which document is preserved in the church of St. Thomas. In Ricart's *Calendar*, under date 1376, we read, "This yeare William Canynges builded ye body of Redcliff Church from ye cross isles downwards and so ye church was finished as it is now." The worthy calendary commenced the mayor's calendar, in which the above appears, after he became town clerk, which was in 1479, and as all the authentic records of the calendaries had perished in a disastrous fire in 1466, Ricart most probably wrote the above from his remembrance of the contents of those documents. A reference to our ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY will, however, satisfactorily show that a large portion of the building was erected during the lifetime of this William Canynges, and it is most likely that during the time of his filling the civic chair he was actively employed in carrying towards completion the noble structure.

[1] This hall was of subsequent date, it will be seen, to the hall in Spycer's house, described at 174–5.

53. Edward III. died on the 21st of June, 1377, having reigned 49 years and nearly three quarters. One of the most illustrious of our kings, possessing great mental and personal qualifications, yet he scrupled not in his ambition to sacrifice the lives, property and happiness of his people, in order to attain his end and win the crown of France. His military talents are evinced by his successes, but his wars were neither just nor profitable. Compelled by his necessities to have frequent resort to his Commons for aid, and to receive their petitions, the people won from him in return a most valuable addition to the Constitution; viz., that these petitions (more properly speaking, advices) should become statutes upon their being assented to by the Crown and entered upon the Rolls of Parliament. Personally brave, and rash to an extreme, Edward loved to surround himself with all the pomp of chivalry, and when the fight was over to treat his prisoners with a courtesy and munificence that was indeed royal. He could let the bravest of his enemies, Du Guesclin, fix his own ransom, and yet ravage the fairest parts of France, burn its cities and turn the land into a desert. The Black Prince could wait at table upon his kingly captive, but butcher 3,000 of the citizens of Limoges in cold blood. Edward hesitated not to hang William de Thorpe, the chief justice of his king's bench, in 1351, for taking bribes to pervert justice; but in the same year he himself had no scruple in robbing his people of 5*s.* 2*d.* in every pound weight of the silver coinage, reducing the weight of the silver penny from $22\frac{2}{9}$ grains to 18 grains, and he was so pettishly jealous that he hanged an unfortunate innkeeper who, in a garrulous moment, boasted that he would make his son heir to the Crown (the name of his inn).

54. Richard II., the son of the famous Black Prince, succeeded his grandfather, being at his accession but eleven years of age; he was crowned July 6th, 1377, in Westminster abbey. On the 8th of February, 1378, he

confirmed the recent charters given by his grandfather, but, the older letters patent not being therein mentioned, another charter was obtained from him, dated the 28th of the same month, which, though brief, confirms to the burgesses all their previous rights, liberties, &c. For this the Mayor and Commonalty "lent" the king 500 marks. This is, we believe, the first instance of a provincial town lending money to the king; individuals had often been called upon to do so, but we know of no earlier instance in which the commonalty at large became the creditors of royalty. It was, with the exception of London, the largest sum furnished by any town. It was followed by a further loan, in 1379, of 100 marks by the mayor, but whether this was a town's loan or a private transaction is not mentioned.

In 1378 the Parliament resumed its work of reform, they appointed a standing committee to control the expenditure, and obtained an account of the manner in which the subsidies had been expended. The French war had been most disastrous, an English fleet had been beaten by the Spaniards, another was lost in a fearful storm. "In 1379 the king directs a writ to Bishop Hatfield, on complaint of William and John Canynges, merchants of Bristol, ordering John Heiselden, Senior, Andrew Browntoft, &c., to appear in the court of Westminster, to answer for having seized and carried into Hartlepool a ship of Canynges' sailing towards Calais and Flanders."[1]

Parliament, busy in its attempt to reduce labour to its wonted state of serfdom, now introduced a poll-tax, by which the poorest labourer was made to contribute as much as the richest merchant or the lordly baron. From Hull to Somerset, from the Severn to the Nore, this gross injustice roused the whole people; short political diatribes, and quaint rhymes in vernacular English, rang a tocsin through the land. The Essex men, under a leader who assumed the cognomen of Jack Straw, crossed the Thames and roused the men of Kent, Canterbury threw open its gates, and took John Ball out of prison, 100,000 men rallied around Wat Tyler, who, in his fatherly indignation, had smitten down one of the collectors who had grossly assaulted his young maiden daughter. The whole of central England was in arms. The rude rhythmical missives of Jack the Miller, Jack Carter, and Jack Trueman, rung out a demand for righteous rule and simple justice, and exposed the immorality of the court and the ruling classes, with angry resentment at the oppressive perversion of the law. The Kentish men marched on London, killing every lawyer who fell into their hands; the people everywhere joined them with acclamations. The gates of London were thrown open to them, the Lawyers' Inn (the Temple) was fired, so was the Savoy Palace, but "seekers of truth and justice, and not thieves and robbers," as they avowed themselves, they flung a plunderer who had taken a silver cup from the Savoy Palace into the flames as an example. They carried the tower, and in rough horse-play told the knights they were their equals, and would be good comrades. The king's ministers were seized, and those who had been most conspicuous in imposing the hated poll-tax were beheaded. The boy-king, with a noble fearlessness, met them in conference at Mile end, and asked, "What will ye?" "To be free for ever," was the unanimous reply; "we and our lands, and that we be never named or held for serfs." "I grant it," said the king, and he pledged himself to issue charters granting the same and a full amnesty. Vast numbers of the peasants dispersed at once to their homes, but Wat Tyler and 30,000 men remained in London waiting the fulfilment of the pledge. An accidental encounter between this body and the king's the next morning resulted in the death of the popular leader by the hand of the Lord Mayor of London; Richard heroically sprang to the front, promised to be the leader of his people, calmed the tumult, and dismissed them to their homes with the promised letters of freedom.

Had Richard been as resolute as he was undoubtedly courageous, he might now have made himself the idol of his people and won for himself a longer and a happier reign, but he was only a lad, surrounded by flatterers, ill advised, and fond of vain parade and ostentation. The tumults had brought to the front some true peasant leaders, others, as was to be expected, were boorish ruffians, whose outrageous license disgusted the men whose cause they professed to serve. In Kent and the eastern counties the revolt continuing, the king, at the head of 40,000 men, 6,000 of whom were knights, marched against the disorganised mob, which hastily fled before him. He, by his ruthless executions, struck terror into the hearts of the men who had looked to him as their deliverer from bondage.

The Parliament declared the king's letters of freedom were null and void, not having been sanctioned by themselves; their serfs were their goods and could not be alienated without their own consent, which they declared they would all die in one day rather than give. The revolt ended in the apparent subjugation of the people, but a stubborn, passive, unwilling obedience showed that everywhere there yet smouldered embers that might under rigour break out again into flame. The social strife continued, but in a modified form, the

[1] Surtees' Hist. of Durham, III., 101.

Statutes of Labourers had aroused a hatred between the poor and the rich, but were utterly ineffective in reducing wages, or restricting labour within parochial areas. The Parliament then forbad that "the child of the agricultural labourer should become an apprentice in a town, that their children should not be placed at school, or advanced in the world by entering the church, and the universities closed their gates against all children of villans." This alone is sufficient to show that thrift was raising the labouring class into a higher, but as yet unacknowledged, position. The high price of effective labour and the scarcity of hands, personal service being practically abolished, now drove the landed proprietor



Fac-simile of Wycliffe's Bible.

to throw his small farms into larger holdings, reduce the number of his tenants, and lay down his tillage lands with grass for sheep farming. This created a mass of pauperism which, as the area of employment diminished, increased enormously until the days of the Tudors.

The very turbulence of change infected all classes at this crisis. The church was torn by internal dissensions, and by the enormous inequality in the stipend of the poor parson and the lordly revenue of the prelate; the monks had become landholders, the friars impudent mendicants and the secular clergy were at bitter strife with both. The whole sacerdotal order was powerless to repress or even to reprove immorality, their own shortcomings being the theme of caustic satire and popular song. Few but weak credulous women, or the dying, sought their ministrations; the former they victimised in their persons, the latter in their estates. Piers Ploughman rung the changes on their greed, vice, pride and worldliness; the sceptical Chaucer gibbeted them in his immortal poems; whilst John Wycliffe preached boldly a personal responsibility to God, which cut away the very roots of a mediating priesthood, and, by a still bolder denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation, severed the connection of himself and his followers with the Papacy. In a few years every second man, it was said, was a Lollard (idle babbler), the nickname given to Wycliffe's followers by the church. The death of this great ecclesiastical reformer was accelerated by his efforts to give to the people a translation of the Bible; but the seed of religious truth sown by him fell not upon the wayside only but into good ground, to reappear in vigorous life ere many years had passed.

France had now become mistress of the seas, had ventured to land a force in the Frith of Forth, and had closed the whole continent against British commerce, whilst John of Gaunt was frittering away the English force in pursuit of a visionary crown in Castile. The strife between the ministry of the king, headed by the Earl of Suffolk, and the Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, with the whole baronage in arms, cost the former nobleman his life; but the violence brought back sympathy to the royal cause, and enabled the king, at twenty-two years of age, to emancipate himself from the wardship of his uncles and to declare his intention to manage the affairs of the kingdom himself.

55. Richard II. had married, in 1382, Anne, daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., and early in the year 1387, we learn from Froissart, from whose work we abstract the greater part of this and the following paragraph, he came to Bristol with a brilliant retinue, "being followed by the queen and all the ladies and damsels of her court." When Richard arrived at Bristol, which was a handsome and strong town, he fixed his residence in the castle. Those in Wales and at a distance thought he had done so to favour the Duke of Ireland (Robert de Vere, the king's favourite), who had made it to be reported he intended going thence to Ireland, and to assist him with money to increase his followers, for that had been agreed on by the Parliament. This agreement expressed that the duke, on setting out for Ireland, where he was to remain three years, should have the command of 500 men-at-arms and 1,500 archers paid by England, which should be punctually remitted to him. But the duke had no in-

clination to go there; for as the king was so young he managed him as he pleased, and should he leave him he feared the king's affection would be cooled. Besides, he was so enamoured of one of the queen's damsels (the Landgravine) he could not leave her. In order to marry this lady he sought a divorce, at the hands of Pope Urban, from his wife, who was a daughter of the Earl of Bedford, and grand-daughter of Edward and Philippa. His own mother discountenanced his conduct and gave the duchess a home and a handsome establishment. The duke was most assiduous in his attentions to the king and queen whilst they were in Bristol as well as to all the knights and esquires, whom he sought to get upon his side; he visited all the gentlemen in Bristol and the neighbourhood, went frequently into Wales, where he complained to all who would listen to him that the king's uncles, from their ambition to obtain the government, had driven from the council the most noble and wisest members, such as the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham and London, Sir Michael de la Pole, Sir John Salisbury, Sir Robert Tresilian, Sir John Beauchamp and himself; that they had put to death, without any justice whatever, that valiant knight, Sir Simon Burley, and if they continued as they had begun they would soon destroy all England.[1]

He thus induced many of the gentry to visit the king at Bristol to enquire into the truth of these statements. The king confirmed all that De Vere had stated, begged them to show their affection for him by putting all confidence in the duke, added that his uncles were too ambitious, and that he feared their aim was to deprive him of his crown. The Welsh and Bristol men promised obedience, and expressed their readiness to march whithersoever the king ordered them. The duke offered to raise 12,000 or 15,000 men, and as the king's lieutenant to march by way of Oxford to London. To this the king assented, nominated him his lieut.-general, giving him power to raise men and to act for the advantage of the realm. Richard then issued his summons to many great barons, knights and esquires in Wales, and in the country round Bristol and on the Severn side. Some excused themselves, giving satisfactory reasons; others came and placed themselves under the obedience of the king.

56. While this army was collecting, the king and the duke sent Sir Robert Tresilian to London, on his own offer of the adventure, to spy out the proceedings of the Dukes of Gloucester and Lancaster and the Council.

[1] The Archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, Pole, Tresilian and Sir Nicholas Brember had been arraigned of high treason by the Dukes of Gloucester and Lancaster, and, not appearing, had been condemned by the Parliament in their absence.

Tresilian left Bristol disguised as a poor tradesman, mounted on a wretched hack; he reached London, and lodged at a mean inn. Whilst picking up as well as he could all the news, he heard there was to be a meeting of the dukes and their council at Westminster. Thither he went and continued his espionage at an alehouse opposite the Palace gate, choosing a chamber that looked into the Palace yard, in order to observe all who came to this Parliament, of whom he recognised the greater part, he himself remaining unknown. He was there so frequently that at last one of the esquires of the Duke of Gloucester saw and knew him, having been often in his company, for Sir Robert had been chamberlain to the king and one of his Privy Council. Perceiving himself recognised, Tresilian withdrew from the window; but the esquire entered, and, accosting the landlady, said, "Dame, tell me on your troth who is he drinking above; is he alone, or in company?" "On my troth, sir," she replied, "I cannot tell you his name, but he has been here some time." At these words the esquire went upstairs to know the truth, and, having saluted Sir Robert, found he was right, though he dissembled, by saying, "God preserve you, Master! I hope you will not take my coming amiss, for I thought you had been one of my farmers from Essex as you are so very like him." The esquire hastened from the inn to the Duke of Gloucester, who sent him back with four bailiffs to apprehend the detected councillor; and when he was brought before him accosted him with, "Tresilian, what has brought you hither? How fares my Sovereign? Where does he now reside?" Tresilian, finding he was discovered, replied, "On my faith, my lord, the king sent me hither to learn the news; he is at Bristol, and on the banks of the Severn, where he hunts and amuses himself." "And where is your master, the Duke of Ireland?" "My lord, he is with the king our lord." The duke mused awhile, and then said, "Tresilian, your actions are neither honest nor fair. You and others of your faction have done what has greatly displeased my brother and myself, and have ill-counselled the king, whom you have made to quarrel with his chief nobility. In addition, you have excited the principal towns against us. The day of retribution is therefore come when you shall receive payment; look to your affairs, for I will neither eat nor drink until you are no more." Sir Robert most abjectly sought to obtain pardon, but in vain. The duke had received information of what was going on at Bristol, and all excuses were fruitless. Sir Robert was beheaded, and then hung by the arm upon a gibbet. When the news of Tresilian's death reached the king at Bristol, he ordered the Duke of Ireland to march with all the force

he could collect, *viâ* Oxford, for London, bearing only the king's arms on their banners, it being, he said, his personal quarrel.

The Regents summoned a council, and it was determined to meet the Duke of Ireland at Oxford with an army, which, when he knew, he fled disgracefully into Holland. The dukes thereupon despatched the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, to the king at Bristol, praying the king to return to London and to come to terms with his nobles. The prelate set out in grand array and fixed his lodgings in the town. The king lived very privately now, for all his intimates were either dead or banished. The archbishop was two nights and a day in Bristol before Richard would give him an audience. Being at length admitted, Arundel humbled himself before the king, and by his remonstrances and pleadings succeeded in inducing the king to accompany him to London. Richard left his queen in Bristol, but took a sufficient retinue with him.[1]



Head Dresses.

57. In 1378, Paul Odbec, a merchant of Bruges, freighted a ship with wines from Spain and Portugal to go to Butal (the outer, from abutan without) Kay, in the port of Bristol, Jacob de Rath being master. The ship was lost in Hung road.[2] She was afterwards recovered and taken to Caerleon, where some of the wine was saved and conveyed to Bristol, and the ship was sold to Elias Spelly, of Bristol, for £30.

This year Walter Warwyke assigned to the parish his house in Corn street as a site for the tower of St. Werburgh, towards which, as is elsewhere mentioned, Walter Derby gave £40 by his will.

In 1386 the citizens lent the king £200 to provide against the threatened French invasion, more than double that of any other town, except York, and of course London.

That there were fraudulent and dishonest weavers in the West Country is evident, complaint being made to Parliament in 1389 that in Somerset, Dorset, Bristol and Gloucestershire, where much broadcloth was made, it was sold tied up and rolled, the outside being of good quality, whilst the inside was so inferior that the merchants who exported it were in danger of death, and were often imprisoned and put to fine and ransom, and their cloth burned or forfeited, to the great scandal of the kingdom; wherefore the merchants pray that no cloth be sold tied up and rolled, but open, so that purchasers may examine it. To this the king assented, and enacted the same on pain of forfeiture. It was in this council that the king asserted his regal authority against his uncles.

In 1394 the men of Chepstow objected to the Bristol men claiming custom of wines discharged in their port, which, it is said, "ought to be free." The king answers, "As it hath been, so let it be." The king led a large army into Waterford this year (passing over from Milford), in which expedition he was successful; and on his return the burgesses of Bristol obtained from him, in 1396, a charter which exempted them from the jurisdiction of king's steward, marshal and market clerk of the king's household. The right of these officers to sit in the Tolzey court had been specially retained by Edward III. in the great county charter of 1373; but their extensive powers in purveyance, &c., had been so arbitrarily exercised as to become a great grievance. No doubt this concession was well paid for, as it involved a considerable sacrifice on the king's part when in residence. One of the witnesses to this charter was Henry of Bolingbroke, who was afterwards Henry IV.

In 1396 the king, then a widower, married Isabella, daughter of the King of France, a child of eight years of age. Her portion barely paid the expenses of his journey to fetch her, which cost 300,000 marks.

In 1398, John Vyell gave to the guild of the Fraternity of Canynges 40*s.*; he also bequeathed to the church of St. Stephen a ring, in which was set a stone, part of the identical pillar to which Christ was bound when he was scourged, to be kept among the relics for ever. [We need scarcely add that this bequest has long since disappeared.] On October 15th, John Thorp and John Sherp, burgesses, obtained a charter from the king for a guild of the Society of Merchant Tailors, consisting of brethren and sisters, who had a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist in the south aisle of the nave of St. Ewen's church.

When he took the reins of power into his own

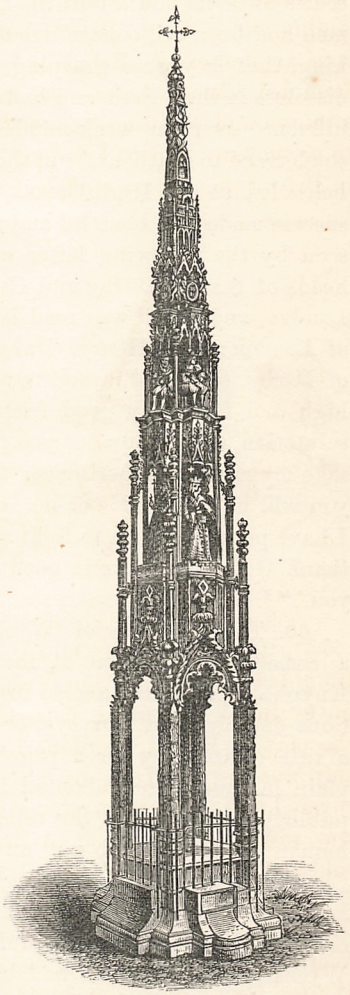
[1] Condensed from Johnes' Froissart, III., 474–84–97.

[2] Hungroad is in the river Avon, a little above Crockern Pill. The low cliff of sandstone rock on the Somerset side still contains the mooring rings and chains by which the ships were secured. This ship, however, we think, was lost in Kingroad.—Ed.

hands, Richard, at the first, governed the land with considerate wisdom; but his lavish expenditure, his ostentatious display in dress, and his vacillations in policy, weaned from him the love of all classes of his subjects. The nobles disliked his peace with France; the landholders his refusal to carry out the repressive labour laws; the merchants writhed under his illegal exactions; the Church hated him for his protection of the Lollards. The death of his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, was laid to his charge; his interference with the courts of justice, and his evident attempt to become an absolute monarch, deterred the people from becoming loyally attached to his throne; whilst the banishment, without sufficient reason, of his cousin Henry of Lancaster, surnamed Bolingbroke, and the king's violation of his solemn promise not to interfere with his rights during his exile, raised against himself a talented leader of royal blood, one fired with ambition, who needed but to set up his standard as a rallying point for the malcontents, who formed the large majority of the whole kingdom.

58. Utterly absorbed in his pleasures, Richard was oblivious of the storm that was gathering from all quarters over his head. In the summer of 1398 he arrived in Bristol with a large army, which he was taking over to Ireland in order to quell an insurrection there, thus denuding his kingdom of the very force that might have proved the bulwark of his throne and the salvation of his life. Whilst in Bristol he caused a theatre to be built for a wager of battle between two Scots—one, the appellant, being an esquire, the defendant a knight; the appellant was overcome and hanged. Having reason to suspect the loyalty of the Earl of Northumberland, he sent a message commanding his attendance at Bristol, which the earl declined to comply with. The infatuated king despised this significant warning, and sailed for Ireland at the end of May, taking with him most of the great men upon whose attachment he could depend, and landed at Waterford on the 1st of June. Henry of Bolingbroke, whose father having died during his exile, was now Duke of Lancaster, and whose paternal property Richard had unjustly taken, seized his opportunity, and with a few adherents, the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury being one of them, landed at Ravenspur. He was speedily joined by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; and, in a few days, finding himself at the head of a large army, he marched towards Bristol, where the king's few friends whom he had left in England had fled for shelter in its castle. Froissart, describing the state of the country at this time, says:—

"During the time that King Richard was holding his court at Bristol, and in that neighbourhood there was a general insurrection of the people of England. The courts of justice were closed, at which many of the prelates, barons, and prudent part of the people who only wanted for peace and to pay what was lawful, were much dejected. A stop was put to all traffic, for merchants dare not travel for fear of being robbed, and having no court to fly to for redress. The farmers' houses were pillaged of grain, and their beeves, pigs and sheep carried away, without the owner daring to say a word. These enormities increased so much that there was nothing but complaints heard. The common people said, 'Times are sadly changed for the worse since the days of King Edward of happy memory. . . . But now we have a good-for-nothing king who only attends to his idle pleasures, and cares not how public affairs are managed, so that his inclinations are gratified.'"[1]



The High Cross in 1697.

59. No wonder that in such a state of the country Bolingbroke's force increased rapidly as he marched southwards; before he reached Worcestershire he had 60,000 men ranged under his banner. The Duke of York, uncle both to the king and to Bolingbroke, gathered an army on the king's behalf, but could not trust his men, who openly declared that "they would not shoot an arrow against Bolingbroke or his friends." York, finding all was lost, met Lancaster in Berkeley castle, and the fate of Richard was sealed. The united armies, to the number of 100,000 men, marched towards Bristol, the town was immediately delivered into their hands and the castle was besieged. The governor for the king was Sir William Courtenay, who, refusing to recognise Lancaster's claim, consented, after four days' siege, to yield the fortress to the Duke of York. Lord William Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire and Treasurer of England, Sir John Bushy and Sir Henry Green, three members of the

[1] Froissart, IV., 638.

King's Privy Council, were amongst the prisoners. They were arraigned before the victors on the following day. Scrope was charged with having sold Calais to the king of France for a large sum of money. The gravamen of his offence lay, however, in the fact that he had received from the king a large portion of the Duke of Lancaster's patrimony. Bushy was Speaker of the House, an avowed foe of the archbishop, whom he had persuaded the king to banish, and of the Earl of Arundel whom he had pursued to the block. Both the archbishop and the young Earl of Arundel were amongst the little band that came from the continent with Lancaster. There seems to be no doubt that the three unfortunate gentlemen had been evil counsellors to their more unfortunate king, that they were grasping, covetous, ambitious and dissolute in their lives, and had exercised a most baneful influence over the weak-minded monarch. They were condemned to death, and "at the outcry of the populace" beheaded at the High Cross. Lancaster's unexampled success made him boastful and presumptuous, as will be seen by the following letter which he "sent with the heads of Scrope, Bushy and Green in a white basket to London, and which was read before all the commonalty of London: —'I, Henry, Duke of Hereford and Earl of Derby, commend myself to all the people of London, high and low. My good friends, I send you this my salutation, and I acquaint you that I have come over to take my rightful inheritance. I beg of you to know if you will be on my side or not, and I care not which, for I have people enough to fight all the world for one day, thank God. But take in good part the present I send you.'"[1]

60. The doctrines of Wycliffe found favour with a considerable portion of the community in Bristol. Knyghton, who was averse to the new opinions, mentions one Sir John Purveye, or Purney (Sir was merely a title of courtesy for a priest), a grave, sober man, plain in dress, who laboured indefatigably in Bristol, publicly teaching that the celebration of the mass is a human tradition, and not an evangelical; also that Christ suffered in the opening of his side, and of his heart, &c. Knyghton describes Purveye as an invincible disciple and a powerful agent for his master Wycliffe, with whom he had been a boarder, and with whose principles he had become intoxicated, and, being his inseparable companion, he accompanied him even to the borders of death. He openly reviled the mendicants, terming them false preachers and false brothers, and proclaimed themselves (the followers of Wycliffe) to be true preachers and gospellers because they had the gospel translated into the English tongue.

[1] Taylor's Book about Bristol, 273.

Candour compels us to add that Purveye's faith failed him under a cruel test, he recanted at Paul's cross, London. Archbishop Arundel rewarded his perversion with a benefice, and said of him afterwards, "For lo! I gave John Purveye a benefice, a mile out of this Castle (Saltwood), and I heard more complaints about his covetousness for tithes, and other misdoings, than I did of all the men that were advanced within my diocese."

61. Richard on landing at Milford Haven in August with the remains of his Irish army, finding himself deserted by York and his array, disbanded his forces and retired to Conway. He soon afterwards consented to a conference with Lancaster, was thrown into prison, resigned his crown on the 29th September, 1399, and was murdered the following year in Pontefract castle. The reader will observe the remarkable resemblance between the termination of this king's reign and that of his ancestor Edward II. seventy years before. In each case Bristol was the spot where unfortunate royalty made its last and unsuccessful resistance.

62. Of Elias Spelly we have already recorded several items of interest. He was three times returned to Parliament by the sheriffs of Bristol, and was four times mayor. He gave, in 1383, when he was mayor, lands yielding £5 8*s.* 8*d.* yearly, and Agnes his wife gave £1 13*s.* 4*d.* in land and twenty marks in money to St. Leonard's church for obits and chantries.

Thomas Knappe was mayor for the first time in 1386, when he also represented the town in Parliament; he was mayor for the fifth and last time in 1403. By will, dated 1404, he gave to the Mayor and Commonalty for the use and common profit of the town, the sum of two hundred marks; he gave also towards the rebuilding of St. Nicholas' church the sum of twenty pounds, and desired to be buried in the church of St. John the Evangelist upon the Back of Bristol. The site of this desecrated church is indicated in Hoefnagle's *Map of Bristol*, 1575. It stood apparently in the north side of the churchyard at the corner of Crow lane.

John Canynges is chiefly memorable as the wealthy father of a more distinguished son, William Canynges. The first time his name occurs in connection with his native place is in 1380, 3 Richard II., when on the 6th of July, in that year, in conjunction with Robert Candever, they, as bailiffs of Bristol, witness a release of land belonging to the parish of St. Thomas. Again in 1398, 21 of the same reign, on the 13th of May, he also witnessed the conveyance of a tenement in Redcliff street from Francis Peel to William Payes and another party, not mentioned by name, as appears by the original deed deposited among numerous others in the custody of the authorities of St. Thomas' parish. In 1382 he

was sheriff; in 1392, and again in 1398, he was mayor; having also, in 1384, been elected member of Parliament for Bristol. His will is dated March 13th, 1405, and in it he is styled, as was the first William Canynges in a similar document, "a burgess and merchant of Bristol." He bequeaths "his body to be buried in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, in his tomb below the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary," which was evidently the family place of sepulture, although his brother Simon was interred elsewhere. He leaves instructions that all his goods and chattels shall be distributed in three portions under the direction of his executors, with the exception of his clothing; the whole of which, "and all other ornaments, and all other arms belonging to his body," are otherwise disposed of as the reader may see by referring to his will, a copy of which is here given. One portion of his goods he leaves to his wife Joan Wotton; another part to be distributed between his children in equal shares; and a third part to his executors, which they were to employ for his sake in whatever manner they preferred; which means in fact they were to use it for the purpose of paying priests for his obit, and to pray for the release of his soul out of purgatory. His large estates and lands in Bristol, which his wife enjoyed during her lifetime, devolved, on her death, to his third son, the second William Canynges, by which addition to his fortune, the latter became a very wealthy man. His trustees, Joan his wife, Sir Henry Garleston, and John Frere, entered into recognizances before the mayor at the Guildhall, for the due fulfilment of their trust.

"The Will of John Canynges.

"Datum 13th March 1405. Johannes Canynges Bergensis Bristol and Mercator. Corpus sepeliendum in Capellâ Sancti Thomæ Martyris in tumbâ meâ infra capellam B. Mariæ Virginis in orienti parte volo quod omnia bona et catalla mea distribuantur in tres partes per visum Executorum meum exceptis omnibus vestibus et omnibus aliis ornamentis et omnibus meis armis corpori meo pertinentibus Lego unam partem Johannæ uxori meæ alteram distribuendam inter liberos meos inter me et Johannam uxorem meam legitime procreatos tam inter masculos quam inter femellas per equales partes. Et tertiam partem lego executoribus meis quod facient ordinem et dispendent pro animâ meâ quali modo vellent et si aliquis liberorum infra ætatem obierit volo quod dicta bona equaliter distribuenter inter tunc viventes. Do et lego Johannæ uxori meæ omnia tenementa subscripta videlicet quatuor shopas situatas in Touker strete inter terram Thomæ Barough ex parte unâ et terras meas ex alterâ et extendit se a vico anterius ad terras meas usque ad terram Wilelmi Baker ex parte unâ posterius et duas aulas cum pertinentiis in eodem suburbio in vico prædicto situatas juxta terram Johannis Bremer et parte altera anterius et extendunt se usque ad cursum aquæ Abonæ posterius et octo shopas cum pertinentiis in suburbio Bristol prædicto situatas juxta les Rakkys cum tentoriis ibidem et tres shopas cum pertinentiis in suburbio eodem in vico Sancti Thomæ Martyris situatas inter terram Thomæ Stokes Militis ex parte unâ et terram Wilelmi Payes ex parte alterâ et unum gardinum cum duobus tenementis eidem gardino adjacentibus quæ gardina jacet in eodem suburbio juxta Le Hounden-lane et unum aliud gardinum cum pertinentiis quæ gardina jacet in suburbio prædicto in Redclyve strete inter terram Hugonis Haper ex parte unâ et terram Aliciæ Clyvedon ex parte alterâ et 13 solidi et 4 denarii reditûs assizæ exeuntis ex tenementis situatis in suburbio Bristol in Thomas strete inter meas tres shopas ex parte unâ et tenementum in quo Hugo Stonenton die hujus scripti habitat ex parte alterâ quo tenementa die confectionis hujus testamenti prædictus Willelmus Payes tenet habendum et tenendum prædictæ Johannæ uxori meæ ad terminum vitæ suæ sine calumpnia vasti de capitalibus Dominii et feodi et aliarum consuetudinum et post mortem prædictæ Johannæ Volo quod omnia prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis suis remaneant Johanni filio meo et heredibus de corpore sui legitime procreatis quod se dictus Johannes sine hæredibus se obierit quod tunc prædicta tenementa Johanni legati permaneant hæredibus de corpore meî Johanni Canynges testatoris et Johanno uxoris meæ procreatis Etsi Ego prædictus Johannis Canynges testator et prædicta Johanna obieremus sine hujus modi hæredibus quod tunc omnia eadem tenementa cum suis pertinentiis remaneant rectis hæredibus Johannæ uxoris meæ Item lego præfatæ Johanno uxori meæ omnia tenementa mea subscripta cum suis pertinentiis videlicet unam aulam cum una shopa adjacente cum pertinentiis in suburbio Bristol in Touker strete inter terram Thomæ Beaupignè ex parte unâ et terras meas ex parte alterâ et extendit se a vico prædicto anterius usque ad le Lawdiche posterius et sex shopas cum pertinentiis in eodem suburbio situatas in Touker strete inter terras meas ex unâ parte et tenus prioris et Conventiis de Wytham ex parte alterâ et quatuor tenementa cum pertinentiis in dicto suburbio in Touker strete prædicta situata inter tenementum Jacobi Collis ex parte unâ et terras meas ex parte altera et se extendunt in vico prædicto anterius usque ad le Lawdiche posterius et unum gardinum quod jacet in Pile strete habenda et tenenda eidem Johannæ ad terminum vitæ suæ sine calumpniâ vasti, &c. Item post mortem dictæ Johannæ uxoris meæ remaneant Thomæ filio meo et hæredibus de suo corpore &c et si idem Johannis obierit sine hæredibus tunc tenementa prædicta remaneant Thomæ filio meo et hæredibus suis et si dictus Thomas obierit sine hæredibus tunc prædicta tenementa Thomæ legata remaneant hæredibus de corpore meo et Johannæ uxoris meæ legitimis procreatis Ita quod si ego Johannes Canynges testator et Johanna uxor mea obieremus sine hæredibus &c quod tunc Volo quod prædicta tenementa remaneant rectis hæredibus Johannæ uxoris meæ Item Volo quod si Thomas aut hæredes sui alienaverint prædicta tenementa personæ seu aliquabus personis in feodo simplici &c. tunc per illos alientio fiat vacua et nullius vigoris et tunc statim omnia tenementa prædicta remaneant hæredibus mei Johannis Canynges testatoris Etsi Ego Johannes Canynges et Johanna uxor mea sine hæredibus obieremus tunc tenementa &c. remaneant rectis hæredibus Johannæ uxoris meæ. Item lego omnia mea tenementa subscripta Johannæ uxoris meæ videlicit unum tenementum cum suis pertinentiis in suburbio Bristol vocato Small strete inter tenementa Walteri Seymor ex parte unâ et tenementa Johannis Porhard ex parte alterâ et extendit se usque ad Gildam aulam Bristol posterius et sex shopas cum suis pertinentiis in suburbio Bristol versus Le Casteldych et unam aulam et quatuor shopas cum pertinentiis in suburbio Bristol in Castel strete inter tenementa Johannis Brewton ex parte unâ et terras Prioris et Conventiis de Monkenferleigh ex parte alterâ et duas shopas cum pertinentiis in villa Bristol in Wynche strete inter tenementa David Vaughan et terras prioris et Conventis de Monkenferleigh ex parte alterâ et unum gardinum quod jacet super montem Sancti Michaelis inter terras Thomæ Broke militis ex unâ parte et terras Johannis Hurell ex parte alterâ et unum gardinum quod jacet super Brendon hille quæ Johanna uxor Johannis Knight "Crokker" die hujus scripti

tenet infra libertatis Bristoliæ et unam shopam cum pertinentiis in suburbio Bristol in Lewenes Mede inter shopam Martini Boucher ex parte unâ et shopam Hugonis Garleston ex parte alterâ et unam vacuam placeam in Villâ Bristol in Wynche strete quod Johannis Tavernor tenet et unam alteram placeam jacentem in suburbio Bristol in Baldwyns strete inter tenementa quondam Wilielmi Woodford ex parte unâ et tenementa Thomæ Gloucester ex parte alterâ et unam acram et dimidiam terræ cum pertinentiis jacentem inter terram nuper Alani Wrington ex parte unâ et terram Johannis Ffoliott ex parte alterâ habenda et tenenda prædictæ Johannæ ad terminum vitæ sine calumpnia vasti &c. Ita quod post mortem Johannæ uxoris meæ remaneant Wilelmo filio meo et heredibus suis &c. tenenda ut supra et per defectum hujus modi remaneant hæredibus femalibus de corpore meo &c. Etsi per defectum hujus modi, Volo quod prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis præfato Wilelmo legata venduntur per majorem villæ Bristol qui pro tempore fuerit et per Ballivos ejusdem Ac etiam per quatuor probos et legates homines de Parochiâ Sancti Thomæ Martyris Bristol per electionem dicti majoris et Ballivorum et capiat dictus major pro labore suo in venditione prædicta 20 solidi sterling et quilibet duorum Ballivorum 10 solidi sterling et de pecunia de venditione tenementorum predictorum proveniente distribuantur in pios usûs perdictum majorem et Ballivos Bristol et ex assensû quatuor dictorum et per majorem partem eorum pro animâ meâ et pro animabus eorum quibus teneor Item lego Johannæ uxori meæ omnia tenementa subscripta videlicet unum tenementum cum pertinentiis in suburbio Bristol in Temple strete inter tenementa Thomæ Broke Militis ex parte unâ et tenementum Ricardi Innyng ex parte alterâ et extendit se a vico predicto anterius usque ad le Lawdyche posterius et unum tenementum cum pertinentiis situatum in suburbio Bristol in Redeclyf strete inter tenementa Johannis Hardyng ex parte unâ et tenementum Henrici Greene ex parte alterâ et extendit se a vico predicto anterius usque ad cursum aquæ Abonæ posterius et reversionem unius tenementi cum pertinentiis quos Johannes Lane de Netherwere et Alicia uxor ejus de me tenent ad terminum vitæ suorum in Netherwere predicta in comitatâ Somersetensi unâ cum 10 solidi redditus quod redere tenentur annuatim pro tenemento predicto habend. et tenend. prædicta Johannæ ad terminum vitæ sine calumpnia vasti &c. Ita quod post mortem prædictæ Johannæ remaneant proli in utero predictæ Johannæ uxoris meæ die confectionis hujus testamenti tenend. ut supra Etsi prædictus proles sine hæredibus &c. obierit quod tunc Volo quod prædicta tenementa unâ cum 10 solidi redditus prædicto proli legatum remaneant rectis hæredibus Johannæ uxoris meæ Item lego Johannæ uxori meæ custodiam Wilhelmi filii mei et Agnetis filiæ meæ unâ cum bonis et catallis eisdem legalis quousque ad plenam aetatem pervenerint inveniendo securitatem coram Majore Villæ Bristol et Ballivos ejusdem villæ prontmos et consuetudo. Item lego Margaretæ Beaupignè custodiam Thomæ filii mei et Johannæ uxoris meæ ac Margaretæ filiæ meæ unâ cum bonis et catallis eisdem per me legatis quousque ad plenam ætatem pervenerint inveniendo securitatem coram Majore et Ballivis &c. Item lego Johanni Sudbury custodiam Johannis filii meî unâ cum bonis et catallis inveniendo securitatem coram Majore et Ballivis &c. Et ad hoc testamentum bene et fideliter exequendum et ad implendum ordino facio &c. Johannem uxorem meam et Dominum Henricum Garleston ac Johannem Frere executores meos In cujus rei testimonium sigillum meum apposui apud Bristol anno et die superscriptis."

There was a Castle street prior to that which is now known by that name, which was also in the suburbs, *i.e.*, outside the walls. It is now known as Peter street.

63. Richard II., by *inspeximus*, on February 8th, 1378, in the first year of his reign, confirmed the charter of 21 Edward III., which gave power to rebuild a prison and to punish fraudulent bakers; also that of 47 Edward III., which was an *inspeximus* of the charter making Bristol into a county, and of the letters patent for the perambulation; but most unaccountably the charter of 5 Edward III., which gave the custody of orphans to the mayors, pardoned all *laches* through non-usage, and confirmed to the burgesses the view of frankpledge, was not produced, at least it is not mentioned. Just twenty days after the above confirmation was given, February 28th, we find the king granting another *inspeximus* for the sole purpose of rectifying the omission.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK.

1. *Henry IV. seizes the Throne. Despencer taken and brought to Bristol.* 2. *Thomas, Lord de Berkeley takes the field against Owen Glendower.* 3. *Bristol exempted from the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty.* 4. *Act for improving the navigation of the Avon to Bath.* 5. *Incidents of the period, Bristol Mayors, etc.* 6. *Accession of Henry V. Bristol ships. Agincourt.* 7. *Accession of Henry VI. Queen Catherine dowered with Bristol.* 8. *Norton's house made into a Mint.* 9. *Bristol fortified with chambered guns.* 10. *War Taxes: the Comptrollers ordered to London.* 11. *Bristol's contribution to the Channel fleet.* 12. *The King and Queen at Bristol.* 13. *The Mariner's Guild in Virgin lane.* 14. *Curious bits illustrative of life in Bristol in the 15th Century.* 15. *Keeping the Sepulchre.* 16. *Singular bequest.* 17. *Cost of building a house in the 15th Century.* 18. *The Calendars' Library burned.* 19. *Canynges' favour with the King.* 20. *The Crafts' Guilds. Customs on woollen goods. Bristol ships.* 21. *Private war between the members of the Berkeley family.* 22. *Bristol Mayors. Incidents of the period.* 23. *Edward IV. seizes on the Throne: Retributive justice.* 24. *Execution of Sir Baldwin Fulford.* 25. *Letter patent, making Bristol a Court of Admiralty.* 26. *Incidents of the period. The King's marriage. Lord Herbert's brother killed at Bristol.* 27. *State of the Kingdom. Battle of Nibley Green.* 28. *Reversion of the Berkeley manors.* 29. *Queen Margaret and Prince Edward at Bristol. The battle of Tewkesbury.* 30. *Edward visits Bristol: Quaint story told of him.* 31. *The Earl's Court in Bristol, held by the Duke of Clarence: His death.* 32. *Norton's accusation of the Mayor.* 33. *William Wyrcestre.* 34. *Bristol Coins of Henry VI. and Edward IV.* 35. *Bristol Mayors: Eminent men, etc. Incidents.* 36. *Richard III. usurps the Throne.*

"IT was during the Mayoralty of John Canynges, on the 29th of Sept., 1399, that Richard II. was deposed, having reigned 22 years 14 weeks and 2 days, and the same time king Henry IV. was crowned."[1] This is not correct, inasmuch as Henry was crowned on the 13th of October, and one of his first acts was to imprison the two heirs to the throne in the castle at Windsor.

[1] Old Bristol MS.

Before the year was ended a plot was formed against him by some of his quondam friends amongst the nobles, but Henry, forewarned by the Duke of Rutland, marched against them. Retreating along the banks of the Thames, the insurgents reached Cirencester, where the chiefs, most imprudently leaving their soldiers encamped in the fields, took up their lodgings, with but few attendants, in two inns. The mayor of the town collected the townsmen, closed the gates, and forced the inns; from one of them he took the Duke of Surrey and the Earl of Salisbury, whom he immediately ordered to be

beheaded, the inmates of the other made a longer resistance, but one calendar states that the Earls of Kent and Oxford, with Sir Thomas Blount and Sir Ralph Homly, were also taken and beheaded. The Duke of Exeter and Thomas Despencer, who had lately been made Earl of Gloucester, escaped. For the above service the king granted to the townsmen of Cirencester two tuns of wine to be delivered from the port of Bristol at their pleasure. Despencer took refuge in his castle at Cardiff, but feeling his retreat unsafe, he embarked on board ship, with his servants and treasure, and endeavoured to escape to the continent. The captain of the ship, however, when at sea refused to carry him anywhere but to Bristol. Despencer threatened him with death, when 20 armed men, who had been secreted in the hold, rushed upon deck and overpowered the earl and his attendants. One need scarcely wonder at this apparent treachery. These Lords of Glamorganshire were a tyrannical race, rapacious, lawless, and licentious. "They," says an old historian, "would take what they pleased, a fine beast, a horse, or a fine woman, and carry their prey off to their colossal castle of Caerphilly, so that when anything of the kind was lost, or not known where it might be found, the common expression was, 'it has gone to Caerphilly,' which was tantamount to saying 'it has gone to the devil.'"[1] Despencer being thus captured, was delivered into the custody of the Mayor of Bristol.

Henry, it is said, wished to have an interview with his prisoner before he was put to death, but on the second day after his arrival a great tumult arose, the populace clamoured for his death as a traitor to the king and the realm, and demanded that he should be immediately brought out and executed. The mayor, William Froome, remonstrated in vain, the mob dragged their victim forth and beheaded him at the High Cross. "His head was sent to London and set upon a pole on the bridge, his body was buried at Tewkesbury in the choir, under a lamp that burned before the host."[2] The king granted, by writ, a certain gown of motley velvet of damask, furred, which the prisoner wore, to the earl's captor, William Flaxman. Despencer was beheaded in January, 1400; and seven months after his death, his wife, Constantia, was delivered of a daughter at Cardiff castle.

Henry married, in 1403, his second wife, Joanna of Navarre, and settled upon her "the town of Bristol and the suburbs thereof, with the walls, gates, ditches, lands and tenements, rents and services, and particularly the flesh shambles: which grant seems to contain also the produce of tolls, pleas of courts, markets, fairs, &c.; that is, everything afterward granted to the Mayor and Commonalty."[1]

[1] Taylor's Book about Bristol, 273. [2] *Ibid*, 34.

2. The year 1402 was one of ill omen, the Welsh under Owen Glendower rose, striving to regain their national independence, and Thomas, Lord de Berkeley, in March, was, with the Earl of Warwick, ordered by the king to raise and train men in the counties of Gloucestershire, Somerset, and Bristol. In June of the same year he marched with them to defend the borders of Wales. The invasion of that kingdom became an annual event; in 1403-4 Berkeley was again sent against Glendower, his commission authorised him to take up six barges from the above-named counties, with sufficient mariners, and go to sea with them at the king's wages, with all diligence, which he did. In 1405 he was again ordered to muster and arm all the able men in the two counties to withstand the incursions of the Welsh. Berkeley was unable to prevent the landing of 12,000 troops at Milford Haven, which the French king had sent in a fleet of 140 sail, to the assistance of Glendower, but he took 14 ships and burned other 15 of them.[2]

The Berkeleys sometimes fitted out ships, and shared in the commerce of the port. In 1409-10 the king wrote to Lord Thomas, that whereas he had, by letters patent, in the eighth year of his reign, granted for ten years, liberty to the merchants of Genoa to trade with their carracks into England, there to bring and sell their wares, and to carry back to Flanders and other parts cloth and wool, paying the customs and doing no damage, he now learned that divers of Lord Berkeley's men and servants, in a ship of his sailing towards Bordeaux, had violently set upon one of the carracks, the *St. Mary and St. Bridget*, laden with wines and other merchandise. He therefore required this lord either to make immediate restitution, or to come and answer before his Privy Council forthwith.

Restitution in part, it seems, was made by Lord Berkeley, Sir John Greyndour, who had been Sheriff of Gloucester in 1405, and others of Bristol. That the king was not very angry is evident from the fact that the same year he employed Berkeley to borrow money for him in Bristol upon the security of the uncollected fifteenth that had been granted by Parliament.

The year 1405 was the most critical period in the king's reign, and although Henry triumphed over his foes, he emerged from the struggle a broken down man. He issued writs for summoning a Parliament in Bristol, because "many persons belonging to the Forest of Dean sought to prevent corn and other provisions being brought to Bristol, hoping thereby to distress the king and his government." Whereupon Henry issued a

[1] Seyer, II., 173. [2] Condensed from Smyth.

proclamation to his beloved and faithful John Greyndour, knight, John Joce, and Henry Moton as follows:—"Whereas we are given to understand, that certain of our subjects of the forest of Dene and others of the county of Gloucester are daily hindering persons, who wish to carry corn, flesh, fish or other victuals to our town of Bristol, where we have ordered our Parliament to be holden, to the prejudice and great damage of the inhabitants of the said town, and of our other subjects, who will come there on account of the Parliament: We, being willing to provide against such evils, charge you to cause proclamation to be made in our name as well within the forest, as in other fit places in the said county, that all our subjects shall permit all manner of persons to carry corn, flesh, &c., to the said town: and to arrest all those whom they should find acting to the contrary, and to commit them to prison," &c.[1]

3. For many years the merchants of Bristol and other towns in the west had been greatly troubled by the vexatious proceedings of the Court of Admiralty, which sat in London or at Southwark, and which properly had jurisdiction only of offences committed on the high seas or in countries beyond the sea. The admirals and their officers had gone beyond their original jurisdiction, and had encroached upon that of the common law courts, claiming cognizance of all causes between mariners and merchants, and even of persons dwelling inland, who were neither mariners nor merchants. They summoned men from all parts of the kingdom to appear before them in London, tried common causes by the civil law, and imprisoned and extorted heavy fines from the unfortunates who were cast. These proceedings had caused many petitions to be presented to Richard II., and also to Henry, praying for redress. One such is in the *Little Red Book*, in Norman French, dated 17 Rich. II., 1393-4. The substance is as follows: —"Your poor subjects the burgesses of Bristuyt, Briggewater, Excestre, Barnestaple and Welles humbly pray; that whereas many pleas were lately depending in the Court of Admiralty in the south and west parts of England, which did not belong to the jurisdiction of the said court, such as of house breaking, goods carried away, batteries and other trespasses and contracts of all sorts; by reason of which many of the king's subjects have received great harm in their goods and their estate: and although the Lords and Commons in the last Parliament ordered that the Court of Admiralty should be restrained, and that such causes should be determined by the common law, yet still that court takes cognizance of them, and many have been pending undetermined for three years and more, owing to the divers delays of the civil law and the subtil imagination of the plaintiffs; insomuch that many persons of the aforesaid towns have been utterly ruined by their great expences in law, and have left their wives and children beggars, and are gone to live in Wales and other parts out of England. They therefore pray that such matters may be withdrawn from the Admiralty, and that plaintiffs may have their action at common law, on account of the great delays of the civil law, and the great costs and expences belonging to it, which the poor subjects above mentioned cannot endure. Resp'. The king refers the matter to the Chancellor, who is to grant prohibitions."[1] This seems to have been ineffective, but the burgesses persevered in their petitions to Henry, who, in consideration of the many services done to himself and former kings by the merchants of Bristol, their ships, and voyages, and in consideration of £200 freely given to him in his necessities for the benefit of the kingdom, and because the merchants and burgesses had been grievously vexed by the officers of the Admiralty, therefore the king granted them exemption from their jurisdiction.[2] One would have deemed this sufficient, but usurped usages die hard. A case is cited by Prynne (Anim' 4 Inst', 78), in 1427-8, of John Button against Bartholomew Pit, in the court of C' P', for a ship supposed by the libel in the Court of Admiralty to be taken upon the high sea, although the said ship was actually lying, when seized, in the harbour of Bristol, and not upon the main sea, contrary to the form and effect of the said statutes. This was a palpable fiction of Admiralty law, which described every case as happening upon the high sea, in order that the Admiralty Court in London might retain their usurpation. In 1461 the Mayor and Recorder were by commission constituted judges of the Court of Admiralty within the town and county of Bristol, its liberties and precincts.

4. The Parliament of 1404, held in Coventry, was nicknamed the "unlearned," because all lawyers were rigorously excluded. This Parliament attempted to lighten the taxes on the people by the resumption of all royal grants, and to prevent the alienation in future of the royal patrimony, so that the sovereign might be enabled to live upon his hereditary private revenue; they further sought to appropriate the wealth of the clergy, asserting that one-third of the land of England had by craft come into the possession of ecclesiastics. The royal income was only 48,000 marks, whilst the church possessed 500,000 marks, and 18,000 ploughs of land; this the Parliament proposed to utilise for the king, earls, knights, squires, and hospitals.

[1] Seyer, II., 175.

[1] Seyer, II., 177. [2] Little Red Book.

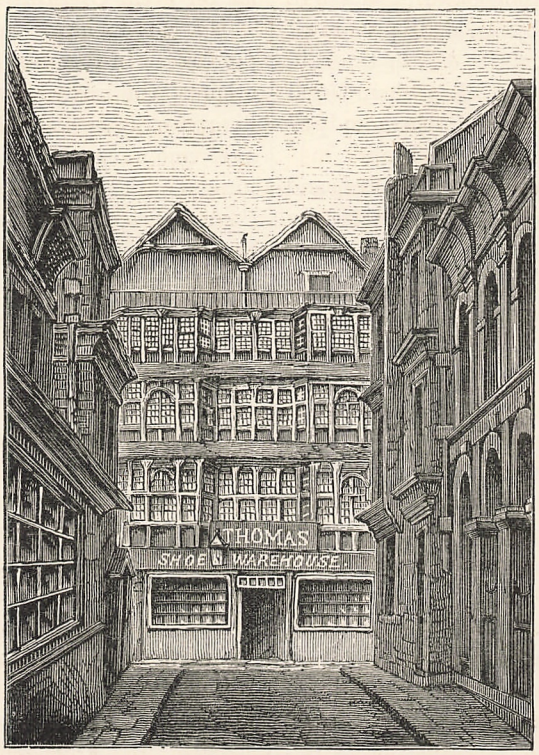
In 1409 the commons of Somerset, Wilts, and Bristol petitioned Parliament for power to remove all obstructions in the river Avon between Bristol and Bath. They stated that before the time of Richard II. the river was navigable throughout that portion, and that wine, wax (the wax chandler ranked high amongst the wealthy traders of Bristol, and the trade in wax was very extensive, owing to the number of candles used for pious purposes in the chantry chapels and in churches), salt, wool, skins and cloth, used to be conveyed in vessels between the two cities. A writ was directed to the Mayor of Bristol, John Droyse, and Richard Tikehull, sheriff of Somerset, for that purpose. The Parliament which sat in 1407 greatly abridged the royal prerogative; it ordained fifteen councillors for the king's guidance, his Chancellor was not to act contrary to the law, traitors in his court were to be punished, and the king's revenue was to be for his household only. Petitions were to be received twice a week, and all grants of money were to be declared by the mouth of the Speaker of the House of Commons. This precedent has become an invaluable condition of the British Constitution.

5. The infamy of burning preachers and professors of the gospel will ever be an indelible stain upon this king's character. In February, 1401, Sir William Sawtrey, minister of St. Osyth, a Lollard, was burnt for heresy, and in 1410 John Badby was burned at Smithfield in the presence of the Prince of Wales, whose sensational appetite and love of low vicious associates brought upon himself, in 1412, his commitment to the tower by Chief Justice Gascoigne.

The exercise of undue influence by the Crown in the return of its own partisans to Parliament was greatly checked during this reign, and a county sheriff was imprisoned by the House for making a false return. The growing boldness of the members, and their restriction of the privileges claimed by royalty, were not palatable to the king; he complained of the too great liberty of speech of the young members of the Commons, and ere his death he advised his son "not to allow his people to remain too long at peace, which, he remarked, was ever apt to breed commotions (*i.e.* more liberty) in England." A maxim the truth of which the sovereigns of this and other realms, besides his son, have been not slow to carry into practice. Thomas Norton was returned for Bristol to four of these Parliaments.

In 1412 Hugh Luttrel was appointed constable of Bristol castle, and, in 1413, the unquiet reign of Henry IV. was ended, the king dying of a fit of apoplexy on the 20th of March in the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster.

John Barstaple founded Trinity hospital on the south side of the Old Market, commonly called the Dial almshouse, within Lawford's gate, for ten widowers and ten widows, a *bedmaker* and a *washerwoman*. On the north side of the Old Market, within the gate, is another almshouse for twenty-four women, founded by Isabella, his wife, who died in 1404. John Barstable was mayor thrice. He died in 1411, and was buried with his wife near the communion table of the Dial almshouse.



17th Century House in St. Mary-le-port Street.

"He builded the chapel therein to the honour of God and the Holy Trinity, provided twelve chambers and twelve gardens for six poor men and six poor women, to be continually placed therein. He allowed competent maintenance for a priest, to serve in and attend on the said chapel and premises, with certain rents towards their maintenance, which rents are since increased, as by the particulars under written may appear.

"The rentall of the landes and tenements belonging to the saide almshouse of the gift of the saide John Barstaple.

"Three tenements in St. Maryport-Street. Six tenements on the Key. Eleven tenements and seven gardens in the 'Aulde Markett.' Sixteen tenements in Thomas-street. Three tenements and seven gardens in 'the Barres.' Two gardens in Marshall-street. A tenement, garden, and little house in 'Broademeade.'

"An orchard, a garden, a little house, a close of meadow, and a ragge of ground in the (writing indistinct) yard."[1]

Thomas Young, mayor in 1411 and 1420, represented the town in Parliament in 1414. This great merchant married the widow of John Canynges, the mother of the celebrated William. He left to his wife by will his mansion in Temple street, and other messuages there

[1] Bristol Archives.

and in the suburbs of the town. He also left legacies to the Friars Mendicant of Bristol. In his will, dated 14th March, 1426, he directed his body to be buried before the altar of St. Nicholas, in the church of St. Thomas.

6. During the mayoralty of John Cleve, Henry V., of Monmouth, began his reign on the 20th of March, 1413, being then twenty-four years of age. He displayed great worthiness by discarding the loose companions of his earlier years, and showing favour to the judge who had in his own person vindicated the majesty of violated English law. He was crowned on the 9th of April in the same year. The cradle, or rather cot, of this king is in the possession of Rev. G. W. Braikenridge, Clevedon.

In 1414 the king, by the advice of his council, suppressed 110 monasteries, or rather took that number which were held by foreigners, non-resident, into his own hands, and in the same year he laid claim to France. In his invasion of that country, in 1415, we are told by Drayton:—

> "Eight goodly ships, so Bristow ready made,
> Which to the king they bountifully lent,
> With Spanish wines, which they for ballast lade
> In happy speed of his brave voyagement;
> Hoping his conquest should enlarge their trade;
> And therewithall a rich, and spacious tent.
> And as this fleet the Severn seas doth stem,
> Five more from Padstow came along with them."

This year complaints were made that English ships had been seized, as they passed the coast of Brittany, by the Bretons, during a time of truce. One of these is from John Fisher (sheriff 1406), John Droyse (mayor 1406–9, 1414, and M.P. 1407), and Thomas Fish (bailiff 1419) and others, their companions of the town of Bristol, who complain that "John Fisher had a ship, the *Christopher*, which attended the king in his voyage to Hareflieu, and afterwards continued her voyage towards Bordeaux with cloth and other goods and merchandise to the value of 1,200 marks (the ship and goods); and that certain Bretons came on board the ship, took possession of her, threw the men into prison, where they kept them three months and more. They therefore pray the king to grant them permission to seize any of the subjects of Brittany on either side of the sea, together with any ships, goods, debts, obligations, and property whatever belonging to them, and to detain them until full restitution be made for the ship and merchandise before mentioned, as well as for the expenses which have been incurred, which amounted, by estimation, to the sum of 300 marks." This petition was referred to the King's council, with a request that the lords of that council would order what was reasonable.

Henry, by far the greatest king in Christendom, died August 31st, 1422. As a politician, warrior, and ruler, he ranks high. Brave and temperate as a king, impartial, but a martinet, he too frequently gave way to cruelty and ruinous ambition. Agincourt was the glory of his reign, it made him the arbiter in European politics; he had 30,000 troops when he landed, and with a smaller numerical force he defeated the French, killing 10,000 men and taking 14,000 prisoners. The pay of the English army was—Duke, 15*s.* 4*d*; earl, 6*s.* 8*d.*; baron, 4*s.*; esquire, 1*s.*; and archer, 6*d.* per day.

John Claydon, a furrier, was burned for religion, and Sir John Oldcastle was also burned alive in chains for the same alleged cause; but it is only fair to add that Oldcastle was deeply implicated in insurrectionary attempts and had been outlawed for three years before his capture and cruel death.

7. One of our MS. calendars runs thus:—"John Spine (Thorn) was mayor when 'the flower and glory of knighthood died.' This year while the king was in France his son, king Henry, was born at Windsor upon St. Nicholas' day. And this year ye king died in France and was brought to Westminster ye 31st August, 1422, having reigned 9 years 5 months and 24 days, and the same day his son, Henry VI., succeeded his father; at ye age of eight months old was crowned in his cradle and committed to the keeping of his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, who was appointed Regent in England, the Duke of Bedford Regent in France." The dower of Catherine, the queen mother, had been settled upon her marriage with Henry V., and one of the items was an annual rent of £60 out of the ulnage and subsidy of cloths sold in the town of Bristol, to be paid by the farmers of such ulnage and subsidy. But inasmuch as Bristol had been freed from "ulnage[1] of drabs" by the king in 1389, and the subsidies were intermittent and uncertain, the king (Henry VI.), in 1433–4, granted that the said £60 be taken out of the subsidy and ulnage of cloth sold in Bristol, and the forfeited cloths, the amount to be received annually from those who derived the profit.

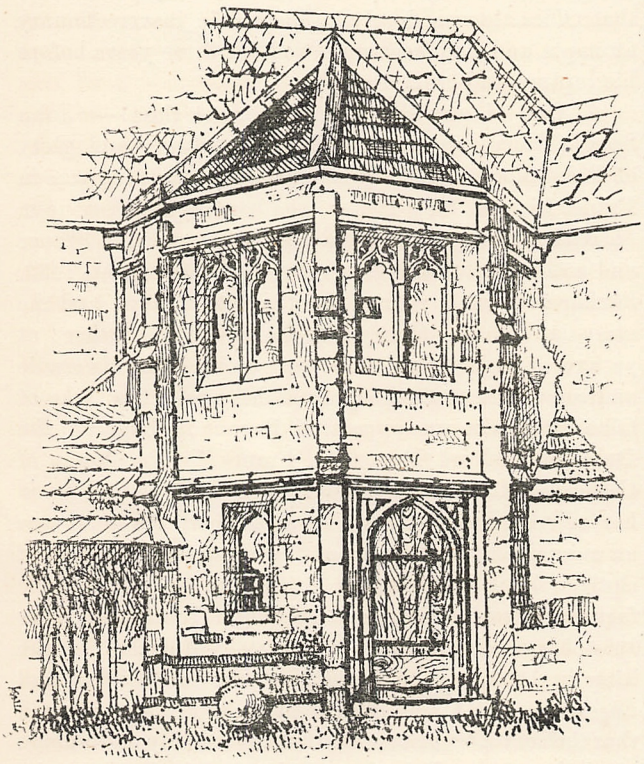
8. In 1422 the mansion of the Nortons (St. Peter's hospital) was occupied as a mint for coining.[2] Portions of this ancient and most substantial building remain. The old house is the eastern portion only of the present building, its upper story is probably of an intermediate date between that of its foundation and the erection,

[1] Ulnage is from *ulna*, the bones of the forearm (an ell), said to be the standard measure fixed by Henry I., in 1100, from the length of his own arm. "Ulnage of drabs" means the measuring of cloth (drapery) by the king's officers, which were by them measured and sealed.—Ed.

[2] Evans, 100; but he gives no authority.

early in the 17th century, of the three beautiful western gables, with their picturesque caryatides and arabesque fronts, for a view of which, and further description, we refer to our ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 135–6.

In the first year of the reign of this king the burgesses of Tenby were, by agreement with the port and city of Bristol, made free for twelve years from all *kunagio, numagio, portagio, parmagio, and picagio.* The words ring like a refrain from an old song, but they simply mean that Tenby, for that period, was freed from all Bristol town dues. The king was crowned in 1429, being then a child of eight years of age, and the regents took the opportunity of borrowing £50,000 for the defence of the kingdom, of which Bristol lent £333 6*s.* 8*d.*, which was thus apportioned:—The town £220, and the port of the town £113 6*s.* 8*d.* (out of the subsidy of 3*s.* on every cask of wine, and 1*s.* in the pound on property).[1]



Juyn's Chapel at his house near Bishopworth.

9. The cities of Bristol, Gloucester and Worcester, complained that the Welshmen of the Marches and other privileged places where the king's writs did not run, seized their *dregs* and *floats* in order to compel the hiring of the Welsh trows to carry their goods, and that they were forced to pay whatever rates the Welshmen asked. The Rolls of Parliament in the ensuing year stated that divers Welsh galleys were lying in wait in the Severn to seize on the boats of the before-named cities. "Bristol, being a most important city, was not left to the mere strength of its walls and towers, but had the means of keeping at a distance enemies assembled to assail it. There was 20 cwt. of gunpowder in store, and the sum of £40 was ordered to be laid out there for the purchase of certain guns and other stuffe for the defence of the town; a dozen brazen guns were ordered to be made shotting pellettes as grete as a Parys balle or lesse and every gonne had iiij chambers."[1] So that we learn that artillery of that description is by no means a modern invention. These are amongst the many instances in which Bristol is termed a city before the time of Henry VIII.

In 1431 Sir John de Wellis was Lord Mayor of London; he gave the sword with scabbard embroidered with pearls, to the town of Bristol, on the hilt of which may still be read this inscription:—

"John Wellis, of London, Grocer, Maior,
Gave to Bristol this sword feire."

He was a Bristol man, most probably a descendant of the Richard de Wells whom we have mentioned.

William Wyrcestre, our industrious topographer, whose parents were whitawers, skinners and glovers, who also bore the maternal name Botoner, was entered this year as a student at Hart's hall, Oxford. In 1434 Sir Thomas Marshall, a calendar, built a house adjoining All Saints for a residence for the vicars of that church.[2] In 1439 Sir John Juyn (not Inyng as invariably spelled hitherto), died and was buried in Redcliff church. He was a knight, recorder of Bristol, a judge of the King's Bench and chief baron of the Exchequer, whose country seat was between Filwood and Bishopworth. Some few fragments of his chapel still exist. One of his granddaughters married Lord Paulet, of Hinton St. George.

John Sharpe, mayor in 1432 and 1439, was chosen four times M.P. In 1446 he was elected with Thomas Young, son of the great merchant, and they had "two shillings for their expenses, and no more!"

10. After more than twenty-five years' war in France, affairs there were, at this period, looking very gloomy for the English army. Whereupon a writ was sent to the chief ports, one being directed to the officers of the Customs in Bristol, which ordered them to enforce the provisions of an Act passed in the last Parliament, and made it felony for any captain who had received payment for his soldiers from the king, to keep back

[1] Rolls of Par., V., 418.

[1] Roberts' Soc. Hist., 102.

[2] See ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 92.

any part of their wages, or that any man, who had received pay and passed muster, should desert the army. These misdemeanours are stated "to have been the chief cause of the long continuance of the war, and of the losses, hurts, and disgraces that have befallen us beyond the sea."

The death of Anne of Burgundy, wife of the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, dissolved the tie that had bound England and Burgundy together in the war against Charles of France. Young Henry, after his coronation in England, had been sent over to be crowned in Paris, then held by the English, as king of France, but, owing to the want of money, the ceremony had to be delayed eighteen months; meanwhile the coolness we have alluded to having arisen between the dukes, a bitter quarrel soon after drove Burgundy into alliance with Charles. While tidings of victories came from over the sea, Englishmen had borne the heavy burdens without much repining, but now, as the prospect of conquest vanished, and frequent defeats were reluctantly admitted, the people became peevish and discontented. This state of affairs will account, we think, for the unusual step taken by the Government in 1431-2. Letters under Privy seal were sent by them "to all collectors of the customs and subsidies, and to the comptrollers of the seaports in England, Bristol included, ordering them to appear personally before the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer at Westminster on the morrow of St. Michael coming, and to bring with them the books, rolls, tallies, moneys, and accounts, and to pay no money whatever until that day."[1] We have seen by charter that the moneys collected were payable on that day, but this inquisitorial examination was evidently something special, and doubtless meant more money, an increase of taxation.

11. A curious rhyming pamphlet, written about 1433, became very popular. Its burden has grown into a national axiom, it asserted in terse, vigorous language that if England kept the seas, especially the narrow seas, she could compel all the world to be at peace with her, and to court her friendship. The Commons had evidently caught the spirit of the writer when, in 1441-2, they determined to maintain a Channel fleet that should keep the sea from Candlemas to Martinmas. It was to consist of eight large ships with forstages (four stages or decks), having one with another, 150 mariners; each of these was to have one barge and one balynger (tender), each barge to have 80 men, and each balynger 40 men; every ship to have a master and a quarter-master. Four large spynaces with 25 men each were to act as frigates for the fleet. The pay for each man was to be 2*s.* per month, and that of the master and quarter-master 40 pence per month over and above the said pay. The ships were to be furnished by the seaports. From Bristol, our historians state, two of the eight large ships were hired, viz., *The Nicholas of the Tower* and *The Katherine of Burtons*. *The Nicholas of the Tower* was, in 1450, under the command of the Duke of Exeter, and was the ship that captured William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, who, accused of high treason, had been banished the kingdom for five years by the king, who wished to save him from conviction by his peers and from the punishment of a traitor. Endeavouring to escape his well merited fate, Suffolk took ship hastily at Ipswich, hurrying to get over into France. Unhappily for him his vessel was overhauled by *The Nicholas of the Tower*, the captain of which seized him, and carried him to Dover, where his head was struck off on the gunwale of a cock-boat, and his mangled remains were left unburied upon the beach. The late Mr. John Gough Nichols contended that our historians were in error in the supposition that *The Nicholas of the Tower* was a Bristol ship built by Burton, and named after his tower on the Broad quay. He considers it to have had no connection with Bristol, and to have been named after the Tower of London.[1]

Bree supposes that the *Katherine of Burtons* belonged to William Canynges. He thinks the following relates to her when she was lying in Dartmouth harbour:—"Be there made letters under the Privy Seal to — Cannings of Bristol, that thereas a barge called *The Katherine of Bristol* is charged with wheat and other victuals to the king's city of Bayonne for the advictualling of it, that he take into the same vessel to Bayonne. — Beday, esquire, whom the king sendeth now to Bordeaux, Bayonne, Aix, and other places there with his letters." But there are discrepancies; *The Katherine de Burtons* and *The Katherine of Bristol* may have been two different ships, that they were so we think is certain, Canynges' vessel lying at Dartmouth is called a barge, not a large ship, in fact her burden, as shown in the list of his shipping, was only 140 tons. From William Wyrcestre's list, however, we learn that Canynges possessed a large ship with a name sufficiently near to give plausibility to the tradition; *The Katherine de Boston* of 220 tons, is erroneously painted on the board on his tomb as one of 22 tons only; be it remembered, however, that there was an eminent merchant named Burton in Bristol who, between 1417 and 1427, was five times returned to Parliament by the burgesses, who was bailiff in 1416, sheriff in 1418, and mayor in 1423 and 1429; whose son John was mayor in 1448-50, and

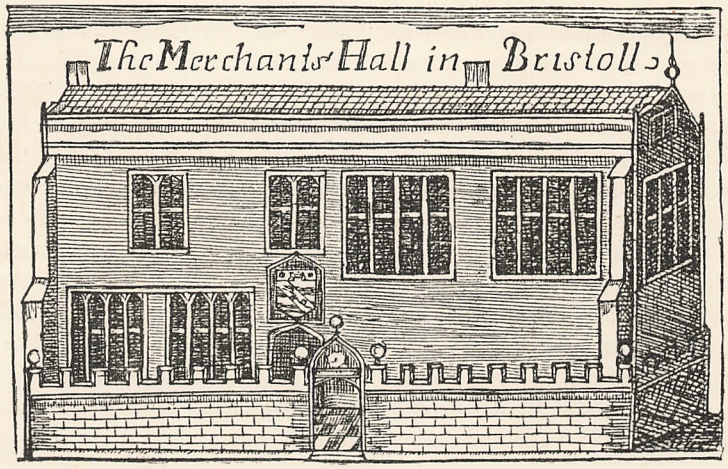
[1] Bree's Cursory Sketch, 319.

[1] Gentleman's Mag., 519, 1851.

whose daughter married Canynges' half-brother Thomas Young; there may, therefore, have been a partnership in this ship, and it possibly was the one meant.

Favourites had been the bane of the Plantagenets, those of the Lancaster branch were rather more wary; nevertheless, every man has his accessible weak side, and kings are especially open to the flatteries and fawnings of sharp-witted courtiers. In 1444-5 Henry VI.'s chief favourite was Henry Beauchamp, whom he had created Duke of Warwick. He gave him the castle of Bristol with all its appurtenances, and had him crowned king of the Isles of Wight, Guernsey, and Jersey, nominating him also first Earl of all England. This *pseudo* king, however, did not live long to enjoy his honours, dying at his castle of Hanley, in Worcestershire, on June 11th, 1446, at the age of twenty-two. He was buried in the choir of Tewkesbury abbey.[1]

12. In 1446 Henry came to Bristol and stayed at a house in Redcliff pit, near to the church. Seyer supposes it to have been the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, which stood near to Redcliff gate. Why he and the queen lodged in an inferior religious house, rather than in one of the more prominent Orders, which could offer superior accommodation for the numerous courtiers and attendants, is not known, or, indeed, why the king did not occupy the palace in the castle. During his stay he granted to Nicholas Hill, the mayor, and the Commonalty of Bristol a Letter Patent, dated March 15th, 1446. It will be remembered that Queen Joanna who, in 1403, had received the town of Bristol as her dower from her husband Henry IV., grandfather of the present king, had re-granted it to the Mayor and Commonalty for her life. On her death, in 1437, it fell into the hands of the king, who granted it to the authorities of the town for 20 years, for which they stood charged to the king for a yearly payment of £102 15*s.* 6*d.* This term did not expire until 1457, consequently it had, at the period of this visit of Henry VI. and Queen Margaret, in 1446, ten or eleven years yet to run; the royal marriage had exhausted the king's coffers, and money was always acceptable to royalty, so with commendable foresight the Mayor and Commonalty obtained from Henry an additional lease of sixty years, to commence at the end of the unexpired term. Seyer says it was a large amount of money that induced the king and his advisers to grant so long a lease. By it "the town and suburbs, walls, gates, ditches, together with all lands within it, containing houses, shops, particularly the flesh shambles (the south side of Bridge street), gardens, pools, mills, mill-streams, rents, tolls, pleas of courts, profits of fairs, and markets, fines, amercements, &c., together with the reversion of all lands, tenements, &c., and reserved rents; from this grant the castle is excepted, the king kept it in his own hands, but he granted to the farmers the water course that runs through castle ditch towards the mill under the castle, and the inside bank of the same for the space of four feet in breadth (a path to the mill), &c. The payments were to be to the Queen Margaret of Anjou, £102 15*s.* 6*d.*; the Abbot of Tewkesbury, in lieu of tithes, £14 10*s.* 0*d.*; the Prior of St. James, out of the rent of the town mill (at the corner of Ellbroad street and Lower Castle street), £3; to the constable of the castle, his officers, the porter, watchman, and the forester of Kingswood, £39 14*s.* 0*d.*; total, £160."[1]



Old Merchants' Hall, from Millerd's Map.

13. The Mariners' guild was established in 1445–6 in Virgin (Maiden) lane. The last relics of the building were pulled down in 1880, in order to erect on its site St. Stephen's chambers, at the corner of Marsh street and Baldwin street. The whole of the ground floor was occupied as a kitchen, it contained four good arches, which sprung from corbel-heads about two feet from the floor. The rest of the building fell, through decay, in 1812 or 1813, a result not surprising, as recent excavations proved that there was absolutely no foundation but the hardened diluvium of the Frome. The remains of the chapel dedicated to St. Clement were, until recently, a smithy (now destroyed to lengthen Baldwin street), and on the opposite side of the lane stood the first or Old Merchants' hall. The guild was a religious one, established for the soul's health and good of the king, the

[1] Lel. Itin., 6, 86-91.

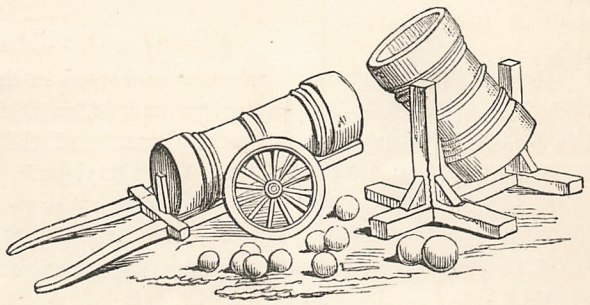
[1] Seyer, II., 186; Evans, 102.

mayor and commonalty; and, for the prosperity of the mariners who were exposed to manifold dangers and distresses, there should be a Fraternity erected to the worship of God, our Lady, St. Clement, St. George, and all the saints in heaven, for a priest and twelve poor mariners to pray daily as above. To support this the master of every ship, barge, &c., on his arrival in port from a voyage, was obliged to pay fourpence per ton on all goods imported within two days, to two wardens chosen from the craft of mariners, admitted by the mayor, and sworn by the articles and orders of the Fraternity, on pain of 6*s.* 8*d.* if a master, 3*s.* 4*d.* if a seaman, 1*s.* 8*d.* if a servant. One half of the tax was to go to the mayor, the other moiety to the Fraternity for the support of the priest and the poor; the like penalty to seamen or servants who omit or refuse to pay the 4*d.* per ton, the master, if in default, to pay 40*s.* Every master and mariner was bound to attend in procession on Corpus Christi day, under the like penalties. A mariner convicted of having stolen goods on board, or bringing any such in his ship, the mate that received such mariner was to forfeit 20*s.* Every master and mariner to attend the mayor in harness (in his armour) during the watches of St. John's, St. Peter's and St. Paul's feasts, under like penalties. The twelve poor mariners to have served seven years at least, to be chosen by vote, those who had been masters to receive 12*d.* per week, others 8*d.* per week, and to find themselves. Any warden neglecting to pay the said allowance six weeks to forfeit 20*s*; half the fine to go to the town and half to the Fraternity. Every Bristol mariner to contribute, whether he sailed in a Bristol ship or in one belonging to any other port.[1]

Marsh street (old Skadpulle street) intersected these properties and became the favourite residence for many years of master mariners. The connection which of old intimately existed between the Merchants' hall and the Fraternity is still continued in a modified form by the Merchant Venturers and their admirable almshouse adjoining their present building. The wages of a free mason or a master carpenter were 4*d.* per day, without meat or drink 5½*d.*

14. In an old vellum roll of the mayors of Bristol, which begins, in 1375–6, with the mayoralty of William Canynges, and ends, 1503, with the mayoralty of Hugh Johnes, the caligraphy of which is certainly not later than the reign of Elizabeth, there is this note against the year 1442–3 :—"Clement Bagod, Maior, Nicholas Hill, Sheriff, Richard Hatter, and Richard Haddon, Bailiffs. This year Redcliff church steeple throwne downe with thunder and lyghtning." Evans mentions its repairs under the year 1446, thus, "In a storm, the steeple of Redcliff Church was blown down, William Canynges and others repaired the church by new covering and glazing it, at their own expense," *i.e.* they, in 1446, finished the repairs rendered necessary by the storm of 1443.

The king was in Bristol in 1447–8 "and," says Ricart, "was most worshipfully received"; and in 1449–50 he was again in Bristol, "and this year the Bailiffs of Bristol brought into the common coffers one hundred marks sterling to the use of the Chambers against their will for they were 'cohartyd' thereto by the council, which money it was said was stolen from a vicar of Alhallowen."[1] The prior of the Calendars at that time was Sir John Gyllarde, who died in 1451. He erected a curious wainscot ceiling over the north aisle of All Saints church, and expended



Cannon, circa 1420 to 1460; Henry VI. armed Bristol with guns.

£217 upon the public library over (against) the same aisle which was under the government of the prior and the mayor.

It seems highly improbable that the above insinuation of theft, or constrained payment, can be correct, in the face of such a generous gift on the part of the prior, unless, indeed, there had been a quarrel between him and the then vicar, Sir William Rodberd, the connection between the Calendars and the vicars of All Saints being most close and intimate, besides which we have not been able, after examination of the church records, to find any notice of such a wrongful act. On the other hand Ricart himself was a Calendar, and he certainly, from his position, must have had some ground for the statement, which is in itself sufficiently indefinite, and may be solved thus: the said money, probably a legacy, was intended for the church, but through some illegality (mortmain most likely) the civic authorities claimed it, and this was construed by the Calendar town clerk into a robbery of the church and of his friend the vicar. That they were not afraid of the luxury of law we gather from some curious entries in their most valuable book which is still carefully preserved in the church :—

[1] Barrett, 180; Evans, 102.

[1] Ricart, 40.

John Whytside and Roger Abingdon in these days defended the plea against John Southfolk y take between the church and him for the house that John Pers gave to the church in Wine street. God have mercy on their souls.

1438. Expenses touching the plea of John Southfolk, his shop, and the Goldsmith, his house in Wine street:—

		s.	d.
Imp.	To John Pavey and to Vyell	3	3
"	In wine and ale to the said Pavey		2
"	To Vyell to enquire for certain names		1
"	In wine to the said men		2
"	To the Bayley Erond	2	0
"	To Bolton	2	0
"	To a copy of the deed		4
"	To Pavey, Vyell, and Chocke at the day of assize...	10	0
"	To Chocke on St. Lucy his day for another assize...	3	4
"	To Pavey and Vyell, the same day of assize	3	4
"	For the copy of the writ		2
"	To Sergeant and entering of plaint		4
"	To Selwood the man of law	1	8
"	For writing two obligations		4
		£1	7	2

The churchwardens were successful, and spent in the fulness of their joy 2*d.* on themselves and 2*d.* on their men of law for wine, and in the exuberance of their success they gave a quart of wine to the "Bayleys."

By this we think our readers will have most probably acquiesced in our conclusion, that, in 1450, the Mayor and Council simply ordered the bailiffs to enforce the law against the church.

Ere we leave the subject, we will give a few other interesting quotations from this valuable church record. The practice of hanging up pictures and "popinjays" in the churches at certain festivals was very common. We find repeatedly in the expenses such items as the following:—

A stained (painted) cloth of the Holy Trinity, with two curtains of angels.

A cloth with popinjays of Scripture.

1430. To making one long Death in our Lady's Chapel, 9*s.*

This must have been a work of some merit as well as size if we compare it with the wage paid to the raker (*i.e.*, the man who kept the rushes and sedges that covered the floor in neat order), who received 4*d.* per annum for his services. "Long Death" had to be mended, in 1447, at a cost of 2*d.* Judas was represented both by painting and effigy, at a cost of from 1*s.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* The price of the angels ranged from 5*s.* to 10*s.* each. In 1408 the charge for making one Judas was 13*d.*, in 1430 it was 2*s.* 4*d.* In 1431 the treacherous disciple had three representations in the church, one over against the sepulchre cost 1*s.*, one in the Lady chapel that cost in making 2*s.*, and one painted near the high altar at the cost of 3*s.* 6*d.* The entry in 1464 shows that he was only used on three nights before Easter. Another singular custom, and one that must have been most unpleasant to the neighbourhood, was that of jangling harsh, unmusical, discordant bells throughout the above interim, making night hideous. That this was done with hearty goodwill at All Saints, is shown by the frequent entries for mending the Judas bell, 2*d.*, for a new clapper for the Judas bell, 6*d.*, &c.

In 1464 the entry is for new clappers for all the Judas bells. Judas candles were also burned. We have already mentioned the status of the wax chandler, but that the church knew how to get a good article at a cheap rate is evident from the following:—"To John waxmaker for making the Paschal tapers of his own wax, and for the waste thereof, 2*s.* 6*d.*; for torches weighing 50 lb., price per lb., 3*d.*, 12*s.* 6*d.*" "To John Mayhowe for the making of 53 lb. of your own wax that was of your square lights, and round lights, 2*s.* 2*d.*" Also, "22 lb. of new wax to perform your square lights and round, and the 'founts' tapers, at 10*d.* per lb., 18*s.* 4*d.*" These Judas entries are earlier in Bristol by nearly a century than any noted in Brand, or in *Notes and Queries*. The following entries are also interesting:—

1437. For making clay balls to hold the candles at Christmas 1*d.*
1442. For setting in of two eyes for our Lady in the pillar... 4*d.*
1445. For making one holy water "stick of iron"[1] ... ... 4*d.*
1448. For ringing against the king ... ... 8*d.*
1450. " " ... ... 3*d.*
1476. For a board and setting above the Trinity his head ... 4*d.*
1478. For mending the checquered board that is beared the church bread upon ... ... 2*d.*
1478. For besoms to streke the church with ... ... 1*d.*
(This is a yearly item, recurring regularly for a long period.)
1478. For mendynz off espolker... ... ... 1*d.*
(Mending the sepulchre for the Easter representation.)



Costume Henry V., circa 1420. Longsleeves and Baldrick with bells.

From time immemorial it has been the practice in Bristol and elsewhere at Al-Hallowtide to bring men's good deeds, and also their peccadilloes, to remembrance before the public. It is not improbable that the election of Town Councillors on this day has arisen from this most ancient custom. We find from this book, which dates from 1407, that it was the custom for the priests to ring and call together the "hole paryshe to

[1] The term candle*stick* arose from the candle holder having originally no socket but a spike on which to stick the candle.—Ed.

ye general mynde, and if any man absented himself he was fined 4*d.*, but if he was a Council man the fine was 1*s.* 4*d.* in his case." The costs of the gathering are given every year; at first the moderate sum of 2*s.* sufficed; afterwards the amount grew higher, reaching occasionally 14*s.* In 1472 the bill for the feast was as follows:—

	s.	*d.*
Imp. For lofe brede, cakys, and otr spyceries	3	2
" For a deson Ale	1	0
" For bekyng ye seyd cakys		2
" For redde wynne—swete wynne	4	4
" For Six Priestys and ye Clerke	1	10
" For ryngynge of ye belle	1	4
	11	10

When the people were gathered, the priests opened and read from the parish book, "These ben ye names of ye good doers and the evil doers;" for particulars of which we refer our readers to our Ecclesiastical History, 95.

15. It was the custom at Easter to represent the holy sepulchre and *tableaux* of the betrayal and crucifixion of our Lord, the figures being often life-size. We have an item, in 1395, for various painted cloths "to hange ye sepolker within ye Lentyn tyme of ye passyon of Cryste with iiij knyghts and Mʸ Magdalen." The charge for keeping watch by the sepulchre at night at All Saints was, in 1407, two pence. At that time it appears to have been a temporary structure, but in 1422, among the good doers, we find the record of "William Raynes and Thomas Chester (Cook), let make in their days the sepulkor and brought clearly to the church 7*d.* God ha mercy on their soulls." The 7*d.* was the balance over the yearly expenditure which included the building of a permanent tomb, as will appear from the bill:—

"PAYMENT FOR MAKYNG OF THE SEPULKOR."	*s.*	*d.*
Imp. for 3 Easterlygge bordys	1	6
Item to 1 Kerver	10	9
" to 1 Mason		9
" Ryc Peynter	1	3	3
" the procutorys of St. Nickolas		3
" Iren gayr	0	8
" 1 ffrontell and 1 ffrange	9	0
" Lyme, nayles, and rekhokys		2
" in bred and ayle		8
	47	0

On the opposite page the account is continued:—

	s.	*d.*
Imp. To Byford for ye huyr of hs crane		2
Item to Huckeford mason for ale		1
" " " for his grust		2
" Willm Huckeforde and Willm Tempyll for ale ...		3
" Colle mason for ale		2
" " " for his grust		2
" Huckford mason	40	0
	£2	1	0

Then follows an item to Agnes ffyler for one quart of wine 2*d.*, which appears to have been to drink good luck to their exhibition. Their receipts this year were for showing the sepulchre on Good Friday and Easter day 20*s.*, and for the extra exhibition of the cross and the crown 20*s.*, being double the amount taken in previous years. In the year 1472 the show was on Shyre Thursday, Easter eve and Easter day. All the lights were put out on Easter eve, the wax was blessed, fire was obtained from flint and steel, this was hallowed, and then the whole church was lighted up with wax candles, kindled from the tapers that had been also blessed; the charge for keeping the sepulchre, and the lights, and for two night's watching, was 8*d.* "For bred, ale, and collys (coals) for ye said keepers, 2*d.*" Shyre or Sheere Thursday is our Maundy Thursday, it is so named in an old homily, "For that in Old Father's days the people would that day shere theyr hedes, and clyppe theyr berdes, and pool theyr heydes, and so make theym honest ayenst Esterday." The orthography of this remarkable book is at times rather startling; for instance we have one item "for iiij Qwysthyns alle stuffe iiij*s.*", *i.e.* "for four cushions, 4*s.*"



Costume, circa 1410-30.
These long Beccas are on the two Monuments supposed to be those of Canynges and his Almoner.

16. Rogers, in his calendar of Al-Hallowen, has made a mistake which we are anxious to rectify, more especially as his arguments, occupying six pages of his book, have stained the memory of the pious dead, and have led many a reader to a most impotent conclusion. In two separate deeds of Cecilia de la Warr, which are without date, but both of which, from their internal evidence as well as from the names of the witnesses, must have been written a little before 1370, she gives a house and land to Thomas de Novo Burgo, to him and to his heirs for ever at a yearly rent of 24*s.*, and to the lord of the fees 3¾*d.* landgable, with permission to give, sell, or exchange the same to any "except religious men, and Jews." The first deed was executed when she was unmarried, her husband is a signatory to the second, which contains the same apparently strange condition. Rogers supposes her to have been inveterately rancorous against all

ecclesiastics, and because she inserted this clause, assumes her to be an infidel in principle, and to have been the wife or leman of an archdeacon. But the documents show plainly enough that her husband was a layman, Howell, the son of Worgan the Archdeacon of Llandaff. We have seen that, after the deadly plague of 1358, numbers of laymen who had lost their wives took holy orders. Worgan was probably one of these. John de la Warr, the father of Cecilia, was the founder of the chapel of St. Anne, in the wood of Brislington, and either he or his father was mayor of Bristol in 1286. Our readers will have gathered already from these pages that there was bitter animosity and deadly hatred between the secular clergy and the religious men, as the preaching or mendicant Friars were called. These were the men whom Cecilia classed with the Jews and towards whom she showed her antipathy. It is highly probable that both she and her husband were followers of Wycliffe, who about this time, with his eloquent friend and disciple Purney (or Purvey), preached so successfully in the town that it was said "of every two persons you met one would be a Wickliffite." At all events both she and her husband were in perfect sympathy with the reformer, and have been sadly maligned. The fact that William de Novo Burgo, who died in 1414, with his name Anglicised into William Newbury, bequeathed out of this very property to Thomas Marshall, clerk, and to Thomas Halway, churchwarden, a rent of assize of 12*s.* per annum for the said church, helps to the conclusion that they all belonged to the party which supported the church, but hated the Friars.

Newbury added to his bequest "his beautiful mazer cup [a cup of bird's eye maplewood, finely wrought and usually mounted in silver], with a silver cover, then in the custody of the aforesaid prior of the Calendars"; together with 20*s.* a year to the said church for an obit to be said yearly on the 9th day of May. The house on which this rent was settled was in Baldwin street, "In ye which dwellyd John Albyrton, Merchant, and thereto longeth, twelve evydences undyr auctentick selys."

17. Rogers also gives in his book (from a copy) an agreement for building a house in High street, for the sum of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* This sum is so small, that we, in common with others, had thought that there must have been some mistake made by the copyist. But by one of those fortuitous circumstances which occasionally occur, we were enabled to purchase in Birmingham, a few years since, the identical agreement, which at some time had been stolen from the church. It is now in the possession of Mr. William Terrell, and modernised, reads as follows:—

By indre between Alice Chester, widow, formerly wife of Henry Chester, draper, of the one part, and Stephen Morgan, carpenter, of the other part, the said Stephen Morgan covenanteth to make well, workmanly, and surely, of good timber and boards, a new house in High street, Bristol, with floors, windows, doors and partitions, and all other things of timber work belonging to the said house, with —— [joists apparently], laths and lattices, situated between a tenement called the Bull inn (afterwards named the Angel) on the one part, and a tenement in which John a Cork, cornisor (corn chandler), then dwelt, on the other part, containing in length 19ft. 10in. of assize, and in width 10ft. 4in. And that he would make in said house a shop, a hall above the same, with an oryell window, a chamber above the hall with an oryell, and another chamber above that, by Lady day next, for which Alice Chester covenants to pay £6 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling, viz., at Christmas then next £3, at flooring of the said house 33*s.* 4*d.*, and at the end of the said work 40*s.*, the said Stephen Morgan to have the old timber.

This is dated 17th Novr., 12th Edward IV., 1472.

In February of the same year (the year began in March), there arose a dispute between Alice Chester and John Vyell, the owner of the house in which John a Cork dwelt, and a jury of sworn viewers, viz., Rawlyns Wyllyms and Ranie Spuryour, masons, Stephen Canon and Thomas Skydmore, carpenters, found that Vyell's wall overhung the widow's land by 4½ inches, which ought to be amended. This is authenticated by the seal of the Mayor of Bristol, and bears date 24th February, 1472, the very time when Alice was preparing to build. The property came into the possession of the church, and there are some ten deeds relating to it, which have enabled us to trace its history for more than a century, as well as to fix its site.

The first of these throws incidentally some light upon a subject that has been much discussed, viz., whether the corner of High street, then frequently called Goldsmith's street, was occupied by a church dedicated to St. Andrew, being a fourth church at the angles surrounding the High Cross. It is dated November 28th, 11th Henry VIII., 1520, and purports to be a supplement to Alice Chester's will, made in 1477, adding the names of her family deceased since that date, and giving for them, for herself and husband, and for the testator, an additional obit in the month of March, annually, for which the above-named house was to yield its rental in part payment. It runs thus: "Indre. of Richard Hervey, gent., son and heir of Homfray Hervey, executor of the will of John Thomas, late vicar of the parish of All Saints, and formerly rector of the parish church of the Holy Apostles, SS. Peter, Paul, and Andrew," from which we gather that St. Andrew was one of the dedications of the church now known as St. Peter's. Thomas was rector of St. Peter in 1499. He was cousin and heir to John Chester, merchant, son of Henry and Alice, and by his will he gives the aforesaid house, then in the occupation of John Ryppe,

grocer, together with a garden in the Old Market, to John Ffooke, vicar of All Saints, and 17 others, to found an obit for ever in the church of All Saints, on the vigil of St. Valentine, for masses for the souls yearly of the aforesaid Chesters, Herveys, and John Thomas. said John Ffooke to pay every such anniversary to the vicar or his deputy, for labour and wax tapers 12*d.*, for an offering at high mass 1*d.*, to each of the six chaplains singing in their surplices, 4*d.*, to the co-brother for his labour and ringing of the bells 12*d.*, to the common cryer for proclaiming the obit 4*d.*, bread to the value of 20*d.* to be given to the poor prisoners in Newgate, and to the poor in the almshouse in All Saints lane 4*d.*, to the lepers in Brightbow 4*d.*, and 4*d.* to the poor in Long row. Also the said Ffooke and his co-feoffees are to found a like obit on the 4th day of March yearly. Honest men are to be added as the trustees die off, and if the almshouses, &c., are destoyed or fall off, the gifts are to revert to the poor of the town.

At the Reformation this property came into the possession of the Crown. Queen Elizabeth, in the 17th year of her reign, in consideration of the sum of £397 5*s.* 0*d.*, paid for her use by Sir John Parrott, knight, granted the house to Herbert and Palmer; two months afterwards they conveyed it to Dodington and Harvey, who the next year, on November 19th, 1576, conveyed it to Thomas Colston, in consideration of £40 paid by him to them, the said house being then tenanted by Clement Barnes, soap maker.

18. By this deed we may gather some idea of the great value of Sir John Gyllarde's gift, *circa* 1450, to the Library of the Calendars, and of the exceeding preciousness of MSS. in the days that preceded printing, the said gift being sufficient to have built thirty-two such houses as the one above described, which was situated in one of the best streets in the town. Taking Hallam's estimate of value (the multiple 16) it would be equivalent to £3,472 sterling. When this celebrated library was founded we know not, Gyllarde's gift seems to have been an addition to a foundation already in existence. The large room for a public library, under the government of the Prior of the Calendaries and the Mayor of Bristol, is said to have been built at this time over the north or Jesus aisle. The word "over" here must be read as "over against," as it is expressly stated in the parish book, under date 1466, that this year the library was burnt through the carelessness of a drunken poynt maker.[1]

This fire happened only two years after John, Bishop of Worcester, had re-built the library (see ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 91-2). The loss of rent is entered as a debit for two subsequent years, and all the items for the repairs of the house, consequent upon this disastrous fire, are duly entered, and by deed it is shown that John, the Chancellor of Keynsham, gave 100 marks to re-build the house, but there is not one penny of extra building outlay upon the church itself, which indeed would have been burned to the ground, if, as our historians suppose, the room had been above the roof of Jesus aisle, and consequently a portion of the sacred building. A deed of John, Bishop of Worcester, 1464, confirms this view, in which it is said, "the Prior shall reside in the said house, and shall take custody of a certain library newly erected, at the Bishop's expense, *in the said house*," &c. See ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 91.

In 1451 it is expressly stated that Gyllarde, as executor of Richard Haddon, effected sundry repairs in the library, and mention is made of a door in the Calendars' house that opened into it. The loss sustained by the citizens of Bristol through this calamitous fire has been irreparable; it is said that there were in the building not fewer than 800 MS. volumes. The records of the town were kept then by the Calendars, as well as those of their own most ancient fraternity, so that all materials for elucidating the early history of Bristol have now to be gathered piecemeal from extraneous sources. Many of the books were handsomely illuminated; some of them were chained to pillars, or enclosed in *grydlys* (gratings) in the church. For further particulars see ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 97.



Cook and Kitchen, circa 1430.

19. In 1455 there was trouble between the citizens and some Irishmen. Henry May and others having abused their privileges were disfranchised until they bought them again, and on their knees asked favour and

[1] *Points, i.e.*, tags, tassels and metal ornaments worn on the dress.

forgiveness of the Mayor and his brethren.[1] We presume from this that the Dublin Charter of Henry II. was still effective, and that burgesses of each town were mutually free of the other.

In 1449, William Canynges being at that time Mayor, the king addressed two letters in his favour, one to the Master General at Prussia, the other to the magistrates at Dantzic, in which he is styled "the king's beloved and eminent merchant of Bristol." For further particulars of Canynges see ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 213–219.

20. The Crafts' guilds had now the upper hand in the town, and had become of considerable importance, as the mayor, William Canynges, and the Common Council ordered that the mayor on St. John's night, and the sheriff on St. Peter's, should dispense wine to the several crafts at their different halls. The quantity given to each trade will show approximately the status of each:—

	Galls.		Galls.
1. Weavers	10	15. Barbers	4
2. Tuckers	10	16. Waxmakers	4
3. Tailors	10	17. Tanners	4
4. Cornesers (corn dealers)	8	18. Whitawers	4
5. Butchers	6	19. Masons	3
6. Dyers	5	20. Tylers	3
7. Bakers	5	21. Carpenters	3
8. Brewers	5	22. Hoopers	3
9. Shermen	5	23. Wiredrawers	3
10. Skinners	4	24. Cardmakers	3
11. Smiths	4	25. Bowers	3
12. Farriers	4	26. Fletchers (arrowmakers)	2
13. Cuttelers	4		—
14. Lockyers	4		120

The proportion allotted to those connected with the woollen cloth trade, amounting to 43 gallons, or over one-third, proves it to have been, in 1449, the staple trade of the town. In 1454 the Parliament ordered that the payment from the king's subsidies and customs in the port of Bristol should be £300 (of which the farmers of the ulnage were to raise £60); the ulnage of the county of Somerset was only £80, and that of Wiltshire £40. This was, we believe, the most flourishing time in Bristol for the woollen trade, as we find in 1485 and 1495, although the town was farmed at the higher rentals of £400 and £600, the ulnage fell to £27 13*s.* 4*d.* Commerce was steadily progressing; much money was laid out for repairing the Back, the slips, and the quays, which were made again fit for the unloading and discharging of goods.[2]

When the Duke of York, as protector of the realm, found it necessary for the protection of trade to send out a fleet, he borrowed the money for its equipment from the chief seaport towns. In this instance we see that Bristol again ranked next to London, the loan being £150. London found £300; but Hull, York, Yarmouth, Norwich, Ipswich, Colchester and Maldon only raised £100 each, Lynn £50, Boston £30, and Newcastle £20. Bristol was to be repaid out of the first money raised by subsidy in that port on all exports and imports, save and except "merchandise of the staple."

21. In 1451 the whole kingdom was in a ferment. The English had lost all their possessions in France except Calais, the Duke of York, on his return from Ireland with an army, was marching towards London.

The condition of society may be seen in the fact that in a family quarrel between different members of a great baronial family they openly waged war upon each other, the castle of Berkeley was taken and re-taken several times during the twenty years that intervened between this period and the famous battle of Nibley Green. In the course of this private war, "James, Lord Berkeley, and his four sons, being surprised in his castle of Berkeley and taken prisoners by their three adversaries, as if in time of war, on the 4th of November, 1451, were by an armed band of men carried to the Grey Friars in Bristol, whither John Stanley, then mayor, was sent for, and there before him Lord Berkeley was constrained to acknowledge three statutes, whereof one of £10,000 defeizanced,"[1] &c.

22. The civil war of the Red and White Roses being renewed in 1455, Henry's energetic and brave queen was on the alert to win the great towns to the side of her husband, and she came to Bristol with a large retinue of the nobility, where she was most honourably received and hospitably entertained.

John Stanley, mayor in 1443 and 1451, is distinguished from having had his name on a brass pillar, which has long since disappeared. The annals relate:—

"A post of brasse yet standing on the Key of Bristoll, neere to the conduit, was sett upp in the time of the mayor, John Stanley's yeere, as appeares by his name and others yet there to be read."

William Coder, mayor 1452, 1457 and 1464, gave £2 per annum to St. Leonard's church and a chalice, weighing 23 oz.; also 20 oz. silver to make the oil vat and £40 to buy the best suit of blue velvet with branches of gold.

23. "The sins of the father shall be visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation." History offers, perhaps, nowhere such a striking exemplification of the Divine word as is shown in the family of Edward III., the rebellious son, who, at the instigation

[1] Evans, 104. Seyer, II., 187, who gives the date 1445.

[2] Seyer, II., 187.

[1] Seyer, II., 188.

of his faithless mother, had consented to the deposition and murder of his father, Edward II. The ties of consanguinity were powerless against ambition, and the crown was dyed with the blood of his descendants during five generations.

Edward III. had five sons who lived to maturity and left issue, viz.:—1. Edward the Black Prince, who, dying during his father's lifetime, left one son, Richard II.; he afterwards was deposed and murdered by his cousin, Henry IV. 2. Lionel, whose son Edmund, Earl of March, was imprisoned by Henry IV.; he died without issue. 3. John of Gaunt, father of Henry IV. Of the sons of Henry IV., Thomas, Duke of Clarence, was killed in battle, 1421; Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was murdered at Bury St. Edmunds; his grandson, Henry VI., was murdered in the Tower; and his great-grandson Edward, Prince of Wales, was murdered at Tewkesbury, 1471. 4. Edmund, father of Richard, Duke of York, who, with his second son Rutland, was slain at the battle of Wakefield, when fighting against Henry VI. This Richard left three sons, Edward IV., who deposed Henry VI., and caused him to be murdered in the Tower; Clarence, murdered by his brother; and Richard III., who, to win the crown, murdered both his nephews, Edward V. and Richard, Duke of York, the sons of Edward IV. Richard himself lost both his crown and his life at the battle of Bosworth field. 5. Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, murdered at Calais by order of his nephew, Richard II.

Edward seized the throne in March, 1461, at the age of nineteen years, and was crowned under the title of Edward IV., on the 28th of June, at Westminster. In an old MS. calendar, now before us, are the following entries:—"1460, Wm. Canynges 4th time mayor. This year Edward, Earl of March, oldest son of ye Duke of York, with the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, came to London with a strong power, and was proclaimed king, by the consent of the Commons, by the name of Edward 4th. King Henry, understanding the Earl of March was coming, fled with the queen into the north, and so king Henry was deposed the 4th March, 1460, when he had reigned 38 years 6 months and 16 days. 1461, Rex Edwardus Quartus, Philip Mede mayor the second time; Wm. Spencer sheriff, Robert Sturmey and Hen. Brown bailiffs. This year the king came again to Bristol, where he beheaded Sir John Bawdin Fulford and Hesant, and the same day he departed back again."

During the harvest months the young king came into the Marches, and reached Bristol in September, where he was most royally received.

24. The king witnessed the execution of Fulford and his associates from the east window of St. Ewen's church (now destroyed; the offices of the *Western Daily Press* stand upon the site). In the church book is an entry, "Item, for wasshyng of ye churche pavnon ageynst king Edward ye IV. is comyng iiij. *ob.*"

This event has been immortalised by Chatterton's beautiful ballad, *The Death of Syr Charles Bawdin*, which has so much poetical merit that we give a quotation, referring our readers who desire to read the whole of the stanzas to the work itself.

"The featherd songster chaunticleer
Han wounde hys bugle horne,
And tolde the earlie villager
The commynge of the morne:

Kynge Edwarde sawe the ruddie streakes
Of lyghte eclypse the greie;
And herde the raven's crokynge throte
Proclayme the fated daie.

'Thou'rt ryght,' quod hee, 'for, by the Godde
That syttes enthron'd on hyghe!
Charles Bawdin, and hys fellowes twaine,
To-daie shall surelie die.'

Thenne wythe a jugge of nappy ale
Hys Knyghtes dydd onne hymm waite;
'Goe tell the traytour, thatt to-daie
Hee leaves thys mortall state.'

Syr Canterlone thenne bendedd lowe,
Wythe harte brymm-fulle of woe:
Hee journey'd to the castle-gate,
And to Syr Charles dydd goe.

Butt whenne hee came, hys children twaine,
And eke hys lovynge wyfe,
Wythe brinie tears dydd wett the floore,
For goode Syr Charleses lyfe."
etc. etc. etc.

Sir Bawdin had, in 1460, given bond to Henry VI. that he would either take the life of the Duke of York (Edward IV.) or lose his own head. Stow says, "after he had spent the king 1,000 marks he returned again." Edward seized and imprisoned him and his two accomplices, Bright and Hesant. The family of Fulford was of note and antiquity in Devon. In 1467 an act was passed for the restitution in blood and estate of Thomas Fulford, knight, eldest son of Sir Baldewyn Fulford, late of Fulford, in the county of Devon, knight. The preamble, after stating the attainder, continues:—"And also the said Baldwyn, the 1st year of your noble reign at Bristowe, in the shire of Bristowe, before Henry, Earl of Essex, William Hastings, of Hastings, knt., Richard Chock, William Canynges, the mayor of the said town of Bristowe, and Thomas Young, by force of your letters patent to them, and others direct to hear and determine all treasons, &c., done within the said town of Bristowe before the 6th day of Sept., the first

year of your said reign, was attaint of divers treasons by him done against your highness, &c." From this we learn that the unfortunate knight was tried under Canynges' mayoralty, but was executed under that of Philip Mede.

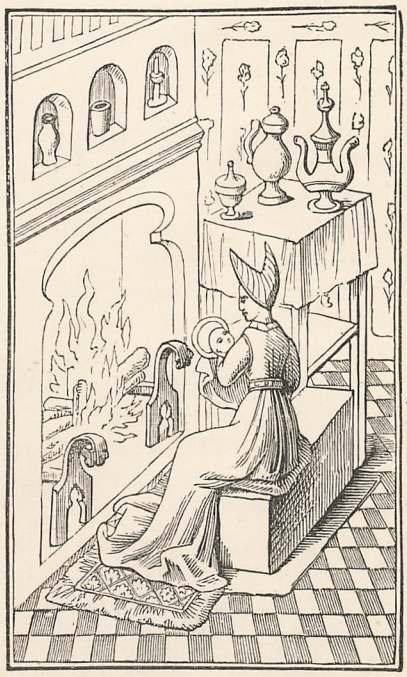
25. It was the policy of Edward to ignore all grants of the Lancastrian line of kings on the ground of their being usurpers. Hence Canynges, and other of the chief merchants of Bristol, who had been adherents of the Red Rose of Lancaster, but now wished to curry favour with the victor, trembled for their charter privileges and sought to get a confirmation of them from the king. Their greatest fear seems to have been that the exemption from the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty, which was a grant from Henry IV., and for which they could not plead ancient and established usage, would be taken away from them. Hence, in haste, they procured a repetition of this charter, in which there is



Bedstead, circa 1450.

no mention of Henry's name, but which is conferred as a new grant, on the 22nd of Oct., 1 Edward IV. Less than two months after, they are again in London, soliciting and obtaining a confirmation of the charter of 19 Richard II., which included all their earlier privileges; this the king signed on Dec. 14th, in the first year of his reign. Henry VI., late king of England as he is called (although still alive in the North of England), had granted a lease of the town and all property for a term of sixty years, which term would only expire in 1517. The burgesses now surrendered this lease to be cancelled, and the king re-granted it, not for a given term, but for ever; he added, moreover, a grant of every profit that could possibly arise to the king from the possession of the town (exclusive of the castle), excepting only the escheats of lands, and this at the same rate of payment as before, viz., £160. These were great and valuable privileges, being, in fact, a renunciation of the ancient rights and authorities of the lord, and a complete dissolution of the feudal system so far as relates to Bristol. They plainly show that the king considered some of the burgesses as warm friends of the White Rose, and there were certainly among them men whose money and services had greatly advanced his cause. Philip Mede was a decided Yorkist, he was mayor at that time, a man of honourable family and great spirit, living probably in Redcliff parish, and possessing an estate at Failand. He went in person to solicit this charter from the king.

26. But there were many in Bristol who clung to the Red Rose and avowed their fealty to Henry, who was still at large; so that, in 1463, Edward felt it necessary to write to the Chancellor ordering a "commission of Oyer and Terminer to be made and directed to John Shipward, mayor of Bristol, and Nicholas Chook, one of the king's justices, Thomas Young, serjeant-at-law, and others, for the punishment of certain persons who had stirred up commotions and insurrections in the town of Bristol and its neighbourhood."



Interior and Furniture, circa 1450.

In 1464 the miserable ex-king, who had been lying *perdu* in Westmoreland and Lancashire, was taken at Waddington hall as he sat at dinner and conveyed to London by his captor, Sir James Harrington, where he was imprisoned in the Tower. The year previous to this Edward had married Elizabeth Woodville, the charming young widow of Sir John Grey, of Groby. It was purely a love match, and politically a most unwise one, inasmuch as it brought a whole brood of poor relations belonging to the inferior nobility about the king—men who engrossed the royal favour, and whose avarice and ambition were insatiable. Edward had, as a matter of prudence, concealed for awhile his marriage; but in 1464, at Michaelmas, he publicly avowed his

espousals, and on the 16th March next following he granted to his dearest consort, Queen Elizabeth, the usual dower from Bristol of £102 15*s.* 6*d.* for her life, payment to be made from the past Michaelmas out of the farm of the town of Bristol. Besides the above sum, £60 per annum was granted out of the farm of the manor and hundred of Barton, Bristol, with their appurtenances in the county of Gloucester. In 1467 William Canynges was mayor for the fifth time, Thomas Rowley being one of the bailiffs.

1469. In this year was fought "the battle of Bamberry, where much Welshe people were distressed. And there were beheded the Lord Herbert, the Lord Ryvers and his son, and many others; and Sir Richard Herbert, a gentil knight and a manly, was there slayne. And one of the Lord Herbert's bretheren was slayne at Bristowe the same yere, at St. James's tyde."[1] Henry Vaughan was one of the bailiffs, and, from subsequent events, we judge that this death caused a blood-feud between the two Welsh families of Herbert and Vaughan, which ended in the recriminatory murder, in 1527, of William Vaughan (sheriff 1516) by William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. The battle of Banbury was lost through the defection of Lord Stafford, Earl of Devon. He was apprehended in Brent Marsh, and by Edward's orders was taken to Bridgwater and there beheaded.

27. Edward had at this period, what with the intrigues of Warwick, the king-maker, and of his own brother Clarence, full occupation for all his talents and power, so that the private feuds of the great lords could not be checked by him or private war between them be prevented. High-spirited nobles, reigning almost supreme in their own domain, accustomed to military service, and able, under the conditions of feudal tenure, to bring large bodies of retainers into the field, had their private animosities aggravated by their predilections for the rival houses of Lancaster or York; hence arose the famous battle of Nibley Green. Kington, a Bristol poet, has graphically portrayed this internecine fight in his book *Nibley Green*, and Seyer devotes several pages to a narration of the circumstances: we prefer to give our readers a condensed epitome from an able paper read before the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society on the 5th February, 1879, by J. H. Cooke, Esq., F.S.A., than whom no man is more fitted to deal with the subject:—

Thomas, the tenth Lord Berkeley, died in 1417, leaving by his wife, sole daughter and heiress of Lord Lisle, an only child, Elizabeth, who was married to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. All the inheritance of the Lisles descended to her, but the castle and barony of Berkeley devolved, under a fine levied with the king's license, upon the male heir of the Berkeleys, James, nephew of the late lord, who had been brought up as the heir at Berkeley castle.

The Earl and Countess of Warwick claimed, however, the Berkeley inheritance, and from the Earl's great power and influence, aided by the fact that at the death of Thomas, the tenth lord, they were at Berkeley, whilst James was in Dorsetshire, they were enabled to obtain from the king a grant of the custody of all the late lord's castles, manors and lands as long as they should be in the king's hands. They also seized upon the title deeds and evidences. James, who had married a Stafford, obtained a verdict of a jury for the ancient barony and castle of Berkeley, consisting of 12 manors, the advowsons of Wotton and Slimbridge, and 22 marks rent in Frampton-on-Severn; but the jury found that all the other lands of the late lord descended to his daughter, Lady Warwick.

The earl and countess thereupon sued their livery and paid their relief for the said lands; but they still held on to the castle and estates, and by their influence prevented James from being allowed to sue his livery and pay his fine for the castle and lands. It was only by a bribe of 1,000 marks paid to the king's brother that he was enabled to sue and pay, but even then he could not obtain possession until Henry V. commanded Warwick to give them up.

On the king's death Warwick entered and took forcible possession of the outlying manors, several times besieged the castle, and the town of Berkeley was half destroyed in the frequent fights. At length a compromise was effected, which lasted till the death of Warwick in 1439. He left three daughters, co-heiresses. Margaret married to

> " . . . . that great Alcides of the field,
> Valiant Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury."

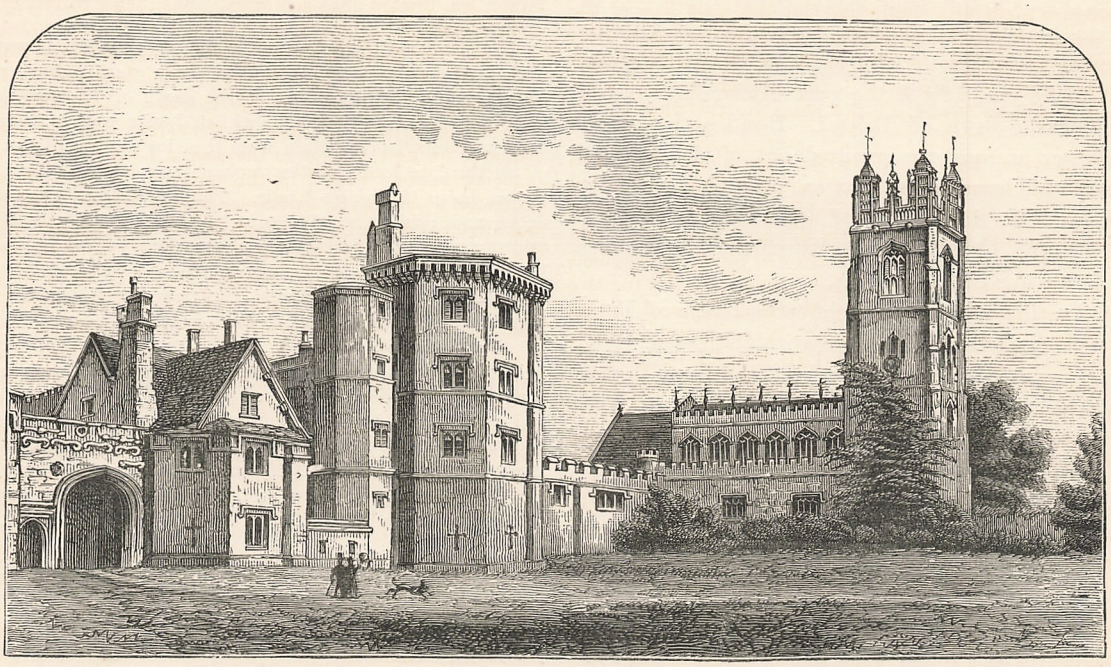
Eleanor married to Edmund Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, and Elizabeth, to George Neville, Lord Latimer. The Lady Margaret was Talbot's second wife, the Earls of Shrewsbury being descended from his first wife, a Neville. The co-heiresses brought immense influence to bear against Lord James, and Talbot's great name and military services were all powerful with the weak king, Henry VI., and his strong-minded wife, queen Margaret. Talbot had also great influence in Gloucestershire, where he possessed several manors.

Lord James strove to hold his own by the strong hand. He made, in 1440, one David Woodburne, who had been sent to Wotton to serve a subpœna upon him, eat the summons, wax, parchment and all, and gave him a sound beating into the bargain. He was for his violence committed to the tower but, upon entering into a bond of £1,000 to keep the peace, was released after a few days' confinement.

In 1448 an award was made at Cirencester, based upon the former compromise, but Lord Berkeley appears to have been no party to it, for he garrisoned his castle and prepared to resist its execution. Both parties again had recourse to arms, many were the skirmishes, the incursions into each other's territories, and the gatherings of rents in kind at the point of the sword.

Lord James attacked and pillaged Wotton Manor house, where Lady Shrewsbury was then residing. In return her son, Lord Lisle, surprised and broke into Berkeley castle, seized Lord Berkeley and his four sons, whom he kept prisoners eleven weeks, and compelled them to sign various deeds and bonds before John Stanley, the mayor of Bristol. During this contest the towns and villages were nearly destroyed, and large tracts of land were laid waste and left uncultivated. The ladies on both sides actively assisted their husbands. Berkeley had married for his second wife Isabel, a daughter of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, a direct descendant of Edward I. She wrote to him from London, that their enemies "have asked surety of peace of me, and are

[1] Evans, 110.



Thornbury Church and Castle.

striving to get me into the tower." She said she should get bail and go at them again; begged him not to treat without her, to send her money or she must come home on her feet, &c. Her lord pledged his gilt mass book, silver chalice, altar cloths and vestments, to Nicholas Poyntz, for 22 marks, to send her.

Shrewsbury was in France warring with desperate valour against the French, led by the Maid of Orleans, but Lady Shrewsbury was more than a match for Lord Berkeley and his wife; she somehow caught Lady Berkeley tripping and had her thrown into prison in Gloucester castle, where she died in a few days, her proud spirit crushed with trouble and anxiety. The next year Shrewsbury and his son, Lord Lisle, were killed at the siege of Castillon, near Bordeaux; James, the second son of Lord Berkeley, was also slain, and his fourth son was taken prisoner. A peace was now patched up for a while between the contending parties, and Berkeley married, at the age of sixty-three, Joan Talbot, a daughter of the late Lord Shrewsbury. Six years afterwards he died, and was succeeded by his eldest son William, 12th Earl of Berkeley.

William was at this time thirty-seven years of age; cautious and crafty, self-willed, haughty and implacable. So much was he feared that for years before his father's death no tenant would accept a lease unless William had joined his father in signing it. The family quarrel was between him and the old Countess of Shrewsbury; he even accused her of plotting his assassination. Five years passed, when the countess died, leaving all her property, with the disputed manors and claims of Berkeley, to her grandson, Thomas Talbot, Lord Lisle, grandson of the great Talbot, then recently married to a daughter of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. He was just twenty years of age, and he took up the inherited feud with the energy and impatience of youth, and the craft that was so conspicuous in his race. Bribing Holt, the keeper of Berkeley castle, he had nearly obtained possession when the plot was revealed by the repentant porter. Holt fled to Lord Lisle, at Wotton, who was so enraged at the failure of the plot that he penned an angry challenge to "William, called Lord Berkeley, desiring him to come forth 'with all your carts of gunnes, bowes, with other ordinance' and to bring the uttermost of his power" to meet him and do battle. The same day Lord Berkeley returned a cutting satirical answer addressed to "Thomas Talbot, otherwise called Lord Lisle, not long continued in that name, but a new found thing brought out of strange countries" (the title of viscount was new in England), promising to meet him "with not a tenth of the power he could make," and throwing the onus of the meeting upon him as the challenger in an unjust cause.

Berkeley was a more calculating man than his impulsive young cousin. He had a good garrison at Berkeley, but he would leave nothing to chance. There was hard riding of messengers that day to the Forest of Dean and to Thornbury, where his brother Sir Maurice lived, who stole from his young wife and tender son (the hope, at that time, of the posterities of both of them), and met him with a fair band of men whom he raised on the spur of the emergency. On into Bristol where Philip Mede, Maurice's father-in-law, and John Shipward, the mayor, zealous Yorkists, led out of Lawford's gate a band of citizens ready for a fray, with the favourers of the Red Rose. By nightfall there were not fewer than 1,000 men of the Berkeley faction in Michelwood, and the country people readily supplied them with provisions. At sunrise the next morning the fiery young Lord Lisle was seen moving at the head of his men down Nibley hill and on to the open green. A rough forest road ran from thence towards Berkeley, through Fowleshard and Michelwood. Berkeley kept his men in hand, within the wood, until his foes drew near, when he launched upon them a shower of arrows with deadly effect. Then rushing from the wood they fell upon Lisle's handful of men whilst in disorder; the fight was sharp, short, decisive. Lisle was shot, visor up, through the face by Black Will, a forest man, who finished his work with a stroke of his dagger. His fall completed the rout of his party, who rushed pell mell up the steep lane, crowding it like sheep to fall an easy prey to their pursuers. Berkeley led his victorious men straight on to Wotton Manor house, which they sacked; Lady Lisle, sixteen days afterwards,

gave premature birth to a dead son, and the male line of the younger branch of the Talbot family became extinct, a terrible and complete retribution for the death of Berkeley's mother in Gloucester castle. Very little notice appears to have been taken of this serious breach of the peace by the king or the authorities.

Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the king-maker, was changing sides and espousing Henry of Lancaster's cause. Edward doubtless felt that Berkeley by this blow had done him good service, for seven days after the battle the king sent him a commission to search out and apprehend disaffected persons throughout the county. A few months after Edward was himself a fugitive beyond the sea, and Henry was by Warwick replaced on his tottering throne. Yet another change! Warwick fell, in 1471, at the battle of Barnet. On April 17th Edward resumed his sceptre. Henry was once again incarcerated in the tower, where he was murdered on May 22nd. Queen Margaret and her son were taken captives at the battle of Tewkesbury on May 4th; the young prince was foully slain and Berkeley's fortunes were once again in the ascendant. He obtained possession of the disputed manors, and allowed Lady Lisle £100 a year, without prejudice to the rights of their respective heirs. The feud was not, however, ended; other claimants arose who were more dangerous, inasmuch as they were of the queen's family. Compromises, flatteries and bribes, were the weapons Berkeley now wielded. "Great gifts are little gods," said he, and, careless as to the interests of his own family (he had no children), and ambitious of titles and honours, he enlisted the king on his side by giving the reversion of the moiety of the vast estates of the Duke of Norfolk (to which, in right of his mother, he was entitled) to the Duke of York, the king's second son, who had married Norfolk's daughter, a child of six years of age, and who had died the day after her marriage. For this concession the king made him a Viscount and discharged him from bonds and obligations amounting to £34,000, which, as we have seen, had been signed under duress by his father, Lord James, in Bristol.

28. In 1483 the king died. His son, Edward V., and the above named child, the Duke of York, were murdered in the Tower by their uncle, Richard III., and the moiety of the Norfolk estates reverted to Berkeley. In 1484 he conveyed to Richard III., by deed of gift, thirty-five manors—part of the Norfolk inheritance—and was created Earl of Nottingham. At Bosworth he took no part personally, but he is said to have assisted one side with men, the other with money. Fortune again smiled upon him; on Richard's death, the thirty-five manors again reverted to him. By Henry VII. he was created Earl Marishall, and great Marishall of England, and by deed of the same date, he gave two castles and twenty-eight manors to Sir William Stanley, the Lord Chamberlain. Other gifts and grants of land won him more court favour and patronage. His brother and heir, resenting these alienations of the family property, quarrelled with him, and entailed Berkeley castle and the whole of the remaining family estates upon the king, reserving only a life interest for himself, for which he was created Marquis of Berkeley. On his death, in 1491, the king took possession, and spent ten days at the castle with his queen, Elizabeth of York. Maurice, his brother and rightful heir, resided still at Thornbury, where he had a fair estate; on his succeeding to the title he recovered some of the manors (wrongly alienated), inherited Tetbury and much property from the Braose family. Held in high esteem, his son, in the French war, in 1512, took with him 411 men, his own tenants and servants, well armed and trained.

By the death of Edward VI. without issue, in 1553, the castle and lordship of Berkeley returned again to the family in the person of Henry, the 17th Lord of Berkeley, who, being a minor, was a ward of Queen Mary. She, being partial to Henry's mother, wished to have made him an entirely new grant by *dedi et concessi*, but Lady Berkeley, proud of her ancestral title, chose rather to hold under the old title. This involved the family in fresh lawsuits and interminable troubles. Lord Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, the heir of the Greys and the Lisles, was attainted for high treason in the case of Lady Jane Grey, and his property became vested in the crown. In 1558 Queen Mary instituted a suit in the exchequer against Henry, Lord Berkeley, and after her death Queen Elizabeth, by her treasurer, prosecuted the suit. A small sacrifice, well bestowed, stayed the process for a while. But in 1572, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, brother to Lady Berkeley, suffered for high treason, and Leicester, then the queen's favourite, feeling hurt that proposals of marriage between his nephew and the daughter of the house of Berkeley had been declined, the suit was revived, Leicester holding a written promise from the queen of the estates if they were recovered. In 1573 a verdict was given in the queen's favour, by which the manors of Symonds hall and Wotton, with the mesne profits since the first of Queen Mary, came into her hands, and she immediately gave them to Leicester, and his brother, Warwick. Leicester went to Wotton and took possession; he also tried to get possession of Rolls court, Slimbridge, but Arnold Lygon, who held it by lease from Lord Berkeley, defended it with such spirit that the assailants were forced to retire.

In 1580 suits were commenced by the crown, which were successful. Sages and Arlingham, Cam, Hinton and Slimbridge, passed by adverse verdicts into the hands of the queen, and were transferred to her favourites. On the death of Leicester and Warwick the property came into the hands of the Countess of Warwick, daughter of the Earl of Bedford.

Berkeley, much impoverished, petitioned for a remission of the mesne profits, and Lady Berkeley prayed for it on her knees. Queen Elizabeth had a spice of Tudor brutality in her that cropped out occasionally. "No, No," she exclaimed, "No, my Lady Berkeley, we know you will never love us for the death of your brother." To meet his expenses, Berkeley sold much of the Norfolk inheritance, and raised £37,000 between 1565 and 1602 (a sum equal to about £450,000 at the present time).

After the death of Lady Warwick and Queen Elizabeth, an agreement was come to by both families, by which all the property that had at any previous time belonged to Lord Berkeley or his ancestors was to return into his possession, with the exception of written leases, rents and annuities granted by the late possessors, Lord Berkeley paying Lord Lisle the sum of £7,320 in discharge of all other claims. To raise this sum he had to cut down the timber in Michelwood, and to get a "benevolence" from all his tenants, an ancient feudal obligation which Smyth says they very willingly paid. The close of this extraordinary contest found the heir male, the 17th Baron by descent, more firmly than ever established in his ancestral castle and ancient barony. To this great and long continued lawsuit the family owe their freedom from loss of life or estate in the wars of the Roses; their internal troubles in all human probability saved them from violent death in battle or under the headsman's axe. But the whole story is fraught with interest to the student of the history of the 15th century.

With regard to the part taken by Bristol men in the above-named battle of Nibley Green, it is evident that there was no good will between the Talbots and the Bristol Yorkists. "In 1458, when Philip Mede was mayor, a tumult was made by one Thomas Talbot, esq., who abused and beat the king's searcher, John Welsh.

Talbot resisted the mayor and got away out of town at Temple gate, otherwise he had been imprisoned."[1]

On the 2nd of May, 1470, Lady Lisle, after the battle of Nibley Green (which was fought on the 20th of March), procured an enquiry to be made before the mayor of Bristol, John Keynsham, as to the part that Philip Mede and John Shipward had taken in the fray. Twenty persons were examined, but the accused were acquitted, "as is shown," says Smyth, "by the mayor's testimonial, under seal, in that city." Nevertheless the tradition lingered long in the neighbourhood of Nibley and Wotton, and there is no manner of doubt whatever as to the fact, that if they were not present themselves, they sent men to aid the Berkeleys. Leland thinks that the Berkeleys favoured the Lancastrians, but all the circumstances of the case point in an opposite direction.



Knight and horse in complete armour, circa 1480.

29. In April, 1471, Queen Margaret and her son, Prince Edward, landed at Weymouth, where she received the dismal tidings of Warwick's death; she retired to Bath, whilst her friends raised an army in the west. Stow says that from thence she came to Bristol, to meet the Duke of Somerset, Lord John Somerset, and other chiefs who were devoted to her cause. Had the town been wholly favourable to her, she would, it is almost certain, have made it her base of operations; instead of doing so, however, she resolved to retire into Wales. She coined gold angels, groats of several kinds, and silver pennies and halfpence in the town, so that Bristol must have had a strong *posse* of Lancastrians. There seems to have been a shifting of officials this year. Henry Alister, the sheriff, was replaced by John Shipward when the Yorkists again had the ascendancy.



Costumes, circa 1460.

"At Bristow, a good and strong-walled town, they were greatly refreshed and relevyd by such as were the king's rebells in that towne of money, men and artilerye. And so far were they emboldened therewithe that they toke corage the Thursday aftar to take the field. For whiche intent they had sent fore riders to a towne ix myle from Bristow callyd Sudbury, and a myle towards the kynge they appointed a grounde for their field at a place called Sudbury hill."[1]

Edward, hearing that Margaret was at Bristol, marched directly for the town, but, encamping on the hill above Sodbury, learned that she had passed with her forces towards Gloucester. Being disappointed in her hopes of crossing the Severn at the city, she pushed on to Tewkesbury; but ere she could reach it Edward overtook her, and the fatal battle was fought that for ever extinguished the hopes of the Lancastrian party. John Vere, Earl of Oxford, escaped to the Continent, but returned next year and obtained possession of St. Michael's Mount, which he held five months, surrendering at last on condition that the lives of himself and his garrison should be spared. He was, in 1473, imprisoned in Newgate, Bristol. Stow says:—"He was afterwards sent to 'Gwines,' where he was kept until the death of Edward; his wife, sister to the great Earl of Warwick, subsisting during those ten years upon charity or what she could earn by her needle."



Costumes, circa 1475.

30. In 1474 Edward came to Bristol and lodged in the abbey of St. Augustine. He made the burgesses pay dearly for their fickleness, levying large sums from them by way of benevolences. A quaint story is told by Sir Richard Baker illustrative of the king's method of wheedling money out of his subjects:—"Having, amongst others, called before him an old rich widow (possibly of Mede or Shipward, who had died within two years past), he merrily asked what she would wil-

[1] Evans, 105.

[1] Hall.

lingly give towards his great charges? 'By my troth,' quoth she, 'for thy lovely countenance thou shalt have even twenty pounds.' The king, looking scarce for half that sum, thanked and lovingly kissed her, which so wrought with the old widow that she swore he should have twenty pounds more, and paid it willingly." "It was probably on this occasion," says Evans, "that the king obtained of Wm. Canynges the sum of 3,000 marks for his peace, to be had in 2,470 tons of shipping."[1] But this date is, we think, an error. Canynges died in 1474, having been a priest seven years. It seems more probable that this sum was a composition paid by Canynges when he was mayor, in 1466, for the whole town, and that it was not a personal amercement, the more so because the value was taken out in the hire of ships. It is, however, possible that, although Canynges became a priest, he still retained his property, and Edward might on this visit have exercised such an influence over him as to obtain the above tonnage in ships for his fleet which he was then collecting for the invasion of France: this theory is at least plausible. Commerce had little sympathy with dynasties; all it asked was a strong hand to administer the law and to be let alone. In the strife between the Roses it was difficult work for any prominent man to steer clear. Henry VI.'s patent to Canynges shows his feeling towards the merchant, but does not assure us that Canynges' proclivities were strongly Lancastrian. From the following answer to a writ issued in 1463, and addressed to Thomas Young, the recorder of Bristol, it is clear that before the battle of St. Albans, in 1455, when the Earl of Wiltshire deserted the king, Canynges was on the side of the Duke of York. The document in the council chamber of Bristol recalls the fact that in the reign of Henry VI., "that was of dede and not of ryghte," there had been sent 11 barrels of ammunition, weighing xx. cwt., by John Judde, master of Henry's ordnance, to one Harry May, merchant of Bristol, which William Canynges, being mayor, and knowing that May was intimate with the Earl of Wiltshire, seized, with the approbation of the common council, on behalf of the Duke of York, and put in the "tresoure chambyre of the saide towne." The duke then sent two commissioners to the mayor and common counsil, desiring them to take upon themselves the rule and governance of the king's castle in Bristol against the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Wiltshire. The mayor did so, and spent in the castle 4 cwt. of the said ammunition. This order of the Duke of York was confirmed when he became Edward IV. The balance of the ammunition was expended by the king's order in the naval array fitted out by the town at the said king's order against Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, which expedition cost the town 500 marks. (This was in 1460–1.)

[1] Evans, 112.

A second expedition was fitted out by Canynges, as is shown by his instructions to Thomas Mauncell "to arrest all shippis, bargys, balingers and pycardys, for a newe army to be made with the said p'ties of Walis, and to purveye for xxiiijti barrels of gounnepoudyr and other stuffe for the seid armye ageinst his comyng into theis marches" (*circa* September, 1461). The residue was delivered to Philip Harneys, master of Edward's ordnance, by the hands of Thomas Hore, chamberlain of Bristol. All this is rehearsed in the return to the writ, in order to show what had become of the ammunition which, under it, had been demanded on behalf of the king. We also give here an account of the expenditure of the money alluded to on page 201 as having been taken from All Saints:—

"These ben the deliu'aunces of Nicholas Hille, Richard Hatt', Philip Meed, and Thomas Rogers, kepers of the keyes of Barstaples cofre, with Inne the Chapell of Saint George, in the Yeldhalle, bi comaundemts of Richard Forster, Maire, and the co'ne councell of the same, Anno xxv^to^ henrici sexti, John Burton, Maire, and ye co'ne councell, Anno xxvij° h. sexti, and William Canynges, Maire, and the co'ne councell, Anno xxviij° h. vi^ti^, of the money sumtyme of the Vicarie of Allehalwyn.

ex Dono — In pmis to oure soueraine lord kyng the time of Richard anno xxv^to^ henr sexti in money ... ... — xx*li.*
It' for an hors to oure saide soueraine lorde ... ... — vj*li.* xiij*s.* iiij*d.*

It' sende to London to the Recorder and John Sherp the young' to be disposed in the parliament for the welfare of the towne the tyme of John Burton, Anno xxvij° ... ... — xx*li.*

It' for the mat' of Tynby and other necessaries sende to the saide Recorder and John Sherp to London ... ... — v*li.*

It' for repa'cion of the Wallis of Bristoll deliu'ded to Nicholas hille and to John Stanlegh bi comaundment of William Canynges, Maire. And all the co'ne councell Anno xxviij° henrici sexti ... ... — xv*li.*

Sm to[1] ———— C Marcs."

Amongst Canynges' bequests was one for an almshouse for fourteen persons, which was erected upon the ground through which the New Cut flows, and which the house, re-erected, now faces.

Thomas Young, the Recorder of Bristol, who died seized of the manors of North Wraxall and Easton-in-Gordano, was the half-brother of William Canynges. He was an active, talented man, and played a conspicuous part in his generation; representing the town in Parliament from 1435 to 1455, with the exception of the Parliament of 1453. He is referred to in the

double capacity of Recorder and M.P. in the Paston letters. He was a Yorkist, and, in 1449, was committed to the Tower of London for proposing that Edward, Duke of York, should be appointed Regent of the kingdom; he became king's serjeant in 3 Edward IV., and chief justice of the Common Pleas in 7 Edward IV. Lucas says "he was one of the judges who in Taltarmus' case struck such a blow at the landed nobility, by subjecting their estates tail to the operation of common recoveries."[1] He had a mansion in Wine street. His brother George bequeathed to his wife, Joan, a house called the White Lamb, between the houses of Thomas Young and that of Lord Cobham. His son John, a grocer, Lord Mayor of London, was, in 1466, knighted in the field for bravery.

31. On March 11th, 1478, the Duke of Clarence, attainted of treason by Parliament, perished in the Tower. He held, in right of his wife, a certain great court of the honour of Gloucester, in Bristol, called the Earl's court (Whitsun court), in his demesne, as of fee, which court was held time out of mind monthly within the precincts of the priory of St. James, or in the churchyard under a large tree, at which court the tenants of the said duke and his wife (a Beauchamp) owed suit and service. It seems to have been a moiety of the honour held of the king *in cap.* by knight's service, and worth 100*s.* per annum. By the duke's attainder this property came to the Crown; the other moiety held by the Staffords escaped. To this was attached the office of the bailiwick of the liberty; this also, on the attainder of the Duke of Buckingham, ultimately came to the Crown.

32. Thomas Norton accused the mayor, William Spencer, of treasonable correspondence with the Earl of Richmond (afterwards Henry VII.). The mayor met the accusation boldly, yielding himself prisoner; he was put in Newgate for 13 days, when he was honourably cleared by the king, who commended him highly, and Norton was severely reprimanded by Edward for his malicious accusation. Less happily fared another townsman, Robert Marks, who, incited by one Symbarbe, accused an eminent merchant, Robert Strange, owner of twelve ships and an ex-mayor of the town, of coining money and sending the gold over the sea to the Earl of Richmond. The king committed Strange to the Tower, where he remained about eight weeks; but being able to clear his character, his accuser, Marks, was hanged, drawn and quartered at Bristol, and Strange was released with honour.

We have now entered upon the domain of recorded local history by Robert Ricart, the calendar, who was the town clerk, and who employed his leisure in gathering up the scattered fragments of historical events, recording the customs and laws of the town, and making his list of its chief magistrates. We have no record of either his birth or his death. He appears to have been a brother of the guild of the Calendars, and to have been vestry clerk in the church of All Saints, the parish book, from which we have so freely culled, being in his handwriting for twelve years. He was then chosen as town clerk, which office he filled for 27 years. There is great doubt as to his having been a chantry priest; he was, we think, a lay brother of the Calendaries. He probably died in 1503, Thomas Hardings being appointed town clerk in that year. Rogers says he left by will a sum of money to be paid annually in equal proportions to the church of All Saints and to the Fraternity, but we have been unable to find any such record in the church books.



William Wyrcestre.

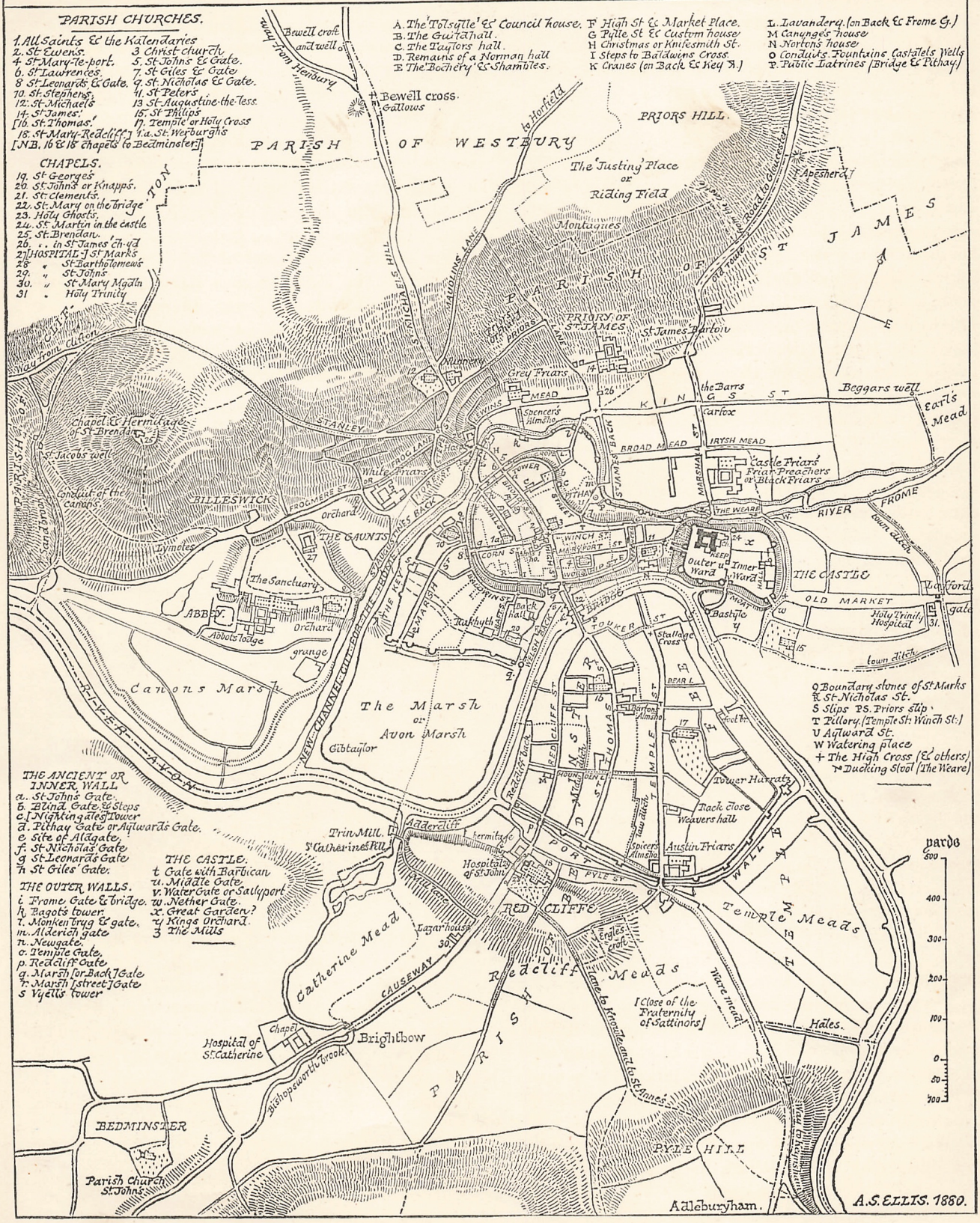
33. Another townsman, William Wyrcestre, busied himself likewise with the topography of the town, measuring by his steps its streets, bridges and buildings, and in quaint mediæval Latin recording his most valuable measurements for the use of posterity. The following extracts with reference to him are from Dallaway's *Antiquities of Bristow*:—

"William Wyrcestre was the son of a person of the same name, who was a worthy burgess of Bristol, and engaged in trade. He was born at a house in a street called St. James's Bec, in 1415. His mother was Elizabeth Botoner, of an opulent family settled at Coventry; by two rich individuals of which, the sumptuous church of the Holy Trinity in that city was erected, upon the authority

[1] Lucas, 291.

Bristol in 1480.

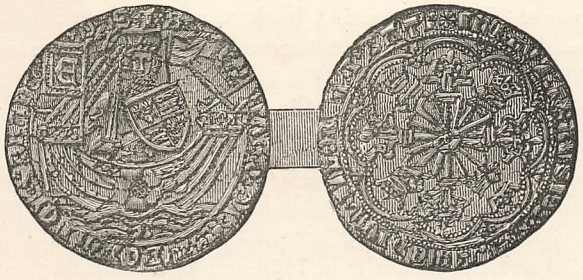
CHIEFLY FROM THE NOTES THEN MADE BY WM WYRCESTRE.



of Dugdale, who describes their arms,—'Argent on a cheveron, gules, three bezants, between three lions' heads erased and crowned, or.' After having passed four years as a student of Hart hall, in Oxford, he became a retainer to Sir John Fostolf, of Caistre Castle, in Norfolk, and, in process of time, his secretary, physician, and finally his executor. In the 'Paston' letters, published by Sir John Fenn, in 1787, vols. 1, 3, and 4, there are several from him, respecting his employments, and the affairs of his executorship, and of the siege of Caistre Castle by John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. He then assumed the designation of W. Botoner, called Wyrcestre, preferring his mother's name to that of his father.

"In the decline of life he established himself in Bristol, having a house and garden near St. Philip's church-yard gate, and various other property, 'tria gardina W. W.' There he cultivated medicinal herbs and practised physic. His chief amusement in his old age was most minutely to survey his native town by paces and measurement, and committing the result of such investigation, daily, to his note-book. This circumstance will account for the desultory manner in which the MS. we are now examining is compiled and written. There is evidence collected from his notes, that he died about the year 1484."

34. Henry VI., in 1422, gave authority to the master of his mint to coin money at Bristol, but there are no specimens known of any of his moneys earlier than the period of his restoration, in 1470, before which time Edward IV. had issued money from the Bristol mint. Edward's first gold coins minted at Bristol were made in 1465. They were nobles and half-nobles (sometimes termed rials and half-rials, another form of the word royal). The gold was nearly pure, there being only one part of alloy to 192. The NOBLE weighed 120 grains troy, and was current for 10*s.*; on the *obverse* is a figure of the king, crowned, in armour, standing in a ship, with a sword in his right hand, and in his left a shield, bearing the quartered arms of England and France; there is a square flag in the stern bearing the letter E,



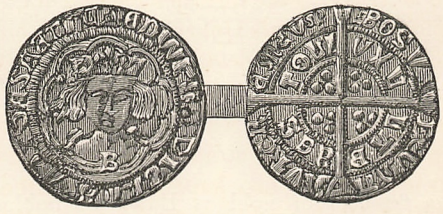
Bristol Gold Noble, 1465. Edward IV.

on the side of the ship is a full blown rose, and underneath it on the waves is the letter B (for Bristol). Legend, EDWARD. DI. GRA.' REX. ANGL.' Z. FRANC. DNS. 'IB. *Reverse*, a tressure of eight curves, with a beaded interior, and with trefoils in the outward angles, containing a large sun of sixteen rays. Four ornaments are around in the direction of a cross with *fleurs-de-lys* over them. These ornaments alternate with four lions under crowns. In the centre of the coin is a small rose, over the middle of the sun. Legend, IHC AVT TRANSIENS PER MEDIVM ILLORVM IBAT. (Luke iv., 30). A mint mark of a sun before IHC. There are beaded inner circles within the legends on both sides. There are two of these coins in the British Museum both with the sun mint mark; but Mr. William Brice possesses a fine example, identical with the above description, except in having a crown instead of the sun for a mint mark. The HALF-NOBLE is similar in type to the noble, also having B under the rose on the *obverse*. The legends read, *obverse*, EDWARD. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL.' Z. FRANC. *Reverse*, DOMINE NE IN FVRORE TVO ARGVAS ME (Psalm vi., 1), with small trefoils between the words. Mr. Brice has one of these coins with a sun for a mint mark before DOMINE. The full weight of the half-noble was 60 grains, it was current for 5*s.* There is no specimen in the British Museum of this coin. It is interesting to observe that the type of the *obverse* is clearly intended to commemorate the naval supremacy of England, or in the words of the old couplet,—

> "Four things our noble, sheweth unto me—
> King, ship, and sword, and power of the sea."

The *reverse*, type of the rose and sun, is the well-known badge of Edward IV., adopted by him after the extraordinary appearance of the sun at the battle of Mortimer's Cross.

Of the heavy or first silver coinage of this king only a HALF-GROAT or twopenny piece is known. It weighed 29 grains, and bore, *obverse*, full-face bust, crowned, within a tressure of arches and beaded inner circle. A *fleur-de-lys* on the king's breast, and a pellet on each side of the crown. Legend, EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL Z. FR. *Reverse*, a cross with three pellets in each angle; the

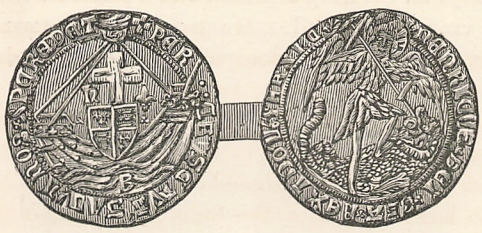


Bristol Light Groat, 1464. Edward IV.

following legends in two circles: VILLA BRISTOW and POSUI' DEUM, ADIVTORE, MEUM. Mint mark a cross. In 1464 the weight of the silver coins was reduced from the proportion of 15 grains to the penny to the rate of 12 grains to the penny. This second coinage is, therefore, termed the "light" coinage. The light groats, of which there are many varieties, should weigh 48 grains. The type is, *obverse*, a bust of the king, full-faced, crowned, within a tressure of nine arches and a beaded circle. The letter B (for Bristol) on the king's breast. Some

groats have quatrefoils on each side of his neck, others have trefoils, and some have neither. Legend, *obverse*, EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL. Z. FRANC or FRANCI. Mint mark a sun, crown, annulet, or rose. *Reverse*, a large cross with three pellets in each angle; legend, in two circles, POSUI DEUM AUDIVTORE MEUM VILLA BRISTOW, on some BRESTOLL or BRISTOLL. Mint mark a sun, crown or rose in front of POSUI. Mr. Brice has a groat which has a crown mint mark on both sides, and reads BRESTOLL. The light half-groats should weigh 24 grains. *Obverse*, bust, &c., as on the groats, B on king's breast. Some specimens have quatrefoils at the sides of the neck. Legends and mint marks similar to above. On the *reverse* the mint mark before POSUI is often a pierced cross. The LIGHT PENNY is extremely rare, one in the British Museum, weighing 12.6 grains, has *obverse* bust, full-faced, crowned, within a beaded inner circle; a trefoil to right of king's neck. Legend, EDWARD DE GRA. RX. ANGL.; mint mark, a crown. *Reverse*, cross and pellets, and inner circle. Legend, VILLA BRISTOLL. LIGHT HALFPENNY, also extremely rare, weighing 6.5 grains, bears *obverse* similar to the penny; a trefoil on each side of the neck. Legend, ED(WARD DI) GRA. REX. *Reverse*, similar to the penny. Legend, VILLA BRISTO; mint mark, a crown.

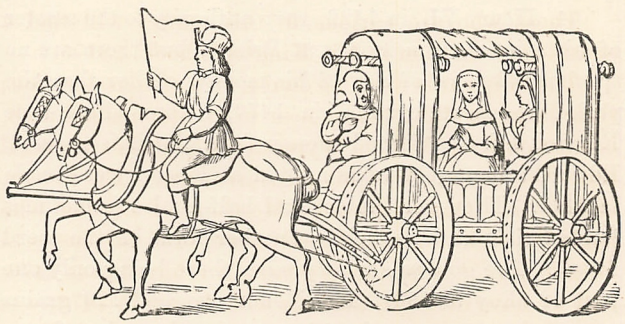
During the brief restoration of Henry VI., from the 9th of October, 1470, to the 14th of April, 1471, several coins were minted at Bristol. The gold money consisted of angels, at that time current for 6*s.* 8*d.* each. The full legal weight was 80 grains, and they were of



Bristol Gold Noble, 1470.

the same fineness of gold as Edward's nobles. This piece acquired the name of angel from the representation of the Archangel Michael on the *obverse*. A fine specimen is in the British Museum weighing 80 grains, bearing on *obverse* the Archangel Michael spearing the dragon. Legend, HENRICUS DEI GRA. REX. ANGL.' Z. FRANC. *Reverse*, a ship with a large cross for the mast, the letter H (for Henry), and a *fleur-de-lys* at the side of the cross; a shield bearing the quartered arms of England and France is affixed to the side of the ship; the letter B (for Bristol) is on the waves below the shield. Legend, PER CRVSE TVA SALVA NOS XPC REDET *(per crucem tuam salva nos Christe redemptor)*. Mint mark a pierced cross before the word PER. There are beaded inner circles on both sides, and small trefoils between the words of the legends; also trefoils beneath the H and *fleur-de-lys* on the *reverse*. Another rare and fine Bristol angel sold in 1864 for £10. It was similar to the above, but the legend on the *obverse* was HENRICV, and it ended with DNS.; and on the *reverse* the last word was spelt REDE-'TOR. It weighed 79¼ grains.

The silver coins of Henry struck at this time are several varieties of light groats, weighing 48 grains. These have on the *obverse* king's bust, full-faced, crowned, &c., as in Edward's groats, the letter B is placed on the king's breast. Legend, HENRIC (various) DE GRA. REX. ANG. (various). *Reverse*, as Edward's, on one coin it is spelt BRISTOW. These groats are very rare.[1]



Carriage of the 15th Century.

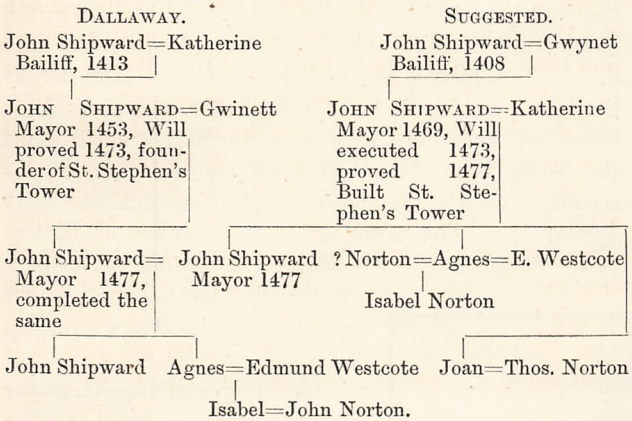
This reign was prolific in events destined to exercise a powerful influence throughout all future ages. William Caxton brought the art of printing into England, and, in 1471, printed the first book in the English language. In 1482 the first book was printed on English made paper by one of Caxton's whilom apprentices, Wynkyn de Worde, its title is *Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum*. The English version was made by John Trevisa, vicar of Berkeley. There is an old vellum copy of this book of the date, *circa* 1395-1410, in the City Library, which may possibly have been Trevisa's copy.

35. John Shipward served the offices of bailiff in 1408 and 1415, sheriff in 1429 and 1441, and mayor in 1444 and 1455. In 1453 a John Shipward sat in the Parliament, at Reading, as member for Bristol, John Barry being his colleague, and in 1459–60 in those held at Coventry and Westminster. In 1463, one of the name was again mayor, and in 1465 John Shipward, jun., served as bailiff; in 1469 and 1477 the name occurs again as mayor. Mr. Dallaway supplies a pedigree which is manifestly incorrect; a far more likely one is suggested by a more recent writer, who was assisted by

[1] Condens from Henfrey, 351–3.

the veteran antiquary Tyson, and Mr. J. B. Kington gives, based on the wills, the suggested pedigree:—

PEDIGREE OF SHIPWARD.



Those who are curious in this matter will find a satisfactory solution in Mr. Kington's book, 281–5.

The Shipwards were, no doubt, men of consideration; their large dwelling-house, near to St. Stephen's church, is mentioned by William Wyrcestre, who makes it several times the landmark of his measurements. The mayor, in 1469, is "One Shipward a Merchant of Bristow who made the right highe and costly tower of S. Stephenes in Brightstow."[1] The date is generally referred to as 1470, and we have evidence that his will, drawn in 1473, was proved in 1477. William Wyrcestre, who compiled his *Itinerary* between 1460 and 1480, gives a list of ships belonging to Bristol, and mentions "the new chyrche Toure of Seynt Stevyns;"[2] and Barrett says in the great west window now destroyed were the effigies of a man and woman in painted glass with this inscription, "*Orate pro animabus Johannis Shipward et Catharinæ uxoris ejus, qui Johannes istam fenestram fecit et fuit specialis benefactor hujus ecclesiæ.*"[3]

Philip Mede, in conjunction with John Shipward, was a member of the unduly summoned Parliament that, holden at Coventry, in 1459, attainted the Duke of York and his friends and decreed the forfeiture of their estates. They were both members also of the Yorkist Parliament, which, at Westminster, in 1466, decreed that the acts of the Coventry Session should be "reversed and nulled, eassed, irrite, repeled, revoked, voide, and of noo force, ne effect."[4] Between these sessions, however, two other burgesses, Thomas Russell and John Sharp, jun., were returned (1460), who, not being sufficiently Yorkist for the aspirant to the Crown, were displaced. Philip Mede served the office of mayor in 1461, the year in which Sir Baldwin Fulford was executed; in the commission for that knight's trial William Canynges, mayor, was included, as was also Thomas Young, the recorder.[1] Both statements are correct. The mayors were elected on the 15th September and sworn into office on the 29th, and the practice of the Calendars was to state their year of office as the year of election; consequently Canynges was mayor up to the 29th September, and during the trial and execution. Philip Mede was the mayor elect, although recorded in the annals as serving in the same year, his mayoralty only commenced at the last-named date (September 29th). He was mayor a second time in 1468; and in 1470 was, it is said, engaged in the battle of Nibley Green. He was buried in the church of St. Mary Redcliff. (See ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 208.)

In the *Great Book of Wills*, amongst those of a number of the burgesses, we find that of Philip Mede. It was proved in March, 1476, and a copy of it is given in Kington's *Nibley Green*, 277. The first will contained in the *Great Book* is that of John Woodroue, and is dated the Monday next after the Feast of St. Laurence, in the 6th year of the reign of Richard II., *i.e.*, the 9th February, 1383. The wills are written in Latin until about the year 1500, after which, with few exceptions, they are written in English: the last will is dated 1663.

William Spencer, one of the executors of William Canynges, was three times mayor, viz., 1465, 1473 and 1478–9 (a double date is given for this last year, as Ricart, from whom we henceforth copy our list of mayors, begins his with the election of the mayor, viz., in September). He was also twice Member of Parliament, viz., in 1466–67. He gave to the mayor and commonalty of Bristol "four score and six pounds eight shillings and eight pence; twenty pounds to be freely lent to the mayor for the time being, and to have the continuance from mayor to mayor for ever; the remainder he appointed should be lent to the bailiffs, they to have and enjoy the same during their time of being in office, paying therefrom the sum of two shillings a week to the priest of St. George's chapel, who should distribute the same unto the poor people of the almshouse in Lewin's Mead, which William Spencer did build with the money and goods of William Canynges. Moreover, he gave four pounds annually to three priests sufficiently instructed in sacred things to preach the Word of God in the church or churchyard of St. Mary Redcliff before the mayor and commons and other devout persons there assembling at the Feasts of Pentecost; certain moneys to each of the priests there for preaching; to the mayor for the said preacher's dinner at his table; to the clerk and sexton for ringing the

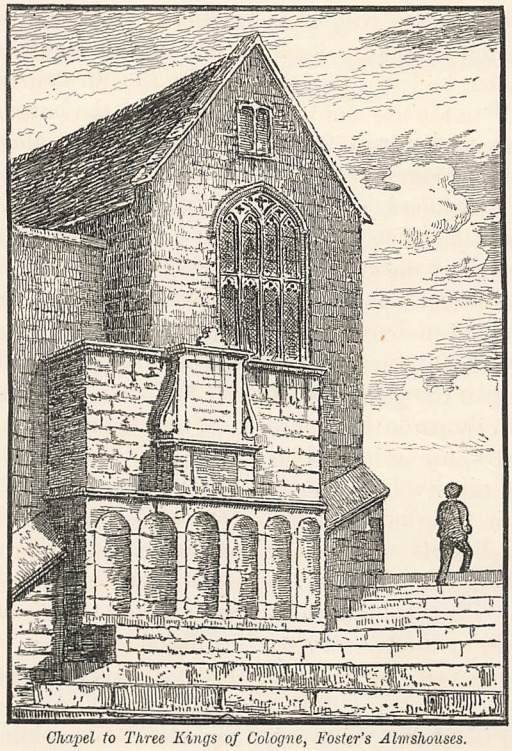
[1] Lel. Itin., 7, 89. [2] Will. Wyrces., 107.
[3] Barrett, 510. [4] Rot. Par., V., 374.

[1] Rot. Par., VI., 231, 337.

bell and placing the forms for the mayor and common council."[1] The preaching of the three sermons at Whitsuntide was to commemorate the day on which Canynges sung his first mass.

Robert Strange was mayor for the second time when Edward IV. died, on the 8th of April, "and," says Ricart, ignoring the young king, Edward V., "on Sunday, the 7th day of July then next ensuing, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, brother to the said King Edward, was made king and crowned at Westminster."

On St. Woolfrank's day, being the 15th of October, there was a terrific storm of wind and rain in the west of England. To add to the superstitious terrors of the people, there was an eclipse of the moon which appeared of divers colours — a streak of blue in the middle, of green above, and on the top a little light. The spring tide, with the wind blowing a tempest from the south-west, drove the shipping from the anchorage in King-road. Several were lost, notably the *Katharine;* a ship of Bilboa was driven ashore on the Hollow backs, another from Brittany cut away her masts, and many boats and cogs were lost. The flood tide drowned the saltmarsh; corn, cattle and houses were carried away, and upwards of 200 people were drowned. Great damage was done in the merchants' houses and cellars in Bristol, especially to the wool and salt. "And this year the two sons of King Edward were put to silence in the Tower of London." Thus cautiously does Ricart enter their most atrocious murder; moreover, it is an interpolation; such a deed could not with safety be recorded until there was security given by the death of the perpetrator. Strange was mayor in 1474–82–89, and died in 1491. There was a handsome monument in the churchyard of St. John to the memory of himself and wife, which "told all about him;" but the inscription told too much, and was nefariously expunged to cover an embezzlement. He was the reputed founder of St. John's almshouse, mentioned in the parish accounts for the year 1500; but his title as founder, or having anything to do with the almshouse, has been disputed.



Chapel to Three Kings of Cologne, Foster's Almshouses.

[1] Tovey's Local Jottings.

Upon holding a commission in 1640 to inquire into the trust of the charity, it appeared that the revenue had been embezzled, that several leaves had been cut out of the parish books, and the inscription on his tomb in the churchyard entirely obliterated. The answer not only decidedly negatives any endowment by the said Robert Strange, but also declares its disbelief that such almshouse was ever built by him; nevertheless, cutting out the leaves from the parish book and defacing the inscription on the monument had a suspiciously ugly appearance. The national convulsion subsequently terminated the inquiry.[1] Strange, according to William Wyrcestre, had even a greater number of ships than Canynges, he having twelve.[2]

John Bagod al' Bagott, mayor in 1476, gave tenements for the use of the city, out of which was paid yearly to the prisoners in Newgate 3*s.* 4*d.*; he dwelt in a high tower in Lewin's Mead. William Wodington, mayor 1480, gave to the gilding of the figures of our Lady, St. Leonard, and St. Giles, £6.

Thomas Rowley, sheriff in 1475, lies buried in St. John's church. He was not a priest but a merchant of repute. Chatterton must have had access to the archives of the city, we think, as well as to the books in the old City Library and the parish documents of St. Mary Redcliff. He seems to have been misled by an entry in the Mayor's Calendar, which mentions Thomas Rowley's chantry priest. This, as far as we can gather, is the molecule from which the genius of Chatterton evolved the "Gode prisete Thomas Rowlie," to whom Norton Malreward gave birth, the Convent of St. Kenna education, Canynges a canonry, and Westbury a grave.

John Foster (particulars of whose interesting will will be given in a future chapter on the charities of Bristol) was sheriff in 1474, mayor in 1481, and member of Parliament in 1489. A MS. says:—"John Foster, merchant, builded the chapel in the north-west end of Steep street (top of Christmas steps), in the parish of St. Michael, in the city of Bristol, in the honour of God, to the three kings of Cologne, and annexed thereto an

[1] Tovey's Local Jottings. [2] Will. Wyrces., 184.

almshouse, containing fourteen chambers, with fourteen gardens, for one priest, eight poor men, and five poor women, and by his will did appoint his executors to sell his lands lying in the county of Gloucester, and the money thereof should be employed and disposed to and for the maintenance of the chapel, almshouse, priest, poor men and women, and made John Esterfeilde, merchant and alderman of Bristol, and twice mayor of the same, and one John Walshe, of Olveston, in the county of Gloucester, Esquire, his executors; and for that the said John Walshe, and without the assent of the said John Esterfeilde, contrary to the will of John Foster, sold the said lands and converted the money to his own use, and in recompence thereof, did, by his will, give and devise to the said John Esterfeilde and his heirs twenty-three messuages and a garden and two parcels of land, being" [writing illegible] "to the use and performance of the last will and testament of the said John Foster. . . . The aforesaid John Esterfeilde, intending that the said chapel and almshouse, and that the said priest, poor men and women should be for ever provided for and maintained, the rents of the said tenements given by the said John Walshe not being of the value of the lands by him sold, did add thereunto three messuages and a piece of land in Bristol, four cottages lying in St. Thomas street, all being of the yearly value of twenty-seven pounds, and also two parts of a messuage in Corn street, of the clear value of forty-two shillings, likewise purchased a parcel of land, whereupon the almshouse standeth, which was the fee of the abbot of Tewkesbury, and over and beside did repair the same tenements and lands to their cost."

John Esterfeld represented the town in 1485 and 1487. He was bailiff in 1482, mayor in 1488 and 1495. He was twice married, leaving issue two sons, Henry and John; when mayor, in 1488, he, together with the sheriff and bailiffs, was summoned to London, to bring before the king two men of Waterford who were charged with bringing counterfeit money into England. He was buried in St. Peter's church beneath a large flat stone, in which was inserted a brass, representing himself and his two wives, with a Latin inscription:—"Beneath this marble is entombed the illustrious John Esterfeld, merchant, and twice mayor of this town, and alderman also, together with the remains of Alicia, a learned woman, and of Matilda, his wives." The brass has long since disappeared, but the noble manner in which Esterfeld fulfilled the wishes of his deceased friend, Foster, will be an enduring and well deserved monument.

We briefly note here a few other eminent men of this age, all of whom were, in some degree, connected with Bristol:—John Daubeny, Walter Newbury and William Hunt, abbots of St. Augustine; Nicholas Cantilupe, prior of the Carmelites; Henry Abyndon, master of St. Catherine's hospital, a Bachelor of Music at Cambridge in 1463 and a member of the king's chapel; Sir John Gyllarde, prior of the Calendaries; John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, who was intimately connected with the church and college at Westbury-on-Trym; Simon Oliver, recorder from 1394 to 1430, who dwelt in a large house in Peter street.[1] "The house of the Chokes was greatly advanced by Choke, Chief Judge of England, that attained lands to the sum of 500 marks by the year and kept his chief house at Long Ashton, by Bristow, having great furniture of silver."[2] His arms and pedigree are given in William Wyrcestre, 163. From the bill for the men of law, given on page 202, it seems probable that the chief justice, Sir Richard Choke, began his practice as a lawyer in Bristol.

Sir Richard Newton, who took the name of Cradock in after life, was recorder from 1430 to 1439, when he was elevated to the judicial bench. His residence was at Barrs court, and he and his wife lie in Yatton church, and not, as is generally supposed and as the monument erroneously states, in the Newton chapel in Bristol cathedral. [The inscription was, by mistake, placed on the tomb of Richard Newton, a grandson of the judge, in 1718, by a Mrs. Archer, one of the family.]

John Spine, D.D. (Thorne). "I had concluded him born at Spine in Berkshire, nigh Newbury, but for these diswasives:—1. He lived lately under Richard III., when the clergy began to leave off their local surnames, and in conformity to the laity, to be called from their father's. 2. I suspect the name to be *Latinized Spineus*, and that in plain English he was called Thorn, an ancient name in this city (Bristol);" where Bale positively says he was born. Pitts, too, assures his readers that he was "an Englishman by nation, of the city of Bristol, of the Order of brethren of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, Doctor of Theology, and as it appears Professor at Oxford; a man skilled in Philosophy and Theology; highly educated and a preacher celebrated in his own time." He appears to have been held in high estimation by associates of his own sect, and by his teachers, whose method of study he so carefully followed in every department, that he

[1] St. Peter's pump, or rather the castellette which covered the well of St. Edith, which was the work of Spencer, mayor of Bristol in 1474, was, in 1633, re-built in a debased style as compared with the original structure. It was removed, in 1765, to Stourhead park, where it was re-erected over the source of the river Stour. In form it is hexagonal, set on slight columns; in each facet is a sculptured effigy, and slight pinnacles rise from each corner. The style is debased Gothic.—Ed.

[2] Lel. Itin., VII., 84.

ultimately obtained the chief office among them by public suffrage. He was the author of a volume of discourses to the clergy, and also one entitled *Annual Disputations*, and some other works. He died at Oxford in 1484.[1]

"John Milverton is said, by Collinson, to have derived his name from Milverton, in Somersetshire, 'where indeed he was born, but fixing himself in Bristol he was there inducted into the sacred rites of the Carmelite Order.' He, however, finished his studies at Oxford, where he was made a Doctor of Divinity and a professor in the university. 'After he had gained for himself a great name by public lectures and scholastic disputes, he was invited to Paris by John Sorethus, General Master of the Order, and was appointed head of the Carmelites in England, Scotland, and Ireland in 1456; so that his jurisdiction was larger than that of King Edward IV., under whom he flourished. This office, with its honour and advantages, he occupied for eleven or twelve years.'"[2] He died in January, 1486.

36. Richard III., as we have noticed, having deposed Edward V. and murdered him and his brother in the tower, ascended the throne on July 6th, 1483. On October 15th the great flood, which we have before described, stopped the Welsh forces who were marching,

[1] Fuller's Worthies. [2] Pryce, 509.



Richard III. and his Queen.

under the Duke of Buckingham, to join the army which, in Devonshire, Hugh Courtney and the Bishop of Exeter had arrayed against Richard. William Wyrcestre died this year. At the battle of Bosworth, on August 22nd, 1485, Richard III. was slain.

The mayor and Common Council, in 1482, granted a yearly fee of 40*s.* to Oliver Kyng, the king's secretary, *as long as he continued in the office*, for the welfare of the town.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TUDOR ERA.

1. *Henry VII.'s reception in Bristol.* 2. *His second visit and its results.* 3. *Death of the King's Uncle. The King pays Bristol a third visit, accompanied by the Queen.* 4. *Loyalty wins a new Charter.* 5. *Customs; Sports; Persecutions; Taxation.* 6. *Incidents of the period.* 7. *The King's Death and Character.* 8. *Accession of Henry VIII. Market customs.* 9. *"Young Bristol" grows contentious.* 10. *Other incidents of the time.* 11. *Seeds of the Reformation. Tyndale's New Testament.* 12. *Trade matters. Robert Thorne.* 13. *Disputes with Tewkesbury and Gloucester. Thos. White's Gifts.* 14. *Henry breaks with the Pope. Cranmer and Latimer preach in Bristol.* 15. *The new head of the Church and the Monasteries.* 16. *Parliament grants to the King the property of the Monasteries.* 17. *Misery of the Poor.* 18. *The King makes Bristol a City.* 19. *Contention with the Knights of St. John.* 20. *Local matters. Church Service in English. Ships, etc.* 21. *Bristol Money of this reign. The King's death.* 22. *Edward VI.* 23. *Merchant Adventurers' Guild.* 24. *Bristol Coinage.* 25. *Accession of Mary. Bristol Martyrs.* 26. *Local incidents.* 27. *Accession of Elizabeth. Secret Court in Tolzey.* 28. *Act of Uniformity.* 29. *The Butts in Canons' Marsh. Military Shows.* 30. *The Queen visits Bristol.* 31. *Pill Pirates. First Canoe in England. Shipping Notes.* 32. *First Fire Brigade. Mayors, etc.* 33. *Bronze Pillar. The Armada, etc.* 34. *Civic Notices. Queen Elizabeth's Hospital.* 35. *The Queen's "Entertainment." Soldiers disorderly.* 36. *Coinage. Death of Elizabeth.*

HENRY VII., the first of the Tudor line, began his reign August 22nd, 1485. He was crowned in October, and married Elizabeth, of York, eldest daughter of Edward IV., on the 14th of the following January. A month after his accession that dreadful plague, the sweating sickness, desolated the whole country. Edward Westcot, mayor of Bristol, fell a victim to it fifteen days after Michaelmas, and Henry Vaughan, who had been mayor in 1483, again occupied the civic chair.

A fortnight after Whit Monday, in 1486, Henry came to Bristol, and kept his court at the Great House on St. Augustine's place. From a narrative of his progress given by Leland we learn that, having dined at Iron Acton with Sir Robert Poyntz, he was met three miles out of Bristol by the mayor, sheriff, bailiffs, and a great number of the burgesses; that Tremayle, the recorder, in their names, right cunningly welcomed him. The mayor bare no mace, the sheriff no rod, until they came to Lawford's gate where their jurisdiction began. On the Causeway within the gate stood the procession of the Friars, at the end of the Causeway the procession of the parochial clergy, and at Newgate "there was ordained a pageant with great melody and singing; after which there was a king, who had speech as fol-

loweth . . ." Then follow thirty-five lines of miserable doggerel, in which Brennus welcomes the king, tells him that it was he who built the town, that he had left it full of wealth, but that in his long absence it had fallen into decay, and prays that the king by his navy, and encouragement of the cloth trade, will apply a remedy, for which God will reward him. At the High Cross there was another pageant full of maiden children, richly beseen, where Prudentia made a complimentary speech. Then the king passed down through St. John's gate, where another pageant awaited him of many maiden children, richly bedight with girdles, beads and ouches (jewels), there Justitia stopped him with another speech. From thence through Christmas and Host streets the royal procession slowly wended its way, a baker's wife showering down wheat on the king from a window, crying out "good luck" and "welcome." Then came the shipwright's pageant, with pretty conceits but no speech, anon another of an olifaunt (elephant) with a castle on his back. Yet one more, the resurrection of our Lord, with a castle, and in the highest tower thereof certain imagery smiting bells. Then to St. Austen's church (the cathedral) where the abbot and monks received the king in full procession.

On the morn when the king had dined he rode on pilgrimage to St. Anne's, in the beautiful little wood at Brislington (of the chapel not a vestige remains). And on the Thursday next, being Corpus Christi day, he went in procession around the great Green, then called the Sanctuary, whither came all the processions of the town (the trades' guilds), and the Bishop of Worcester preached in the pulpit in the green to the king, mayor and burgesses, with their wives, and much people of the country. At evensong the king sent for the mayor and chief men and demanded of them the cause of their poverty, which they ascribed to their great losses of ships and goods within the past five years. Henry comforted them, advised them to build fresh ships, and enter into merchandise as they had been wont to do, and promised that he would help them in divers ways, some of which he showed them. This gave such satisfaction that the mayor said "they had not heard such comfort from any king for a hundred years, and thanked God who had sent them so good a lord." Just five years before the expedition of John Jay, which had been sent out in search of the unknown land in the west, had returned to Bristol; like several previous attempts, it was unsuccessful, and these speculative adventures must be enumerated amongst the losses of the merchants. In a future chapter we shall deal with the maritime adventures of this period. From one of the old stage moralities the following list of ships is given as having been lost in the Irish channel, probably on their way to or from St. James' fair:—

> "Herken, and I wyll shewe you theyr names eche one:
> Fyrst was the Regent, with the Myghell of Brykylse,
> The George, with the Gabryell, and the Anne of Foye,
> The Starre of Salte-Ashe with the Ihesus of Plumoth;
> Also the Hermytage, with the Barbara of Dartmouth,
> The *Nycolas*, and the *Mary Bellouse* of *Brystowe*,
> With the Elyn of London and James also."

Scratched on a slate (preserved in the Council House), which was found in repairing one of the pinnacles of St. Mark, is a statement that in this year, 1487, that tower was finished, and in the following year the king confirmed the charters of 1461–62. The king's visit brought one good result to the town; we gather that there was a short causeway near to Lawford's gate, on leaving which the procession had literally to wade through the mud. An Act was passed in the next Parliament which compelled every man in the town to pave (or pitch) the street before his own house; by 1490 the streets were all newly paved, and in that year the bridge on the Weir was built of stone.

2. Henry was a shrewd, calculating king; he doubtless saw the inconsistency of men pleading poverty, and yet getting up costly pageants, with rich dresses, jewels, &c. In the freshness of his illegitimate royalty he had given the men of Bristol smooth words; but in 1490, when Simnel, the quondam claimant of the throne, was a turnspit in the royal kitchen, the court of the Star Chamber a mere instrument for extortion, and Warwick a close prisoner in the Tower, Henry came once more to Bristol, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor. But now the case was altered; occupying his former lodgings at the Great House, and finding the tradesmen's wives still more sumptuously arrayed, and no outward signs of indigence, he exacted £500 as a benevolence from the town, and made "every man who was worth £200 pay 20*s*., because men's wives went so sumptuously appareled."[1]

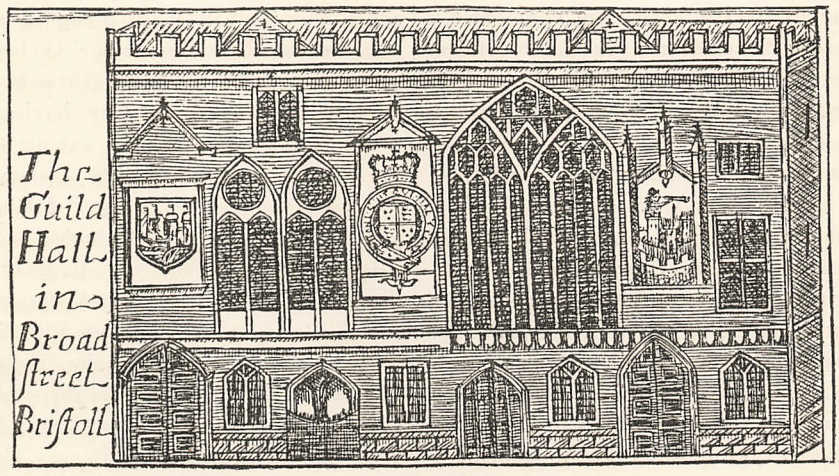
In 1492 Clement Wiltshire, the mayor, died suddenly in the night of St. John's day, and John Hawks supplied for the remainder of the year.

3. Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, uncle to the king, died at Thornbury, in December, 1496; he was buried at Keynsham abbey. William Regent, the mayor, with 200 townsmen, all clad in black, met the funeral procession outside Bristol and accompanied it to the grave. The king, who with his queen shortly afterwards paid a third visit to Bristol and lodged at his old quarters, gave the mayor great thanks for his courtesy. The Friary of the Carmelites, so frequently patronised by royalty, stood on the site of Colston hall, in a series of

[1] Old MS.

terraced gardens that reached from the tidal river up the hill to the Red Lodge, and in width from Pipe lane to Christmas steps. Pleasantly situated on the sunny side of the hill, with the busy town in sight, but not inconveniently near, and having its internal accommodations lofty and large, its attractions overcame those of the abbey, and it became for centuries the lodging-place of royalty, even when it had passed from the hands of the friars into those of private people.

College green was a sanctuary which if the criminal once reached he was free from the clutch of the civil law, and the Elder Lady chapel of the monastery had hitherto been a city of refuge even for traitors; but, in 1495, Henry astutely obtained from Pope Alexander an authority which, denouncing traitors as enemies to the Christian faith, broke up the frequently abused privilege. The handicraftsmen, we are told, who took refuge there, used to be employed in rope-making.



From Millerd's Map.

4. Perkin Warbeck, who personated Richard the young Duke of York, who was murdered in the Tower by Richard III., had, since 1492, been a great source of annoyance to Henry. His claims had been acknowledged by the King of Scotland; and the Earl of Huntley, by whose assistance Henry had won his crown, had given the young pretender his daughter to wife. In support of his *protégé* the king of Scotland invaded England, and, ravaging the north, returned to his own land laden with booty. Henry, determined to be revenged for this insult, asked his Parliament for means to carry the war into Scotland. They granted £120,000 on condition that it should be applied to that purpose alone. But taxes have seldom been as readily paid as they are by Parliaments heedlessly granted. Cornwall is a long way from the Scottish border; the people there, already overburdened by the king's cupidity, demurred to any extra payment, Michael Joseph, a brawny blacksmith and natural leader of men, came boldly to the front, and Nicholas Flammock, a country lawyer, advised them that the tax was unlawful, as the barons of the north country held their lands by tenure to defend England against Scottish invasions. He proposed to the Cornishmen that they should arm themselves, but march in a peaceable manner to London, and petition the king to abate this unlawful tax, and to drive from his presence his evil counsellors. 16,000 men answered the appeal, and armed themselves with bills and bows, pikes and flails, and marched as far as Wells; there they were joined by Lord Audley, and thence sent orders to the mayor of Bristol to prepare billets for 2,000 men; this he refused, and threatened them at their peril to approach the town; the gates were fortified, the ships of force were brought up from Hungroad and lined the quay from the Marsh to Redcliff, and the whole strength of Bristol was held in readiness. The rebels, finding such preparations made, desisted from their purpose, marched into Kent, were routed at Blackheath, and the ringleaders seized and executed. Bristol's good service was not forgotten by the king. He had, by inspeximus on February 5th, 1487, confirmed to the burgesses their charters, and now, as a reward, he granted on the 17th of December, 1499, another charter, of which the following are the principal items: Instead of two aldermen they were to have six, the recorder being one, the other five to be chosen by the Common Council, the aldermen to have the same power as those of London. It gave the mayor and aldermen power to remove any of their number and to choose others, they are to be justices of the peace, to cause to be kept the ordinances relating to workmen, artificers, servingmen, innkeepers, weights, measures, sellers of victuals, mendicants, vagabonds, and other mendicants who call themselves "travelling men" (? Wycliffites): also those against giving livery of badges of companies to knights, esquires or valets, and other liveries of cloths, and against using the same liveries in any way [see the sumptuary laws, and note the particulars of this king's visit to his friend, the Earl of Oxford, in any history of England]; also a statute against the Lollards, and another concerning chipping,

counterfeiting, washing or other falsifying of the king's money, &c. They are also constituted justices for enquiring into treasons, felonies, &c., illicit conventicles, regratings, and forestallings are especially named; also those who have used caps and other liveries of a single suit by confederacy and maintenance contrary to the statute, &c. They have power to inquire into the conduct of sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and keepers of the gaol, are to inspect and proceed on indictments for the hearing and determining of trespasses, misdemeanours, and other offences against the statutes, at the king's suit or that of any other person. The mayor and commonalty to have all the fines, without giving an account to the Exchequer; no other justice to interfere. They shall appoint a chamberlain, a burgess of the town, who is to hold office at their pleasure. He is to make oath, have a seal [it is still in existence], and office and authority, the same as in London. The chamberlain may sue and be sued; he shall receive the revenues, rents, profits, &c., and have the custody of all charters, bonds and muniments; he shall pay moneys and give an annual account in the Guildhall within a month after the feast of St. Luke. The bailiffs to be elected as before. They are also to be sheriffs of the county as well as bailiffs of the town of Bristol, and so shall hold County Courts, as heretofore held by the one sheriff. They shall have the same power as other county sheriffs, and no other may interfere with their jurisdiction. They are to make their proffers (the king's dues) and pay the same into the Exchequer, their attorneys may be admitted to account as their deputies. All writs to be directed to them, and in case of death during office the mayor and commonalty may elect another within eight days.[1] The one sheriff system abolished. The mayor and commonalty shall have cognizance of all pleas, trespasses, covenants, debts, accounts, contracts, plaints, &c., at the Guildhall, before the mayor and two aldermen of his nomination, which cognizances shall be allowed by the king's courts on inspection of the charter, which shall be sufficient. The mayor, and two aldermen nominated by him, to choose forty of the better and honester men of the town, suburbs or precincts, as often as shall be necessary, who shall make reasonable rules for the commonalty, and the said mayor and two aldermen and the forty men shall levy taxes upon every person according to his estate, without impeachment of the crown. The moneys so collected to remain in the custody of two honest men of the town, chosen to the office of treasurers by common consent, who are to be held accountable. The mayor, two aldermen, and the forty men may punish disobedient and refractory persons. The mayor and aldermen to have power to levy fines for the crown, and to deliver their estreats into the king's exchequer. The mayor may receive probate of wills. He may also, with one alderman, hold the same court which heretofore was held by the mayor and sheriff, and may determine pleas, and execute process, and levy fines, amercements and forfeited redemptions belonging to the town without giving account thereof to the crown. Further, as on the 24th of September, in the 1st year of his reign, the king had appointed Thomas Hoskins water bailiff of the town for his life, so it is ordered that at his death the mayor and commonalty shall be water bailiffs for ever, to which office they may appoint a deputy on paying annually four marks into the king's exchequer. The mayor, recorder, and five aldermen (three being a quorum), shall be justices of gaol delivery, having the same power as other justices of the king, saving always the fines and forfeitures reserved to the crown. This charter is witnessed by Arthur, Prince of Wales; Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury; Henry, Duke of York (Henry VIII.), 8 years old; R. Fox, Bishop of Durham; John Vere, Earl of Oxford, Great Chamberlain and Admiral of England; Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; Robt. Willoughby de Brooke, Knight, Steward of the king's household; Giles Daubeny, Chamberlain of the household; Reginald Bray and Richard Guildford, Knights, Comptrollers. It was signed at Knolle, in Kent, on the 17th December, 1499. As a further mark of favour "The king this year presented his own sword to the mayor to be borne before him on all occasions of state."[1]

5. In the Tudor days dinner commenced with pudding—the custom still lingers in Suffolk and in the West of England—hence "pudding time," or just the right time for dinner. Sports and pastimes were cruel in the extreme, cock-fighting has always been an amusement and an occasion for gambling, cock-squailing was its twin sister, and was practised in the West of England at Whitsuntide as well as at Shrovetide. On Shrove Tuesday it was dangerous to pass through some parts of the town on account of the showers of missiles that were used to fling at the cocks. The birds were tied by the leg, and any churl who could raise a penny was entitled to fling a stick at it from a given distance, the fowl to be his if he killed it. Hence the term, "a cockshy." The crowing of the cock when St. Peter

[1] When, in 1421, Nicholas Bagot, the sheriff, had died during his year of office, the mayor caused the good men of the Common Council of the town to be summoned, and they selected out of themselves three persons, whose names were sent up to the king for choice, John Milton being the man chosen.

[1] Evans, 126.

denied his Master is said to have given rise to this brutal practice.

"May'st thou be punished for St. Peter's crime
And on Shrove Tuesday perish in thy prime."

It was a common practice in the West of England for the village tailor to make the figure of a cock of scarlet cloth lined with lead, so that it regained an upright position when knocked down by the infant squailer. To practice upon a living bird was the next step. We can personally testify that the custom was not extinct at the end of the first quarter of the present century.

The disciples of Wycliffe had been so long and so cruelly persecuted that their number had greatly diminished. Still many were reduced to ashes in the latter part of this king's reign, and one of our calendars informs us that in 1499 "many were apprehended for heresy in Bristol, whereof some abjured and bore faggots," *i. e.* they did penance in a church, bearing a faggot on their shoulders to intimate the kind of death they had so narrowly escaped. They were also compelled to wear an embroidered emblem of a faggot upon their gowns, that all men thereafter might know their character. This year, on account of the prevalent sickness, there was no court kept, nor bailiff, nor constable of Temple fee for ten weeks.

In 1503 the Parliament granted £30,000 to the king instead of aids claimed as ancient rights by the crown on the occasion of the knighting of Prince Arthur, the king's eldest son, and the marriage of his daughter Margaret to the king of Scotland. The proportion for Bristol was £185 8*s.* 1¼*d.*, being the largest sum paid by any town, excepting London, which paid £618 3*s.* 5*d.* The county of Gloucester was rated at £1,100, that of Somerset at £1,129 13*s.* 0¼*d.* The Commissioners for Bristol were Philip Rygmeston, Richard Warham, Nicholas Brown and John Jay. Brown had been bailiff in 1488, sheriff 1496, and mayor in 1500. Jay had only served as sheriff in 1498. The two others were king's officers.

6. In the year 1503 Foster's chapel and almshouses were built, and death ran riot amongst the chief officials of the town in this and subsequent years. Merrick, the sheriff in 1504, died, and Robert Thorne, then bailiff, served for the remainder of his year. In 1505 Thomas Elliott, sheriff, died, and Thomas Snig, bailiff, succeeded, John Harris taking his place. In 1507 the mayor, Philip Kingston, died, and Richard Vaughan served for the remainder of the year.

Roger Dawes was mayor in 1505, 1515, and 1520. During his last mayoralty, in 1520, occurs this curious "memorandum," showing that in times of old, when ale was the common beverage at breakfast, dinner, and supper, the magistrates, to check adulteration, ordained as follows:—

"Whereas it hath been complained that the brewers of this town have used heretofore to take home again to their houses from their customers being tapsters within this town all such ale as hath been found turned fusty, dead, and unable to be drunken within three days after the clearing of the same, which unwholesome ale the brewers of craft and subtlety have tried to put among the ale at the next brewing, and so do utter the same unto the king's people within this town, whereby it is likely that some persons heretofore hath taken infection and disease. It is therefore enacted the sixteenth day of October, in the year above written, that it shall not be lawful to any such brewers to take any refused ale, but that the same so found faulty be forthwith cast into the street before the door of the same customer or tapster, by the oversight of the sergeant of the ward where such default is found."

"Each brewer in default of the above observance to be fined in a penalty of 20*s.*, and the tapster 3*s.* 4*d.*—half to the sheriffs and the other half to the chamber. And also that any brewer using 'hops' in his ale except in the months of June, July, and August, to forfeit for every default 40*s.*, to be disposed of as above." Hops are commonly supposed to have been introduced first into England in the reign of Henry VIII.

"Turkeys, carps, hops, piccards and beer
Came into England all in one year."

It is evident from the above ordinance that the aromatic bitter was surreptitiously used in Bristol at an earlier date; also that the ale of the Tudor era was nothing more than a mild decoction of malt.

In 1508, during the mayoralty of Richard Hoby, who was twice M.P., we have the first notice of the following method of punishment for brewers of bad beer and for brawling women:—

"That for as muche since ye memory of man there hath beene a Cookynge Stool yn ye Weare for ye correction of scolds, and ye same beyng corrupt, decayed, and feeble, to the greate hazard of their lives, yt ys this daie enactyd and establysshed yt ye aforesayd shall be alteryd and made of ye newe for ye use of ye dysturbers of ye peace of ye commonalty."

No order touching the stool occurs till the following year:—

"25th [month illegible], 1509. Forasmuche yt hath this day been proven that Charlote Trym ys a common scold and dysturber of ye peace of her neybours, yt ys hereby orderyd that ye sayd Charlote Trym be taken from hence to ye cooking stool in ye Weare, and there bee ducked 3 tymes." John Capell, Maior.

John Hawkes, *alias* Hawkins, mayor 1471 and M.P. in 1477, by will dated 4th May, 1527, bequeathed a third part of his estate, valued at £900, to the rectors and proctors of the church of St. Leonard, adjoining St. John.

Richard Vaughan, who was mayor in the year 1500 and M.P. in 1509, came to a tragic end in 1527. It is related that on a holiday, Mr. Mayor and the Corporation were returning from duck-hunting in the pond of Treen-mills (Bathurst basin), when Richard Vaughan was slain by a Welshman, one William Herbert, who became subsequently, we believe, Earl of Pembroke. Herbert escaped through the then great gate of Back street and so got into the Marsh. The Corporation ordered the gate to be walled up, leaving only a little postern gate or door, with a turnstile for a foot passenger; and for many years, when they went to take pleasure in the Marsh, they doubled their guard. A MS. thus relates the incident:—"1527. This yeare uppon Midsomer-night, there was made by the Welshmen a great fray in the king's watch, and at St. James' tide the next following, as the mayor and his brethren came from wrasling, a 'Welshman' killed Richard Vaughan, mercer, on the bridge, and they escaped cleare away in a boate with the tide without any hurte done to them for it." Another MS. says that the murdered was William Vaughan, one of the sheriffs, and that the "murther was committed for want of some respect in compliment." It is most probable that the affray arose in a quarrel for precedence.

7. "In 1509, on the 22nd of April, king Henry died, having reigned 23 years 8 months and 19 days, and Henry his son was proclaimed king by the name of Henry VIII., on the same day being St. John's day."[1]

Henry VII. was a man of business, but sordid, and selfish to a degree unknown before amongst English kings. He extorted from his subjects, chiefly by the aid of informers, a sum of £1,800,000 (equal in value to about £10,000,000 at the present time). On his deathbed he ordered his son to make what restitution he could to those whom he had wronged, but to this, his dying father's commandment, Henry VIII. paid no regard. Henry's legislation had tended to advance commerce and manufacture and to lessen the influence of the nobility. By giving power to the landed interest to break ancient entails and to sell portions of their estates, he added to the strength of the country and created a class of small landowners and middle-class yeomen. Much improvement in the state of the law, in learning and the fine arts, took place during his reign. But the most notable event was the impulse given to navigation and discovery, by which in a few years the known area of the world was enlarged to double its size, and in this mighty development Bristol bore a conspicuous part.

[1] Mugleworth's MS.

8. At Westminster, on the 10th of May, 1509, Henry VIII. confirmed the Bristol charters of 1488 and 1499. The year of the mayoralty began on the 15th of September, the regnal year commenced with the accession of the king, whilst the civil year, or the *Anno Domini*, began on the 25th of March. Hence the lists of mayors given by our historians often differ. In fact the mayor served six months in one civil year and six months in the following one. To avoid confusion we shall continue to quote, when necessary, the year of a mayor's accession to the civic chair as the year of his office. In 1513 John Elliott was the chief magistrate, and in 1516 Richard Hobby, whilst serving for a second time, died, and was succeeded by John Jay, during whose mayoralty we have the following notice:—

"Whereas there was a custom in this town of Bristoll, for the relief of the prisoners in Newgate, that every country person who brought anything to be sold in the market should pay to the jailor for pitching every pot, or sack, one halfpenny; but, because the jailors conveyed it to their own profit, Mr. Richard Hobbington, sheriff in 1515, with the consent of the mayor, to reform the disordered custom and abuse, and to ease the country people, did put down this disordered use; and the said Mr. Hobbington, at his own cost, purchased a perpetual stipend to find the prisoners victuals, wood, and straw."

Richard Abyngdon (Hobbington) was twice mayor (in 1525 and 1536), and he also represented the town in Parliament in 1529. When mayor in 1525—

"Master Maire, as well with hys own costs as with the costs of the Commons of this worshipful towne, caused to be taken downe Stalenge Crosse, beynge right olde, corrupt, and feble, and caused the Crosse there nowe to be made of the newe; not only that Crosse, but also he commanded that the heddes of the Crosses at the Gallowes and Market-place shoulde be made of the newe as they now bee."

Stallenge cross stood originally in Temple fee, in the midst of the market there held, and near to Bristol bridge. Abyngdon re-built it at the junction of Redcliff, Thomas and Tucker streets. The cross at the gallows was Bewels, and was erected by some pious hand upon that spot to give unhappy criminals an opportunity of offering up a valedictory orison ere they took the fatal leap from the ladder. A stone of this cross is built into the boundary wall of Highbury chapel, on the site of which the gallows once stood. The Market cross was that erected at the west end of Old Market street. At Abyngdon's death, on the 17th of July, 1545, "there was much thunder and lightning, which lasted from eight o'clock at night until four the next morning, which was fearful to hear, but when Richard Abyngdon deceased the thunder also ceased presently." Superstitious minds ascribe to occult and supernatural in-

fluences tempests that occur when public men are passing away. It would be strange, indeed, if good men never died during a thunderstorm.

9. In 1517, Sir John Seymour obtained a grant from the king of the constablewick of the castle of Bristol for his life, and also for that of his son Edward. There was great strife in the town, in 1518, between "Young Bristol," headed by John Dale, late sheriff (an apothecary), and the older merchants, headed by the mayor, John Edwards, and the recorder, John Fitzjames, with regard to certain ancient dues, which the younger burgesses considered had become obsolete. Men began to pant for more freedom in trade and to think it possible that their magistrates had not monopolised all the wisdom of the age. For instance, under John Williams, mayor, in 1519 and 1523, it had been ordained—"That no Baker of the country shall presume from henceforth to bring to the Town any bread made of rye or other corn, but only of wheat, upon pain of forfeiting the same bread." Dale and his followers argued that "if there had been no consumers the country bakers would not have brought it to the market." Ale was the beverage commonly drunk by the people; we have seen it was brewed without hops, or their equivalent. Such an interference with trade, as is shown by the following ordinance, might have been more necessary than popular:—

"Item. That from henceforth an Ale-conner be ordained and appointed by the Mayor and his brethren the Aldermen, which Ale-conner on Shifting-days in the year, shall boldly go into the house of the said common Brewer before the shifting of any of their Ale and there shall note the same, and if he find it good and wholesome for man's body to so commend it; and if he find it contrary and unfit for the King's people, then he to command the same Brewer not to make any sale or utterance thereof unto the King's subjects, but that every common brewer do obey the said Ale-conner in executing his office, and to make no resistance, let, or impediment against him upon pain of 6*s.* 8*d.*"

"Item. It is commanded and ordained that none of the common Brewers do shift any of their Ale in the winter time betwixt Allhallows-tide and Candlemas before the hour of five in the morning, and in the summer time between Candlemas and Allhallows-tide before the hour of four in the morning."

It is evident that these enactments placed the brewers entirely at the mercy of the officer, who, if dishonest and open to bribery, could at his pleasure ruin a sturdy, honest tradesman. But the chief difference between Dale and the Corporation was a dispute as to whether the costs of the members of Parliament should be borne by the sheriffs or by the borough at large. In the *Great White Book*, 48–58, the arrears are on one occasion "by estymacion £16 16*s.* 0*d.*", on another they amounted, it was thought, "to £10 to the knyghtes of the shere." The matter was carried before the Star Chamber, and it was settled on October 4th, 1520, that "the sheriffs shall bear and pay yearly to the Chamber of Bristol, towards the charges and expense of the knights of the shire, and burgesses of the Parliament against such time as any Parliament shall be holden, 40*s.*" Some of our historians supposed this to mean that the yearly sum paid to each member of Parliament was 20*s.* We do not so understand it, but think that it means 20*s.* was to be the sheriff's yearly proportion, which, added to other moneys in the chamberlain's hands, was to form a reserve fund, to accumulate when (as was often the case) there was no Parliament, and from which the members, when in session, were to be paid. John Rowland died, during his mayoralty, in 1522, and William Wosley succeeded to the office, during whose occupation of the chair we find the following memorandum, from which we infer that Dale's opposition was personally successful, the payment commencing with his successors in office:—

"Md. that the first day of Aprill, in the xiijth yere of the reign of kyng Henry the VIIIth, Clement Bays, Robert Salbrige, William Shipman, Robert Avyntry, Robert Ellyott, and Roger Cooke, late Shrifs of this Towne of Bristowe, came before the said Maire, Shrifs, and Comen Counsaill then assembled in the Counsaille house of the same towne; and then and there every of theym paid vnto the fornamed Maire, to thuse of the Chambre of the said Towne, towardez the chargez and expensis of the knyghtes of the shere and burgeises of the Parliament, at euery tyme as the Parliament shall be holden, xx*s.*, according to thact therof made the iiijth day of Octobre, in the xj yere of the reign of kyng Henry the VIIIth forsaid, in the tyme of John Willyams, Maire then being, as in the same act more plainly appereth."[1]

The following wages were this year fixed for certain of the officers of the Corporation:—Keeper of the Quay, 28*s.* 8*d.* per annum; keeper of the Back, 26*s.* 8*d.*; porter of Newgate, 30*s.*; porter of Redcliff gate, 20*s.*; porter of Temple gate, 26*s.* 8*d.*; porter of Frome gate, 13*s.* 4*d.*; porter of Pithay gate, 13*s.* 4*d.* William Grocyn, the eminent Greek scholar, who died in his 80th year, and of whom the great Erasmus wrote "*pro patrono suo et præceptore*," was a native of Bristol.

10. In 1521 the Duke of Buckingham visited Bristol on his way to Thornbury, from whence, through the envious jealousy of Wolsey and the revenge of a slighted servant, he was taken under arrest, and being accused of listening to and crediting a vain prophecy uttered by a monk of Hinton Charterhouse that he would be king, he was convicted of high treason and beheaded in London. His wealth and ostentation cost him his life. Neither Wolsey nor his master were chary of blood, if by the shedding thereof they could fill their coffers. "This year John Mathews, of the parish of St. Ewen, gave all his land, save one tenement in Marsh street, to the Almshouse at Lawford's gate; and that one tenement

[1] Ricart, 49-50.

he gave to the parish of St. Ewen."[1] This name occurs several times amongst men of standing after this date.

In 1522, Henry wrote his famous book, taking part against Martin Luther, for which the Pope, Adrian VI., by Bull, conferred upon him and his successors the title of "Defender of the faith," greatly to the delight of the king.

The lack of good roads and of commercial intercourse, and the laws against forestalling and regrating, caused great differences in prices in parts of the kingdom by no means remote from each other. Thus we learn that about this time there was such a scarcity of corn in Bristol that wheat fetched 4*s.* 8*d.* per bushel (equal now to about 42*s.*), and the people made bread of acorns and fern roots. Then the mayor, John Rowland, despatched Mr. Ware and others into Worcestershire to buy corn; by virtue of the king's letters patent they were successful, and in subsequent years wheat and malt fetched only 12*d.* per bushel; but, in 1534, it again rose from 8*d.* and 9*d.* per bushel to 2*s.* and 2*s.* 4*d.* In the year 1522, the king, having declared war with France, raised large sums by way of loan or benevolence from his subjects, and by Wolsey's advice every man in the kingdom was sworn as to the value of his property, which made the cardinal very unpopular.



The Pithay looking upwards from the Gate.

11. We have seen the facility with which the popes confiscated the property of religious houses when they saw opportunity; and now, in 1525, Wolsey, who was all powerful with king, emperor and pope, obtained from his holiness a license to suppress forty small monasteries and to apply their revenues to the establishment of colleges which he had commenced at Oxford and Ipswich. Little did pope or cardinal dream of the perilous example they were setting before a scholar apt to learn in things that ministered to his own desires. We in this age may think that there was nothing incongruous in the two titles "defender of the faith" and "destroyer of the monasteries"; that, in point of fact, Henry better deserved the former title, for his cleansing the styes of convent and nunnery, than for his chivalrous attempt to break a spear with Luther. But it was not thus the Romish church felt when the king, soon afterwards, displaced the pope and usurped the position of head of the church. Freedom of thought was at a discount in England. But it is a fallacy to suppose that the Reformation owed its origin to the passions and perfidy of Henry VIII. His was,

[1] Evans, 130.

it is true, the bold hand that struck the blow which severed us from the Papacy; but kings, however arbitrary, are strong only as their subjects are with them. The advent of printing and the revival of letters in England had steadily been paving the way for a separation from Rome. The vicious lives of the clergy, their ill-gotten wealth and arrogant assumption of power, became trenchant weapons in the hands of men who had made the Scriptures in the original tongues their study, and whose great aim it was to restore to the church the simple earnest life and the pure teaching of apostolic days.

The avarice of Henry VII. had been unfavourable to the development of learning, and his notion of liberty was that it should be doled out for an equivalent in money; but there was a choice band of Englishmen, distinguished for their learning and united by the bonds of friendship, ripe for the coming fray—Selling, Grocyn, Linacre, Lilly, More, and Colet, dean of St. Paul's. Grocyn became Professor of Greek at Oxford, where his liberal lectures called forth great opposition. Sir Thomas More, writing of him to Colet, says:—"He, as you know, is sole master of my life in your absence." Erasmus, flying from the plague in Paris to England, met at Colet's table these accomplished scholars; and at Eltham they became acquainted with Prince Henry, Duke of York, afterwards Henry VIII., then ten years of age, and were delighted with his capacity, acquirements and love of learning. Erasmus studied Greek under Grocyn and Linacre, and, in 1516, printed the New Testament in Greek, which was sought for as a priceless treasure by the thoughtful and intelligent. These *literati* were not satisfied with this success; they would that all men should be able to read it in their own tongue. It might be expedient to conceal the secrets of kings, but the mysteries of Christ should be published. "The husbandman should sing the Scriptures as he holds the handle of his plough; the weaver repeat them as he plies his shuttle; and the wearied traveller, halting on his journey, refresh him under some shady tree by these goodly narratives." The day soon came when resolute efforts were made to fulfil this desire, and to give by aid of the printing press to Englishmen a version of the Scriptures in their own language. "About nine miles from Bristol, on the road which in stage-coach days led from that city to Gloucester, there is a curve where the wheels of the traveller turn northward, crossing ere long a high ground, open as sheep-walk, and patched with furze and heather. The slope from the left of that road, as it crosses that open land, descends into one of the most fertile sections of the vale of Gloucester. The landscape is full of English beauty, undulated and richly wooded, with spire and turret seen here and there above, or between, the wooded level, and made bright still, as in centuries past, by many a rising or setting sun. Through the midst of that valley the broad red waters of the Severn are seen to flow on towards the estuary of the Wye, curving from that point into the Bristol Channel. That noble river, some miles in width, separates the high lands of Monmouthshire, the country of Caractacus and his Silures, from the ancient home of other British tribes on this side its banks. The district is rich in traces of the past, in the remains of Roman encampments, Roman villas and Norman castles. So abundant were its religious establishments, that the expression, 'as sure as God is in Gloucestershire,' came to be a common expression to denote certainty.

"On the edge of the valley, and about a mile from the road of which we have spoken, the small town of Sodbury is visible. Near that town, in the time of Henry VIII., stood an old hall, which, like many structures of its class in that day, was spacious in its dimensions, but irregularly built, decorated with ancient evergreens, and overshadowed in its approaches by the more ancient elm, and oak, and yew-tree. The owner of this mansion was Sir John Walsh,[1] an accomplished gentleman, who had acquired reputation and royal favour in the jousts and entertainments of the court. His lady was one of those true Englishwomen who, to the accomplishments proper to their sex and the virtues of the good superintendent of household matters, have added the feeling which has given them an interest in questions concerning the honour of their country and of religion. Behind the hall, at the end of the yew-tree walk, was the small church of St. Adeline, where Sir John and his dependents formed nearly the whole congregation.

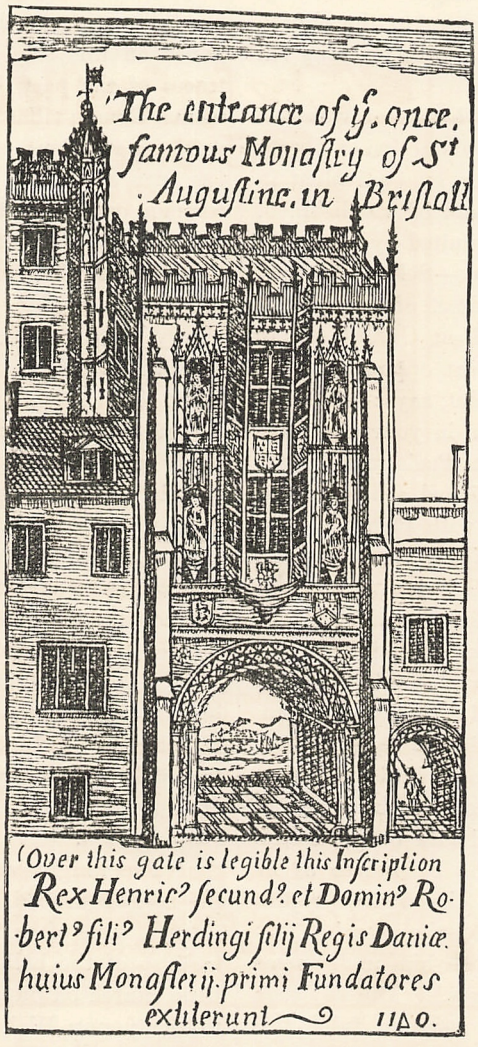
"The knight was hospitable. Men of position in the neighbourhood, especially the more wealthy ecclesiastics, were often found at his table. But among the inmates of the hall was a priest, who preached in the little church on Sunday, and acquitted himself as tutor to the young Walshes during the week. This man, then about 36 years of age, was a close student, earnestly religious, very familiar with his Greek Testament, and much out of mood with the prevailing ideas and usages in regard to religion. Judging from what is

[1] Sir John Walsh was son of John Walsh, of Olveston, by Elizabeth, "daughter and heir" of Richard Foster, of Sodbury, son of John Foster, the mayor of Bristol. Sir John died 1546, leaving Maurice, his son and heir, aged 30. Sir John's daughter Margaret was the wife of Richard Norton, of St. Peter's, Bristol. —Ed.

now known of him, his head and features were such as bespoke capacity, seriousness and firmness, with enough of a relish for humour to prompt him at times to subject a question to the test of ridicule. We speak now of the first half-dozen years after 1520, during which time great stir was made both by prince and prelate to put down heresy and to keep out Lutheranism.

"The ecclesiastics who visited Sir John talked at table on such matters, and often in a style neither very intelligent nor very tolerant. But the tutor priest never failed to convert such discoursings into discussions. In these debates it was his manner to take his Greek Testament from his side pocket, and, opening it on the table, to place his finger on passage after passage as his proofs. As will be supposed, this fencing was not always calmly conducted. The blood sometimes grew hot on both sides. In one instance, when the authority of the law of God in the Scriptures was insisted on, a priest was bold enough to say, 'We could do better without God's law than without the pope's law;' to which the tutor rejoined, 'I defy the pope and all his laws, and, if God spare my life, ere many years I will cause the boy who driveth the plough to know more of Scripture than you do.'

"Of course, the man who so spoke soon became a 'known' man. The priests used the confessional, and even frequented the benches of the alehouse, for the purpose of filling the neighbourhood with the rumour of heresy as harboured at the hall. The reputed heretic, however, continued to preach in village and town when permitted. In Bristol he preached in the open air, upon the College green, then called St. Austin's green. But everywhere he was tracked, and the cry of heresy followed. The preacher deplored his inability to deal single-handed with an enemy whose name was legion. By one expedient only could he hope to become enough like Briareus to meet such odds, and that would be by translating the New Testament into the spoken language of his country and by printing it for general circulation. The English Testament might do for the people what the Greek Testament had done for himself. He decided, accordingly, to leave Sodbury, and to seek the quiet of another home for the prosecution of his object. Already he had been summoned before the chancellor of the diocese, and escaped only through the absence of the witnesses who had been expected to appear against him."[1]



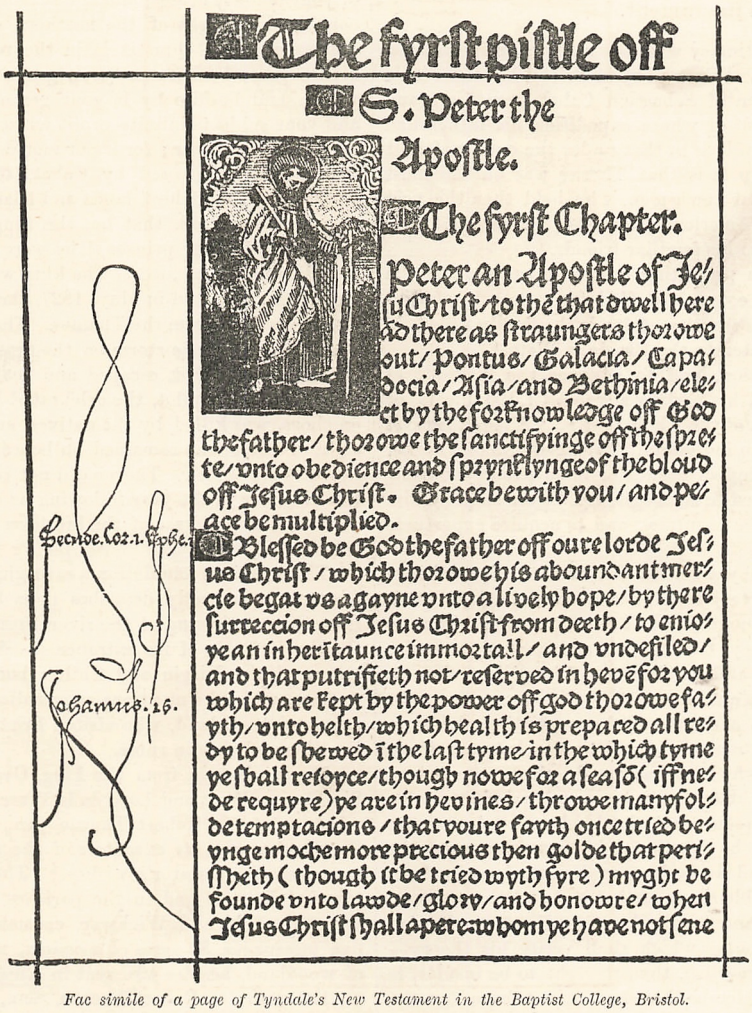
The Old Gate in College green, from Millerd's Map.

In London, at the house of Humphrey Monmouth, assisted by the pious and learned John Frith, Tyndale began the work of translating the New Testament from the Greek into English as spoken at that day. Forced to fly to Holland, he began to print 3,000 copies at Cologne; betrayed by a confidant, he just saved the sheets of four score quarto pages wet from the press, and carrying them to Worms, there finished the edition. Within ten years after the Greek Testament had been printed for our scholars, the English New Testament was in the hands of the people, and tradesmen, artisans, students, and even priests and monks, eagerly sought to obtain a copy. These were disseminated at the risk of life. Thomas Garrett, a curate of Al-Hallows, Cheapside, for selling Testaments at Oxford, had to fly for his life. Orders were sent to all the ports to watch the ships and seize him. He was taken in the village of Bedminster; and although Wolsey prevailed on him by threats and promises to recant, he suffered a martyr's death a few years later. Dr. Barnes and five Steelyard merchants, who had brought copies of the book concealed in their bales into the country, had to do penance, casting faggots into a fire at the east end of St. Paul's; and the doctor had to repeat the ceremony in Bristol, and to wear a faggot worked in his gown, as a token to all men that he had only just escaped burning. A few years later he suffered with dignity a death by fire for his faith.

[1] Vaughan's Revolutions in English History, 109–111.

Tyndale's Testament, in the Baptist college, Bristol, is the only one known that is complete from the beginning of the text to the end of the volume (a lithographed *fac simile* copy was brought out for private circulation by Francis Fry, Esq., F.S.A.). There is a very imperfect copy of the original in the library of St. Paul's cathedral. A copy of a later amended edition, being that printed at Geneva in 1557, in which the contents are for the first time divided into chapters and verses, is in the City Library.

12. An act had passed, 19 Henry VII., c. 8, by which mayors and officers of seaport towns were forbidden to take scavage, or shewage (a toll levied by towns on merchant strangers for goods shewed or offered for sale within their liberties) under a penalty of £20. On the 18th March, 1524, Master Pollard, one of the justices of Common Pleas, sat with the mayor in the Guildhall "by reason of a *nisi prius*," sued by one Antony Bridgegode against Robert Elyott (sheriff in 1522), upon an action of debt of £20, "for distraining and taking of custom named scavage, or shewage, of one Morice, butcher." Elyott seems to have proved that he had levied for quayage, and not for scavage. We further note that an attempt was made, in 1528, by the president and council of Wales and the Marches, of which the Princess Mary (there being no Prince of Wales) was the head, to bring Bristol under their jurisdiction as of olden time, when it had been a part of Gloucestershire. The princess directed her discreet letters unto the mayor, summoning him in person or by attorney to appear before her council at Ludlow on the 16th of May, and to bring with him Sir John Popley, clerk, at the suit of Galyard de Brassaley, because the said mayor attached not the same Sir John as by her former letters she had directed.


The fyrst pistle off
S. Peter the
Apostle.
The fyrst Chapter.
Peter an Apostle of Je/
su Christ/to the that dwell here
ad there as straungers thorowe
out/Pontus/Galacia/Capa/
docia/Asia/and Bethinia/ele/
ct by the forknowledge off God
the father/thorowe the sanctifyinge off the spri/
te/vnto obedience and sprynklynge of the bloud
off Jesus Christ. Grace be with you/and pe/
ace be multiplied.
Blessed be God the father off oure lorde Jesu
Christ/which thorowe his aboundant mer/
cie begat vs agayne vnto a lively hope/by there
surreccion off Jesus Christ from deeth/to enio/
ye an inheritaunce immortall/and vndefiled/
and that putrifieth not/reserved in heve for you
which are kept by the power off god thorowe fa/
yth/vnto helth/which health is prepared all re/
dy to be shewed in the last tyme/in the which tyme
ye shall reioyce/though nowe for a seasō (iffne/
de requyre) ye are in hevines/throwe manyfol/
de temptacions/that youre fayth once tried be/
ynge moche more precious then golde that peri/
sheth (though it be tried wyth fyre) myght be
founde vnto lawde/glorw/and honowre/when
Jesus Christ shall apere: whom ye have not sene

Fac simile of a page of Tyndale's New Testament in the Baptist College, Bristol.

By command of the mayor, William Chester, sheriff (pointmaker, a man of whose persuasive eloquence we shall yet read), and John Collys went to Ludlow, and pleaded successfully that Bristol was a county of itself and exempt from their jurisdiction.[1] Thomas Brooke, mayor 1526, gave the Salmon in Tucker street, worth £6 a year, to the almshouses in Lewin's Mead. Until about 1528 trade with the Canary Islands had been carried on by means of ships from San Lucar, in Spain. The exports were chiefly cloth and soap, but now a direct trade to the islands was established by Robert Thorne, jun., "a knight of Civill" (Seville), who was then resident in Spain. This and the ready help he gave to Cabot must have rendered him obnoxious to the Spanish Dons, who could ill-brook the interference of foreigners. It is probable that this feeling cost Sir Robert his life, but whether he fell in a duel or by the knife of an assassin is unknown. "He was killed at Seville, in Spain," is all the MS. states, and this is corroborated by the remarkable expression on his monument in London—"buried before his time."

We accept unhesitatingly the statement that Thorne was a knight of Spain, although he did not, in fact dared not, assume the title in England, if, indeed, "the knight" ever was in England. No foreign titles were

[1] Ricart, 51.

or are allowed in this country to be borne by Englishmen without the previously obtained consent of the sovereign. One of the Arundels was sent to the Tower by Elizabeth because he had dared to accept the title of count from the emperor (as a recognition of his services in the war against the Turks) without the queen's permission, and after his release he was not allowed to assume it.

Thorne, we judge, never had the chance of asking permission from the king, and his relatives dared not inscribe the title on his monument.

He lived in friendly intimacy with the most scientific seamen and geographers of his day. When a boy in Bristol he might have seen the triumphant return of Sebastian Cabot from his grand discovery—in the fitting out of whose expedition his father had possibly borne a share, as well as in that under the patent of 1501 with Hugh Elliott; certain it is that Thorne was on the most friendly terms with his great townsman, who held then the post of pilot-major in Spain. Americus Vesputius, Columbus, jun., and Peter Martyr, were also his familiar friends.

Cabot was at this time projecting a new expedition to the Indies by a south-westerly course. Baffled for a time by the intrigues of Portugal, and the scarcity of funds, he finally sailed, in 1526, on his famous expedition to the Rio de la Plata.[1]

To fit out this expedition, and to advance the interests of science, Robert Thorne and his partner advanced 1,400 ducats, or more than one-seventh part of the whole cost.[2] "A small caravel added to the squadron by an individual" belonged also to Thorne, as he tells us that "two English friends of mine (George Barlow being one), who were learned in cosmography," were sent by him to bring him a relation of the countries, and to acquire expertness in the art of navigation.[3]

But it was not merely by a liberal devotion of his wealth to the cause of scientific discovery that Thorne maintained his position amongst the great cosmographers of the age. His letters to Henry VIII., and to Dr. Ley, the English ambassador to Spain, bespeak him as their peer in ability, clearness of foresight, calmness of judgment and scientific acquirements.[4]

To the doctor he sends accounts of the conflicting claims to discoveries in Spain and Portugal; discriminates between those which are real and those which are assumed; shows the extent and position of the former; draws with his own hand charts to be used by the mariners, and points out the kind and value of the commerce. Nor is this all; he pencils out his own ideas upon the chart, gives a north-west and westerly coast-line to America from Hudson's Bay, as the probable shape of that end of the continent, and presents both latitude and longitude, with directions how to find them. He suggests routes which shall verify his theory—that the new-found land (America), then thought to be insular, is really continental, and contends that had it not been for the cowardice of the mariners, the expedition in which his father was a partner many years before, might have gone by the N.W. to California and Peru. This theory has been verified by McClure, McClintock and Collinson in this nineteenth century.

Neither can Robert Thorne, good Catholic as he undoubtedly is, allow the right which the Pope claimed to dispose of at his will all the nations upon the earth. In the dispute between Spain and Portugal his Holiness had drawn a longitudinal line, and so divided the heathen world between the two nations. "Christ said," says Thorne, "'*Quis me constituit judicem inter vos*,' but the Pope did not refuse, but making himself as Lord and Judge over all, not only granted that all lands that should be discovered from the Orient to the Occident should be the King's of Portugal, but also that upon great censures no other Prince should discover but he."[1]

Many months before this, Thorne had written direct to Henry VIII. upon the same subject, and boldly and earnestly did he press the policy of an exploring expedition from England upon the king.[2] "Spain has discovered the West Indies, Portugal the East; it is your duty to explore the north, because the situation of your realm is nearest and aptest of all others; because the almost continued daylight of the northern seas renders navigation less dangerous there than it is in the regions where ordinary dark nights prevail; because your grace's subjects have begun the work; and besides by it your grace shall win perpetual glory, and your subjects infinite profit without having to travel half as far as the Spaniards; for if our men do go by the back of the new-found land discovered by Cabot, they shall reach under the equinoctial the richest lands and islands of the world. Further, people would think that he, the king, lacked the noble courage and spirit of other princes if he were content to live quiet in his own dominions, &c, &c." The king was stirred and so determined on the attempt, and in May, 1527, the *Mary of Guildford* and the *Samson* set sail from the Thames. The *Samson*, with all on board, was lost in a terrific storm on the coast of Labrador. The *Mary*, commanded by Rut, escaped and coasted the land to the southward, losing her pilot, the celebrated Verrazani, who, having gone on shore, was killed by the natives, and roasted and eaten in the sight of those who remained on board the ship.[3] The expedition failed in its object. Thorne did not suffer any loss of favour from the king, for in the year following he obtained from Henry letters of license to purchase of the brethren and sisters their hospital of St. Bartholomew.

This religious foundation was originally a lazar house for lepers. Chatterton correctly describes it as being subject to annoyance from the overflowing of the river Frome, on whose bank it stood. On the left side of its entrance porch still stands the mutilated statue of the Virgin and Child; but the statue of the mailed warrior, which he mentions as guarding the opposite side, has disappeared.[4] Leland, who visited Bristol about 1533, tells us "the Bartilmews" was in ruins.

Having license from the king, George Croft, the master, and Sir Thomas West and Lord de la Warr, the patrons gladly sold the whole estate to Robert Thorne, jun., Nicholas Thorne and John Goodryche, who, as executors of the elder Thorne, now began to carry out the testator's wishes.[5] The property, situated in the town of Bristol, and in the parishes of Clifton, Stapleton, Sodbury, Horfield and Wickwar, consisted, besides the hospital, of five messuages, 80 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture and 10 of woodland, besides 40*s.* rent in King's Marsh.

The desire of Robert Thorne, Sen., had been that a free grammar school might be erected in Bristol, which should continue therein for ever, and his executors now sought to convey to the mayor, burgesses and commonalty of the borough the above estate, out of which they were to pay forty pounds clear annually to the support of the school.

Meanwhile, ere matters were settled, Robert Thorne, jun., died, leaving a princely fortune, equal to a quarter of a million at the present day. His body was brought to England and buried

[1] Peter Martyr, Dec. VII., cap. vi. [2] Hakluyt, 215.
[3] Peter Martyr, Herrera, Dec. IV., lib. iii., cap. i.
[4] Hakluyt, 212-220.

[1] Hakluyt, 217. [2] *Ibid*, 212.
[3] Purchas, iii., 809; Ramusi, iii., 417. [4] Barrett, 428.
[5] N. Thorne's Deed Poll.

in the church of St. Christopher, where Stow tells us "there was a monument of pure touch," containing a Latin epitaph rendered as follows:[1]—

"Here reposes Robert Thorn an honourable merchant
Who by business gained for himself an honest fortune
The city of Bristol had given him life as a boy
London had buried him in his tomb before his time

He did honour to his country by his pursuit of learning, and exalted it by his virtues. Of his own accord he erected a public school at his own expense. Whosoever thou art O Reader that approacheth this place ask peace (I pray) for his ashes, and humbly move the Deity to answer thy prayer."

Fuller, in his *Worthies*, quaintly says, "I see it matters not what the *name* be, so the *nature* be good. Thorns came in by man's curse, and our Saviour says, 'Do men gather grapes of thorns?' But this our Thorne (God send us many copies of them) was a blessing to our nation. Wine and oil may be freely said to flow from him; being bred a merchant tailor he gave more than £4,445 to pious uses, a sum more than sufficient to endow a college. I have observed some at the church door cast in sixpence with such ostentation that it rebounded from the bottom and rang against both sides of the basin (so that the same silver was the alms and the giver's trumpet), whilst others have dropped down five shillings without noise. Our Thorne was of the second sort, doing his charity effectually but with all possible privacy. Nor was this good Christian abroad worse (in the apostolic phrase) than an infidel at home in not providing for his family who gave his poor kindred, besides debts forgiven unto them, £5,142. Grudge not, reader, to peruse his epitaph, which, though not so good as he deserved, is better than most in that age."[2]

From his will, preserved in the great Will-book in the Council-house, Bristol, we gather that among the charitable donations were the following—£300, and more that my Lord Delawar oweth, toward the making up of St. Bartholomew's school, Bristol; £300 to buy corn and wood when it is cheap, the same to be sold at the cost price to the poor when provision and firewood are dear; £500 to lend free of interest to young men beginning business as clothiers in Bristol; £50 to the relief of poor prisoners in London, and a like sum for the same purpose in Bristol; £50 towards the marriages of poor maidens in Bristol; £100 to be given in bread to the four prisons in London, and a like sum to be for the prisons in Bristol, "the bread to be prudently given any quarter of a year to any house until the money be expended;" £100 to be expended in making in the streets of Bristol a place of merchandise, at the discretion of his executors, on condition that it be made within three years of his decease; £200 for the reparation of the highways in and around Bristol; £500 to be distributed in good deeds of mercy, to the relief of the commons of Bristol, above his bequests aforesaid; also £200 "towards the redemption of the fee farm and *prisay* of the said town of Bristol, so that it be redeemed within these three years;" and £500 to be distributed among the 25 wards of London, £20 in each ward to poor householders. To Thomas Moffatt, the master of the Free Grammar School, £25, and to his son, Robert Moffatt, £10. He forgives the various debts of his relatives and friends, the sums specified varying from £500 down to £4 15*s.*; "all these foresaid debts I forgive and bequeath to any of them, and would not that it be asked." To each of the five almshouses in Bristol he bequeaths £100.

Three thousand pounds had been bequeathed for the support and maintenance of a son borne to him by a Spanish lady, of which £1,000 was to come "to my son Vincent Thorne, being in Spain, which I will that Carolo Cantanio, that hath the keeping of him at this present in Spain, shall receive out of the goods of mine that the said Carolo Cantanio and his brother hath to the use and benefit of my said child till he be of lawful age; and if the said Vincent, my son, die before he come to lawful age, the said £3,000 to return to my heirs. Item I also bequeath to Anayaria (*sic*), mother of the said Vincent, £50, with condition that she renounce all that pretence of inheritance of the bequest of her said son." He mentions two chests of Geant velvet, in which are 33 pieces black, appertaining to George Cantanio, more two helles of pearles worked with a spectacles in the which is 200 pearles that are also the said George's.[1]

The above are the principal bequests; besides which he makes his brother Nicholas his residuary legatee, willing further, however, that there shall be "in the powers of my executors one thousand pounds, to be distributed and ordered as they shall see best for my soul." The will was subscribed and sealed on the 23rd of May, 1552, and was proved in London on the 10th of October, in the same year.[2]

Robert Thorne, jun., never sought municipal or parliamentary honours; it was a happy thing for Bristol that the elder Thorne's wishes were carried into effect by his large-hearted and educated son.

The age was growing barren of writers in the Latin tongue; the study of Greek, introduced into England and Oxford in the elder Thorne's day by Grocyn, a Bristol man, was even now powerfully assailed in both universities by the Trojans.[3] Thorne's object was to resuscitate classical literature by cultivating a taste for and educating the children of his fellow citizens up to an appreciative enjoyment of its beauties. Hence his foundation of what we now term a first grade classical school in which should be given "for learning and knowledge of the Latin tongue, and other good learning, to teach grammar and understanding of the tongues, and other good literatures to all children *and others* that would repair to the said school, &c., freely without anything to be taken other than fourpence only for the first admission of every scholar."[4]

With a mind well cultivated and enlarged by intimate converse with the highest intellects of the age, Thorne's classical tastes gave an impress to the Free Grammar School, which amidst varied changes it has ever borne, but never more honourably or beneficially to Bristol than at the present time.

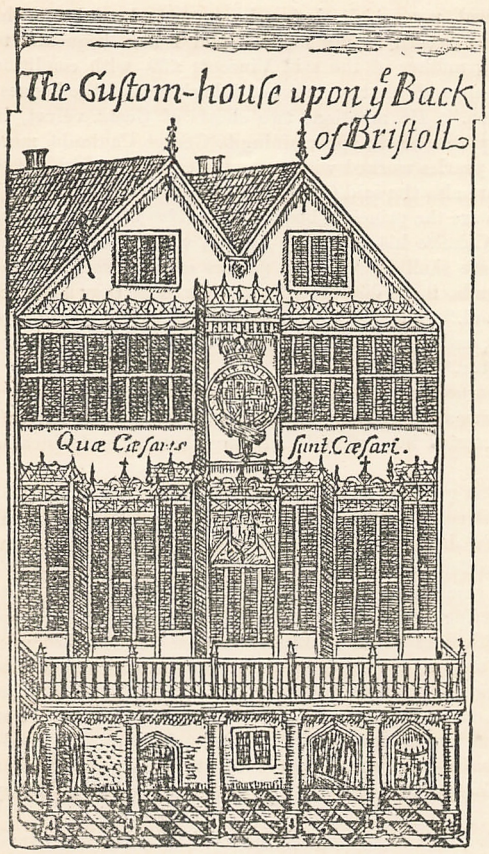
Henry VIII. will ever need and but seldom obtain a champion; it is only just to say that he has been falsely accused of robbing the hospital of St. Bartholomew to give it to the Thornes. The king never benefited by the transfer. The sale of the property was gladly made by the owners eight years before the monasteries were dissolved; it was paid for by the elder Thorne's bequest, made sixteen years before that date. Robert Thorne, jun., also died three years before that period, leaving bequests to the schoolmaster and to his son, so that the school was at work from 1530 if not before. Let us add that the Thornes were firm adherents of the Romish faith; Robert, jun., kept a priest, and left legacies to the four orders of Friars established in Bristol, so that the accusation that they sought to pave a golden way into heaven with property which they had stolen from their own church is a slander on their memory.

It has been assumed by Manchee and others that the £1,000 left at the discretion of the younger Thorne's executors, to be used by them for the good of his soul, was appropriated to the Grammar School. But whatever Thorne, jun., did for the school during his life time (and it was probably considerable), there is no proof of the institution benefiting by his death beyond the sum of £300 before mentioned.

"This yere M. Maire and Cominaltie of this Towne of Bristowe haue received of Emanuel Lucar, Executor of the testament and

[1] Stow, 193. [2] Fuller's Worthies, 36.

[1] Great Book of Wills. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Hallam's Middle Ages, III., 595.
[4] Manchee's Charities, 31.



From Millerd's Map.

last will of Robert Thorne, late of London, merchauntailor, decessid, ccccc*li.* sterling to thentent to socour yong men which ar full mynded to make cloth within the same Towne, according to the said testament and last will. Thordynance wherof appereth in the Boke of Ordenaunces in the tyme of the said Maire the xxij day of January, Anno r. r. H. VIII. xxv^to^; whiche ccccc*li.* were divided accordingly, and seuerall obligacions thereof made and delyuerede vnto Gilbert Cogan, Chambrelayn of the same Towne, for the due execution of the Testament and will abouementioned."[1]

A window of the parish church of Walthamstow had (perhaps still has) this inscription:—"Christen people, praye for the soule of Robert Thorne, citizen of London, wyth whose goodys thys syde of thys churche was newe edyfied and fynished in the yeare of our Lord 1535." Inasmuch as this took place three years after Thorne's death, the probability is that the work was done for the good of his soul by his executors, Withypoul, Lucar and Hubberthorne, of whom one at least, Withypoul, was a relation.[2]

13. When Thomas White, of Coventry, was mayor, in 1530, he held a conference at Newport with Sir William Kingston and other burgesses of Tewkesbury, who had some claim evidently by their charter for exemption from certain dues on goods at Bristol. The matter was compromised by a reduction of one-half on the customs of quayage and murage for the inhabitants of Tewkesbury, and a copy of their charter was enrolled in the *Great White Book.*

This being a year of great scarcity in Bristol, the mayor imported corn from other counties. The sheriffs of Gloucester city stopped some and sold it, by order of William Hassard, their mayor. For this act they were sued in the Star chamber, and were condemned to restore the same quantity of corn and to pay £6 13*s.* 4*d.*, being the amount of costs.[1] Stage plays were at this period performed at the cost of the magistrates; they had grown out of the miracle plays of the clergy. In this year, the drapery work in timber and the painted cloths, were made and ordained within the compter of the common audience of the said mayor.

Item, pd for bordde nailys, cawfoote nailys, and hache nailys for the worke at the tolsill ... ... vij*d.*
Item, pd for ix bewdeley borddes for the crestes, after iij the bordde ij*s.* iij*d.*
Item, pd for tacke nailys, and racke hookys, to fastyn the steyned clothes at the tolsill ... ... iiij*d.*
Item, pd to Wm. Kelke for v yardes for to be steyned for the tolsill[2] o*s.* o*d.*
Item, pd for ij newe payre of gymmewys for both ye newe dorrys at ye tolsill ... ... xx*d.*
Item, pd for a lache and a cache w^t^ a vise ... ... iiij*d.*
Item, pd for another lache w^t^ a rynge apon it ... ... v*d.*[3]

This is the first mention of theatrical representations in Bristol, other than the Passion and Mystery plays of the Friars. There being no theatre, the Guildhall was allowed for their use for many years. "Between Michaelmas, 1577, and the same season 1578, the Earl of Leicester's players here performed before the mayor and aldermen, the play being 'Myngs.' Shortly after we find Lord Berkeley's, Lord Charles Howard's and Lord Sheffield's, and the Earl of Sussex's, or the Lord Chamberlain's respective companies here acting before the same civic dignitaries, the plays being severally 'What mischief worketh in the mind of Man,' 'The Queen of Ethiopia,' 'The Court of Comfort,' and the 'Red Knight.'[4] The last of these companies is that to which Shakespeare became attached about the year 1587,[5] and during the interval between this date and 1603, when he is believed to have retired from the stage, it seems more than probable that he may have performed with his company at the Guildhall in Bristol. It is certain that in pursuance of their license to act in any 'town hall,' &c., throughout the kingdom, the Lord Chamberlain's servants did occasionally visit Bristol, and the following extract from the

[1] Mayor's Calendar, 53.

[2] Condensed from J. F. Nicholls' Free Grammar School of Bristol and the Thornes its Founders.

[1] Mayor's Calendar, 52.

[2] Kelke, who was a mercer, was sheriff in 1529.

[3] Mayor's Calendar, 53.

[4] Early Treatises on the Stage. Shakesp. Soc., xiii., x.

[5] In 1596 the order in which the servants of the Lord Chamberlain are named is as follows:—Pope, Burbage, Hemings, Philips, *Shakespeare;* in May, 1603, Fletcher, *Shakespeare,* Burbage, Phillips, Hemings, Coudell, Sly, Armyn and Cowley. Pope had previously retired, and, as he died in 1603, Shakespeare (to try and account for his position) may have bought his share. Fletcher died in 1608, leaving Shakespeare in all likelihood at the head of the company. Revels at Court. Shakesp. Soc., xxxii.

city records will show that they were able to draw a crowded audience :—

1576. August.—Item pd. for two ryngs of jren to be set vpon the howces of thonside of the Yeldhall dore to rere the dore from the grownd and for mending the cramp of jren wch shuthyth the barr wch cramp was stretched wth the press of people at the play of my Lord Chambleyn's surts in the Yeldhall before Mr. Mayer and thaldermen ... ... vj*d.*[1]

"It has also been recently ascertained by Halliwell that Shakespeare's company of actors visited Bristol in the summer of 1597.[2] In 1593 the once famous actor and friend of Shakespeare, Edward Alleyne, played with the company of Lord Strange at Bristol,[3] no doubt at the Guildhall. George Peele, the dramatist, seems also to have been here about this time, and in his 'Merrie and Conceited Jests' he boasts of a discreditable trick which he played the credulous mayor and citizens. It appears that this dissipated poet found himself without means to redeem his horse from the inn stable by the payment of his host's bill. It happened that some players had just arrived in town, and were staying at the same inn with Peele. The latter thereupon goes to the mayor, and, describing himself to be a 'scholler and a gentleman,' asserts that he has a play named 'The Knight of the Rodes,' which he was willing to perform at Bristol if the mayor and corporation would attend. The mayor, though unable to grace the performance by his presence, grants the use of the Guildhall, and gives the poet 'an angel' towards expenses. Peele thereupon hires the players and proclaims the play; but when the audience was gathered and expecting the performance, he having pocketed the money (40*s.*) received at the doors, puts on one of the player's silk robes, and, 'after the trumpet had sounded thrice,' comes before the company, recites the prologue, and promises to send the actors, but instead he roguishly deserts both the unsuspecting players and the spectators, and regaining his horse departs towards London. The prologue was this :—

'A trifling joy, a jest of no account, pardie
The knighte, perhaps you thinke to be I.
Thinke on so still; for why you know that thought is free,
Sit still awhile, Ile send the actors to yee.'"[4]

The earliest mention of the Guildhall is in 1313, when it became the scene of the furious outbreak which we have fully described at 155. "In the old Guildhall was the chapel of St. George, founded by Richard Spicer, a famous merchant and burgess of the town, about the time of King Edward III. or Richard II., and belonging to the chapel was a most dignified fraternity of merchants and mariners of Bristol.[1] The 'handsome Gothic east window' of St. George's chapel was, upon the demolition of the edifice, re-erected on the beautiful ground of the Grove, Brislington.[2] A new frontage was erected to the Guildhall preparatory to Queen Elizabeth's visit in 1576; this was taken down in 1813.

"The ground now occupied by Queen square was in former days called The Marsh—a name still preserved in the locality by the nomenclature of Marsh street and Canons' Marsh. In character with the coarse tastes of our ancestors, the place served not only as a public promenade and for military exercises and athletic sports, but for bear-baiting and other popular diversions of the like barbarous kind. Erasmus, who visited England in the days of Henry VIII., speaks of 'many herds' of bears regularly trained for the arena: the rich nobles had their bearwards, and the royal establishment its master of the king's bears. In like manner that companies of dramatic actors travelled from town to town under the badge of the respective nobles whose players they were called, so there is evidence to indicate that the unfortunate bears of these rich nobles were also itinerant and forced to fight their battles in various places. Thus, in illustration of the custom, we find under the year 1532, in reference to the Marsh at Bristol, the following payments recorded :—

	s.	*d.*
Duke of Suffolk's bearward	3	4
Lord Westmoreland	3	4
Duke of Richmond	5	0
Paid Wrestlers for wrestling in the Marsh St. James' day	6	8

"In the next year (1533) there is a similar account for baiting bears in the Marsh, Holyrood day, 5*s.*

"Also, wrestling expenses :—

	s.	*d.*
2 gallons claret...	4	0
2 " white...		
2 " sack		
Pears	0	1
Wrestlers	6	8
Horse to carry the wine and for him that carried it...	0	4

"An entry of rather earlier date shows how our forefathers realised the comfortable maxim since enforced by Dr. Watts, that

'Religion never was designed
To make our pleasures less';

[1] Western Daily Press, October 28th, 1867; also Early Treatises on the Stage, x., where the same extract is less accurately given.

[2] The Athenæum, November 12th, 1870

[3] Alleyne's Memoirs, Shakesp. Soc., 26.

[4] Taylor's Book about Bristol, 287–89.

[1] Will. Wyrces., 253.

[2] Bristol Times, January 1st, 1855.

the beautiful association of hard drinking, bear-baiting, minstrelsy and devotional services is exhibited in the extract we now supply:—

		s.	d.
1519. Sept.	—Drinking at Trinity chapel...	20	0
	" on St. Nicholas day	3	4
	Wrestling at St. James' tide	6	8
	The bearwards	3	4
	The minstrels	6	8
	For a sermon at St. Austin's	6	8[1]

On these occasions elevated seats were erected for the use of the aldermen and other civic dignitaries.[2]"

"By his deed bearing date the 14th January, in the thirty-second year of King Henry the Eighth, Thomas White did infeoff Robert Elliot, mayor of Bristoll, and other his feoffees and their heirs of and in divers lands, tenements, and hereditaments lying in Hinton and elsewhere, within the county of Gloucester, and in the town of Bristoll, upon condition that they shall appoint the Chamberlain of Bristol for the time, yearly and for ever, to receive the rents and profits, and therewithall to satisfy and pay yearly to the poor of Mr. Foster's almshouse, called the Three Kings, £2 more; to the poor of Mr. Spicer's almshouse, Lewin's mead, £2 7*s.*; to the poor of St. Thomas' almshouse, £2 7*s.*; to the poor in Mr. Strange's almshouse, called St. John's, £2 7*s.*; towards the maintenance of Allhallow's pipe, £1; towards the maintenance of St. John's pipe, £1; for the freedom of goods bought of burgesses of Bristol, and carried up the Severn by water from the key of Bristol, £11. In 1541 he gave the manor of Dirham to free the gates of the city of Bristol from toll. In 1555 he founded St. John's college, Oxford, and allowed two fellowships in it to Bristol, each £30 a year, for two qualified boys from the Grammar school. He devised by his will, dated the 10th September, 1560, that the said chamberlain should pay the said annuities. To help poor people on the last day of each month, in every year, for ever, viz., to each almshouse four shillings apiece, and thirty shillings and eightpence in bread to the poor prisoners in Newgate, yearly, for ever. He was very charitable to the poor in general, and beside gave [writing illegible] to be distributed amongst them within a year after his decease; to his wife to pay £20 per annum during her life, among poor people, to be distributed the day of his obitt."[3]

14. Cardinal Wolsey, in 1530, died broken-hearted accused of high treason, and Henry rapidly broke with the pope. In 1533 all appeals to Rome were prohibited by statute, the king's marriage with Catherine was declared void, and the archbishop had pronounced the divorce. In 1534 Parliament threw off the pope's supremacy, abolished Peter's pence, and declared the king to be the head of the church. Cromwell was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and heartily supported the Reformation.

"'King Henry and his traine came unto his manor of Thornebury the 18th daie of August, 1534, where he continued ten daies. And forasmuch as his grace determined to come to Bristow, had it not been for the plague then reigning here; therefore Mr. Thomas White, Mr. Nicholas Thorne and the Chamberlin of Bristow, by consent of Mr. Cooke, maior, and the common councell of the towne, the 20th of August resorted to Thornebury, and there in the name of the said maior and cominaltie presented to the king tenne fat oxen and forty sheepe towards his hospitallitie; and unto Queene Anne one cup with a cover of silver guilded, waying 28 ounces, with a hundred markes of gowld in the same, as a gift from this his maiestie's towne and his [her] chamber of Bristow.'"[1]

Roger Cook was elevated to the civic chair on two subsequent occasions, viz., 1541 and 1551. He was a tanner, and at the expiration of his last mayoralty was sent to represent the city in Parliament.

In 1533 Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, came to Bristol, and tarried here 19 days, reforming many things that were amiss; he preached at the abbey of St. Augustine and many other places. That preacher whose terse sayings, homely wit, and fearless boldness in denouncing sin have shed a halo round his martyr name—good Hugh Latimer—was bearing testimony for his Master in Bristol also this year. He seems to have thrown the whole town into confusion, as will be seen from the following extracts:—

Richard Browne to ——. Right Worshipful Master,—It may like you to be advertised that the second Sunday this Lent, at Bristol, there preached Mr. Latimer, and it is reported he hath done much hurt among the people, &c. It is reported he is to preach again on the Wednesday in Easter week, unless by your commandment to the dean he be denied. The fellow dwelleth in the diocese of Bath and Wells [West Kington, Wiltshire, was his benefice]. The good Catholic people of the said town do abhor all such his preaching.

For an abstract of a letter written to the chancellor by John Hilsey (S.T.P. of Cambs.) against Latimer, we refer to Seyer, II., 217; and those who are curious will find some scurrilous polemics at 19 of our Ecclesiastical History.

"Thomas Jeffreys, Maior.—Md. that this yere, the xvth day of May, a Scott named George Wysard sett furth his lecture in S. Nicholas church of Bristowe the

[1] State Papers, Henry VIII., II., 161.
[2] Taylor's Book about Bristol, 289, 320-22.
[3] Tovey's Local Jottings.

[1] Seyer, II., 214.

moost blasphemous heresy that euer was herd, openly declaryng that Christ nother hath nor coulde merite for hym ne yett for vs. Wich heresy brought many of the comons of this towne into a greate errour, and dyuers of theym were persuaded by that heraticall lecture to heresy. Wherupon the said stiffnecked Scott was accused by M. John Kerne, deane of this diocese of Worcestre, and soone after he was send to the moost reuerend Father in God the Archbisshop of Canterbury, before whom and others, that is to singnyfie, the bishops of Bathe, Norwhiche and Chechester, with others as doctors, &c. And he bifore theym was examyned, conuicted and condemned in and vpon the detestable heresy aboue mentioned. Wherupon he was inioyned to bere a fagott in St. Nicholas church forsaid and [about] the parisshe of the same, the xiijth day of July Anno predicto; and in Christeschurch and parisshe therof, the xxth day of July abouesaid. Which iniunction was duely executed in forme forsaid."[1]

That Ricart's continuator should err in his views as to Wishart's preaching and character is not singular; but that so sound a Protestant and Churchman as Seyer should form so incorrect a judgment of the gifted young Scotch lecturer and write disparagingly of him is to us matter of considerable surprise. Wishart's doctrine was simply that of justification by faith in Christ; his affirmation "that the death of Christ would be of no efficacy for himself or for his hearers" meant that without their acceptance of Him, and a change of heart and life, there was no salvation: it is the simple Gospel as we understand it this day.

This truth Wishart, who preached it constantly and lived it most consistently, sealed by his death in the fire as a martyr at St. Andrew's. Wishart is "the young faithful man" of the scurrilous letters quoted by Seyer, which plainly show that some of the Protestants were neither good nor gentlemen.

Tyndale was, in 1536, a prisoner in a damp cell at Vilvorde, awaiting his fate. His touching letter offers a striking parallel to the request of St. Paul, the prisoner, to Timothy:—"The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus bring with thee and the books, but especially the parchments." So here the shivering English martyr, awaiting death, writes, "for Jesus' sake, for a warmer cap, and something to patch my leggings, and a woollen shirt, but above all send my Hebrew Bible, Grammar and Dictionary." Both men were students up to the day of their martyrdom.

15. Henry, the new head of the church, evinced no disposition to grant liberty of conscience to his people. He held to the powers, prerogatives and immense revenues of which he had deprived the pope, and claimed and exercised an equal jurisdiction with his holiness in spiritual as well as in temporal matters. He deprived the married clergy of their orders and benefices, and by proclamation threatened death without mercy to any who denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, or disputed any of the doctrines of the church. On a well-known proverbial principle the king sent commissioners to hunt out the sins of his clergy. We dare not pollute these pages with a recital of the crimes of which the occupants of religious houses, both male and female, were accused. "The cities of the plain" seem to have been taken by them for their prototype. In 1536, on the reception of the report of the commissioners, all the small houses of the monks, canons and nuns that had not more than twelve resident members, or a revenue of more than £200 a year, were dissolved, and their inmates were removed into larger houses, whilst their property, both in lands and goods, was by Parliament granted to the king. The number of these houses was 376, their annual revenue was computed to be £32,000, and their jewels, plate, corn, cattle and furniture was estimated at £100,000. Both of these sums were greatly below their real value.

Henry was an apt scholar in the Papal school of confiscations. He knew well that every inmate that he had thus forced upon the greater monasteries was an enemy who would fan the embers of disaffection which his claim to the supremacy and his open defiance of the pope had kindled; but he had clear-headed, sagacious men at his side, whose experience of the dissolute lives of the smaller religious houses was conclusive as to the utter failure of the monastic system. They argued that the king had but to let in the light, and the revealed impurity would be ample justification for a repetition on a larger scale of his most successful experiment. He therefore ordered a fresh visitation, in 1537, of all the religious houses in the kingdom. Dire consternation now prevailed! The king's word was mighty in casting out devils! Vast but vain attempts at moral whitewashings were made. But avarice had sharpened the royal eyesight, and greedy courtiers, who hoped for a share of the spoil, were everywhere ready with their fatal testimony. Many of the monks, in order to obtain better terms, surrendered their houses and possessions at once to the king, without waiting the arrival of the commissioners.

For three years the visitors were employed in settling the surrenders of the property and the pensions to be paid, in making surveys of the estates, seizing the relics, jewels and plate, selling the furniture, dismantling and too often destroying the grand old churches and glorious

[1] Mayor's Calendar, 55.

Gothic abbeys, and disposing of the bells, lead and other materials. The year 1538 witnessed the last offering of the mass in Bristol on Michaelmas day at St. Michael's church.[1]

16. The Parliament of 1540 passed a bill, with but little opposition, which granted to the king all the lands, goods and houses of the abbeys, priories, nunneries, chantries, hospitals and religious houses that had been or that should thereafter be suppressed. 645 convents, 90 colleges, 2,374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals were thus annexed to the Crown. The yearly rental of the lands was estimated at £160,000, and this, Bishop Burnet says, was not one-tenth of their real value, whilst no computation can be made of the prodigious wealth in jewels, plate, ornaments and vestments of the churches and shrines of the saints. It was a bold stroke, not without peril, and was effected by the determined courage of the king and the superior ability of his viceregent—Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.

From documents of the Augmentation office, now in Record office, we gather the following:—

Henry Brayne had requested to purchase (8th July, 37 Henry VIII.), among others, farms in Bristol, late of the priory of Bath, others there late of the monastery of Keynsham, of the priory of Hinton, of the priory of Witham, of the monastery of Clyve, of the priory of Mynchynbarrow, and of the priory of Cannington; also the site, lands and possessions of the late priory of St. Mary Magdalen, farms in Bristol lately belonging to Tewkesbury abbey, to Laycock abbey, to Malmesbury abbey and Bradenstock priory; also farms in Bristol, Iron Acton and Codrington, late of the said priory of St. Mary Magdalen.

The mayor and commonalty (30th June, 36 Henry VIII.) request to purchase the manor of Temple Fee, parcel of the late preceptory of Temple Combe, late of the priory of St. John of Jerusalem. Rent in Bristol, late of the priory of Witham. Farms in the "city" and town of Bristol, and in hundred of Barton, lately purchased of Sir John Dudley, kt.

Further, the mayor and commonalty requested to purchase lands of the house of St. Mark, of Billeswike, *alias* Gaunts, except it appears the manor of Paulet-Gaunts, in lieu of which "lands to the yerley valewe of xxxv*li.* (were) appoynted to the towne of Bristowe." Also farm of St. Michael's mount, Bristol, late of the priory of St. Mary Magdalen, and the scites of the houses of the Friars Minories and Friars Carmelites.

Maurice Denys (13th July, 35 Henry VIII.) requested to purchase farm of the scite of the priory of the Austin Friars (at Temple Gate).[2]

John Smythe [founder of the Long Ashton family, mayor of Bristol in 1547 and 1554, who was buried in St. Werburgh's church], on the 27th April (35 Henry VIII.), requested to purchase rents in Small street in the parishes of "St. Warborowe" and St. Leonard, in Corn street in the parish of All Saints, and in Brodestrete in the parish of "St. Tuyns," all in the city of Bristol, late of the priory of Bath. Rents in Corn street, with waste lands in the parish of St. Warburgh, late of the monastery of Nethe. By the description of "Merchant of Bristol," Smythe further requested to purchase the farm of the manor of Aysheton-Meriett in Longaysheton, the rectory of Longaysheton, late of the priory of Bath, and some other lands in Essex.[1]

Grants from the crown followed these requests in nearly every case.

Richard Abyngdon and John Shipward were members of the long Parliament which sat from 1529 to 1536, and which dissolved the smaller monasteries. Nicholas Thorne and Roger Cook were the members who assisted at the complete sweep of the Augean styes that had so long been a disgrace to the very name of religion. These Monasteries and Religious Orders were indeed begun with excellent motives, by godly men who were faithful to the light which they possessed, but our Ecclesiastical History will show how rapidly they degenerated and how low they sank.

17. The one good thing that had clung to them was their care of the indigent and helpless poor, who were now driven to extremity by the abolition of the monasteries and the inclosure of waste lands. These were serious deprivations to men who in precarious times depended on the hospitable charity of religious houses, and loud were the murmurs of discontent. Insurrections were rife throughout the country, nor was Bristol exempt. Apprehending rebellion, the town and castle walls were repaired and fortified with ordnance, the gates were repaired, and watch and ward kept night and day, and other provision was made for resistance.

In 1534 the site and demesnes of St. Mark's (the Gaunts) were surrendered and purchased by the mayor and commonalty of Bristol for £1,000 from the king; £600 was paid down, of which £523 10*s.* 8*d.* was contributed in the shape of plate by the churchwardens and vestrymen of the parishes. In 1537–8 the four orders of friaries and all the nunneries in Bristol had been delivered into the king's hand. In 1540 the abbot and convent of St. Augustine had also surrendered their monastery. Abbot Guilliam, on surrendering the monastery, had a pension of £80 per annum, and the monks who continued their vows £7 or £8 each; the junior ex-monk became a prebendary. Robert Circester, prior of St. James', was allowed £13 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. The Magdalen house was bought by Henry Brayne and John Marsh. The site of the Black Friars' monastery was granted to William Chester. The monastic plate seized before 1540 was forwarded to London in that year; other portions were sent to the Mint in Bristol in 1545; that of All Saints church, weighing 423½oz. altogether, was used in part for the same purpose in 1549, and the remaining part in 1552.[2]

[1] Mayor's Calendar, 54.
[2] Inventory of Particulars for Grants, 9th Report, 175–6.

[1] Inventory of Particulars for Grants, 10th Report, 273.
[2] Evans, 138, 139, 140 and 142.

18. Hitherto Bristol had been a part of the diocese of Worcester, but in 1542 it was made a see, and Paul Bush became its first bishop. Henry thus fulfilled the promise which he made to Nicholas Thorne and Roger Cook when they visited him at Thornbury and made him so handsome a present of oxen, sheep and money. The plague was at that time raging in Bristol, and the king did not dare venture his young blooming queen and court within its walls; but never lacking in courage—one might justly say foolhardiness—he came *incog.* with Thorne and Cook and viewed the city, promising Thorne, at whose house he was entertained, that though "this is now but the towne of Bristowe, I will make it a city." The student who shrewdly reads between the lines will now see why these two burgesses had been sent to the next ensuing Parliament, and helped the king willingly to destroy the monasteries. The "scurrilous letters" show that they were staunch Catholics; they sacrificed not their religion, but the abuses that had marred its usefulness and beauty, in order to make their much loved town a cathedral city.



King David Inn, on the site of the Priory of St. Mary Magdalen.

19. Matters were not very satisfactory at this time between the civil and the religious authorities. Just previously to the visit of Thorne and Cook to Thornbury, in 1534, there had been a sharp controversy between the mayor and commonalty of Bristol and the lord prior of St. John of Jerusalem relating to the privilege of sanctuary in Temple street. This the prior claimed, and also to have a law-day, the right to hold a court to return a *brevium* and execution in the same street; also that his tenants, not being burgesses, had the right to vend their wares in open shops in his fee.[1] This, it is easy to see, would seriously infringe the chartered monopoly claimed for Bristol men, consequently it was opposed by the mayor. The lord chief justice and chief baron decided in favour of the burgesses on two points, viz., that the right of sanctuary should be void, and that the mayor's officers should serve processes in that fee without disturbance from the the lord prior. The other matters in dispute were referred for future consideration. Henry did consider them in his own fashion, and there is very little doubt but that the timely visit to Thornbury helped him to form his most sweeping conclusion, as we learn that "this year (1543) Temple fee was broken,"[2] and in 1544 the king sold to the corporation of Bristol the patronage of Temple church and part of the lands.

Leland visited Bristol about this time, and he thus describes the castle:—"There be two courts. In the outer court, in the north-west part of it, is a great dungeon-tower, made, as it is said, of stone brought out of Caen, in Normandy, by the red Earl of Gloucester. A pretty church and much lodging in the area; on the south side of it a great gate, a stone bridge, and three bulwarks in *lava ripa ad ostium Frome.* There be

[1] Evans, 135. [2] Old MS.

many towers yet standing in both the courts, but all tendeth to ruin. The castle and most part of the town by north standeth upon a ground metely eminent, betwixt the rivers Avon and Frome."

20. The following has a true, independent ring about it:—

> It was ordained that if any of the common council of the said city do at any time hereafter sue to the king's majesty, or to any of his most honourable council, for any office that is of the city's grant or gift, that then he shall be dismissed as well from the house as from the liberties of the city.

In 1537 Prince Edward was born, and there was a joyous procession in Bristol in honour of the event.

William Chester was mayor in 1537 and 1552; he was also M.P. for the city in 1555. He founded the almshouse on St. James' back, called the Gift house, and gave four tenements the profit thereof to the poor. He died on the 1st January, 1572, and was buried in St. James' church, in the ancient sepulchre of his sires.

During the season of Lent in 1540 a ship of Brittany of the burden of 40 tons came to Bristol with fish from Newfoundland, &c., and having discharged her cargo, shipped lime, coal, lead and cloth. Being leaky, the lime ignited the cargo, and she was burned to the keel.

1543. "Henricus Whyte, Maior.—This yere xiiij. days before Myghelmas the said Harry Whyte, mayor, dyed. And John Repe was chosen to supplye his rome.

"And this yere in the tyme of the said John Repe beyng mayor, the xvijth day of Septembre, the Erle of Surrey, the Duke of Norfolk's son and heire apparant, came to Bristowe, and was receved by the mayor and thaldremen of the saide citie vpon the Brige of Bristowe, and so they gave hym a bankett.

"Willelmus Jay, Maior.—In this yere the new Tolsel was buylte, and in that same yere was the stipe strete goieng vp to Saincte Michaells was brought lower and in good fassion. Also in this yere was Redclif strete, Saincte Thomas strete, new pight [pitched]. In this yere there was an order taken aboute the admaraltie, that all straungers that take ankerage of vs beyond the see, they shoulde paie like ankerage here."[1]

1542–3. "This yeare on ye 2nd of July, ye day of ye vissitation of our Ladye, the Letany was begun to be sung in English, in a general procession from Christ church to St. Mary Redcliffe."[2]

In July, 1544, the king sailed for France with an army of 30,000 men. Bristol furnished eight ships for the expedition (one MS. says twelve). They were under the command of Matthew, Earl of Lennox. Henry visited his Bristol fleet, and never a king knew better how to win his people by honeyed words than did he. "What are the names of yon ships?" Being told the barque *Thorne*, of 600 tons; the *Pratt*, 600 tons; *Gourney*, 400 tons; *Young*, 400 tons; *Winter*, 300 tons; *Shipman*, 250 tons; *Elephant*, 120 tons; *Dragon*, 120 tons, he said, "I wish I had many such Thornes, Pratts, Gourneys, and the like in my land."

Nicholas Thorne was mayor that year; John Gourney was sheriff; Pratt (or Spratt in one MS.) had been sheriff in 1540; William Young was sheriff in 1539, and mayor in 1555; Winter afterwards received a title; Shipman had been mayor in 1533. The plague at this time was sore in Bristol throughout the whole year, so that Nicholas Thorne, then mayor, held his Court of Admiralty in Clevedon. "The stews were put down, and Aston was burnt." The previous year the gifted but unfortunate Earl of Surrey had been met on the bridge on his visiting Bristol by the mayor, John Repe, on the 17th of September, and was by the city handsomely entertained. A long period of domestic peace had wrought a perceptible change in the traffic of the kingdom. Men were not needed now to keep watch and ward as of old on all strangers, so in return for the contributions liberally made by the vestries and by private individuals (such as Thomas White), which had enabled the corporation to purchase much of the land of the suppressed monasteries, the five gates—Newgate, Redcliff, Temple, Frome and Pithay—were made free to all strangers coming or going, and the Quay and Back were also made free for all merchandise except salt fish. A ship on the Quay was set on fire by the bursting of a Chamber gun (? a breechloader), which killed three men.

21. In 1546 the king caused the mint for coining gold and silver to be set up in the castle, Sir W. Sharington being master there. One of the MSS. mentions a mint that was set up in the city by the king, in 1540, for the conversion of the confiscated plate into money. The above would therefore appear to be simply a removal to a new site. There was also a printing press set up in the same place, "which is used daily to the honour of God." There are no known specimens of its work extant as far as we can discover, the earliest printed book bearing the impress of Bristol that has come within our knowledge being *The Solemn League and Covenant*, 1642, now in the City Library. This year Toby Mathew, son of a mercer of Bristol bridge, was born. He was a great benefactor to the Library, and died Archbishop of York.

"In an old leger book in the custody of Mr. Hackluit, written about 1526 by Mr. N. Thorne the elder, a principal merchant of Bristol, it was noted that before that

[1] Mayor's Calendar, 56, 57. [2] Old MS.

year one T. Tison, an Englishman, had 'found the way to the West Indies and resided there, and to him the said Mr. N. Thorne, then a merchant in Bristol, sent armour and other merchandise,' whereby it appears there was an established trade there very early, and from the city of Bristol."

"Nicholas Thorne, by his will dated 4th August, 1546, did give and bequeath towards the reparation of the Bridge, Back and Key, and the banks on the Marsh, £20. Towards making a yard for corn for provision of the Commons, £30. Towards the making of the Dock at the Key, for the better repairing of their ships there, £25. To the poor householders in Bristol, one hundred marks. Towards repairing of the Free School and making a Library there, £30; and [illegible] investments towards retaining learned Council to ensure the lands of the Bartholomews. To the Mayor and Commonalty towards the maintenance of the Free School, £20. To the Chamber of Bristol, £4, for the use of cloth-making and helping of young men, whereof £2 of the money of one Mr. Thomas Howell towards the reparation of Highways and maintaining the Conduits of water, the Pithay Well and St. Peter's."[1]

He left his geographical and nautical instruments to the Grammar school. He died August 19th, 1546, aged 50 years, and was buried in St. Werburgh's church, now demolished.

The portraits of the brothers Robert and Nicholas Thorne may still be seen in the office of the Charity Trustees, and copies are also hung in the small committee-room of the Council-house. Robert would seem from his likeness to have much resembled his bluff contemporary, Henry VIII., while Nicholas has a hungry ascetic look. With that turn for pedantic punning on names which characterised the period, Nicholas has had placed over his head, in a corner of the canvas, the words *Ex spinis uvas colligimus*—"We gather grapes of thorns." The quaint conceit is repeated, but not so epigrammatically, in the portrait of Robert, who is made to say, in the same learned tongue, "I am called a thorn; the glory be given to God who giveth the good things which the Thorne dispenses to the poor." Further particulars of these good citizens will be given in our article on the Grammar school.

On the 28th of January, 1547, "Bluff King Hal died, having reigned 37 years 10 months and 1 day, when Prince Edward was proclaimed at the High Cross by the name of Edward ye Sixth."

"The earliest Bristol money of this king [Henry VIII.] belongs to his thirty-fourth year, 1542–3. Sir William Sharington, Knt., appears to have been chief officer of this mint from 1543 to 1548, under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and his initials are found upon nearly all the Bristol coins of Henry VIII.

"A few gold coins of Henry VIII., made in 1543, are only to be recognised as struck at Bristol by their mint-mark, which is a monogram of Sharington's initials, W. S., thus: 

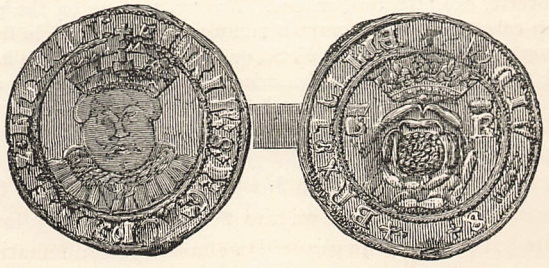
"The sovereigns of this coinage have on the *obverse*, within an ornamented inner circle, a full-length figure of the king sitting on his throne, in royal robes, crowned, with the sceptre in his right hand and the orb in his left; at his feet a rose; legend, HENRIC'. 8 . DI . GRA'. ANGLIE FRANCIE ET HIB'E REX, or HENRIC' 8 DEI' GRA' AGL' FRAN' Z HIB' REX. Mint-mark, in front of HENRIC, the above-mentioned monogram of W. S. *Reverse*, a shield bearing the arms of France and England quarterly, crowned, and supported by a crowned lion and the red dragon; HR in monogram beneath the shield, for *Henricus Rex*; a beaded inner circle around all; legend, IHS (or IHESVS) AVTEM TRANSENS PER MEDIVM ILLOR' (or ILLORV') IBAT. The same mint-mark in front of IHESVS. There are cinquefoils between the words of the inscriptions on the British Museum coin. Full weight, 200 grains. Current, when issued, for 20*s*.

"There are some gold crowns and half-crowns, made at Bristol by Sir William Sharington, in the thirty-sixth year of Henry VIII., 1544. The full weight of the crown (current for 5*s*.) was 48 grains, and of the half-crown (current for 2*s*. 6*d*.) was 24 grains. The gold was 22 carats fine, or 11 parts fine to 1 of alloy. The above-mentioned sovereigns were also of this standard.

"The crown bears, *obverse*, a large double rose crowned, between the letters H R (for *Henricus Rex*), also crowned; legend, HENRIC'. 8 . ROSA . SINE . SPINE *(rosa sine spina)*. Mint-mark, a quatrefoil. *Reverse*, the shield of arms crowned, also between the same letters, H R, crowned; legend, D'. G'. ANGLIE . FRA'. Z . HIB'. REX. Mint-mark, W. S. in monogram. There is a beaded inner circle on each side of this coin. There are quatrefoils between many of the words in the legends. Engraved in Snelling's *Gold Coinage*, plate ii., No. 20, and in *Ruding's*, plate vi., No. 5. Another specimen in the British Museum has, *obverse*, mint-mark, a cinquefoil, and legend, HENRICVS 8, etc.

"The half-crown has, *obverse*, shield of arms crowned, between the letters H R not crowned; legend, HENRIC' 8 . D'. G'. ANG . FR . Z . HIB'. REX. No mint-mark on this side. *Reverse*, a large rose crowned, also between the letters H R not crowned; legend, RVTILANS ROSA SINE SPINA (or SPI'). Mint-mark, the monogram of W. S. Beaded inner circles on both sides. Engraved in Snelling's *Gold Coinage*, pl. ii., No. 19, and in *Ruding's*, plate vi., No. 3.

"Several Bristol pieces are extant of Henry VIII.'s *third* silver coinage, made in his thirty-fourth year, which weighed at the rate of 10 grains to the penny. The silver is very base, one-sixth of it being alloy.



Bristol Shilling of Henry VIII.

[1] Bristol Archives.

"The British Museum possesses a very rare shilling of his thirty-fourth year, weighing 120·4 grains, and made of this base silver. It was formerly in Mr. J. D. Cuff's collection, and bears, *obverse*, bust of the king, full-face, crowned, with a mantle over his shoulders; legend, HENRIC' 8 D' G' AGL' FRA' Z HIB REX; small quatrefoils between the words. *Reverse*, a large double rose crowned; the letters H R, also crowned, at the sides of the rose; legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLLIE. Three crosses after CIVITAS, and two after BRISTOLLIE. Mint-mark, before CIVITAS, the monogram of W. S. A beaded inner circle on each side of the coin.

"A base groat of the third or fourth coinage, in the British Museum, weighing 33·9 grains, has, *obverse*, crowned bust, nearly full-face, with mantle over the shoulders; legend, HENRIC'. 8 . D . G . AGL . FRA . Z . HIB'. REX. No mint-mark. *Reverse*, shield of arms surmounted by a cross fleurée; legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLIE. Mint-mark, W. S. in monogram. Beaded inner circle each side. Small trefoils between the words of the legends.

"A penny of the third coinage, in the British Museum, is engraved in *Hawkins*, fig. 406. It bears, *obverse*, full-face bust crowned, in mantle; legend, HE' 8 D'. G'. ROSA SINE SPINA; no mint-mark, but a cross after ROSA. *Reverse*, similar in type to the groat; legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLIE; two pellets before and a fleur-de-lys after CIVITAS; a beaded inner circle on each side of the coin.

"The *fourth* silver coinage of this king, made in his thirty-sixth year (1545), was still more base than the preceding, consisting of half silver to half alloy. The weight was the same, viz., 10 grains to the penny.

"The groats of the fourth coinage have, *obverse*, mantled bust crowned, nearly full face, within a beaded inner circle; legend, HENRIC' 8 : D' G' AGL' FRA' Z HIB' REX; mint-mark, a rose or a small cross. *Reverse*, shield within inner circle, surmounted by cross fleurée; legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLIE; a rose after CIVITAS on one.

"The half-groats of the fourth issue bear, *obverse*, mantled bust crowned, nearly full face, within inner circle; legend, HENRIC' 8 D' G' ANG' FR' Z HIB' RE (or REX); no mint-mark on obverse. *Reverse*, type as the groats; legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLIE; mint-mark, the monogram of W. S. in front of CIVITAS. Some have trefoils in the forks of the cross; one has a fleur-de-lys after CIVITAS, another has a pierced cross after that word; one piece has a fleur-de-lys after CIVITAS, and another before BRISTOLIE. See engravings: *Hawkins*, fig. 404; *Ruding*, pl. viii., No. 15.

"The *fifth* coinage, in Henry's thirty-seventh year (1546), was debased to two-thirds alloy. Four ounces only of silver were mixed with eight ounces of alloy. The weight was the same as before.

"The Bristol groats have, *obverse*, mantled bust crowned, nearly full face, but slightly turned to the right; inner circle; legend, HENRIC' 8 . D'. G'. ANG'. FRA' Z HIB' REX.; no mint-mark on obverse, except a rose on one. *Reverse*, type as on the preceding coinages; legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLIE; mint-mark, in front of CIVITAS, the monogram of W. S., or on one coin E. Some have small trefoils or annulets in the forks of the cross, and a rose and a trefoil after CIVITAS; another has a cinquefoil and a pierced cross after CIVITAS. See *Ruding*, pl. viii., No. 11, for one of these groats."[1]

22. Edward VI. began his reign at the age of ten years; he was crowned on the 25th of February, and on the 12th of July he granted a charter of confirmation to the citizens of Bristol. The reformation begun by his father, was countenanced by the protector, Somerset, and the Council, and the young king was trained as a Protestant. Injunctions were issued forbidding prayers for the dead or to saints, or public prayers in a foreign language, or the use of rosaries, ashes and processions; dirges for the dead and the sacrifice of the mass were abolished. All the chantries which had not been seized by the late king were given to the sovereign by Act of Parliament. As there were so few men able and qualified to preach the new doctrines, books of homilies were issued which were ordered to be read in the churches.

In 1547, "an order of Council was passed for removing all images out of the churches; it was also ordered that the service should be read in English, and the holy communion celebrated in the native tongue."[1] At Bedminster church there were 320 communicants, drawn thither, it is said, by the popularity of the sports on the Sunday afternoon.

So great a change as that effected by the abolition of the monasteries, and the sale and enclosure in small fields of the lands held by the monks, could scarcely have been expected to be made without tumult and riot. Numbers of people had long preferred to live upon the alms, bread, beans and broth of the monks, to earning an honest livelihood by labour. They now found that they must work or starve; beg or steal they dared not. Henry made a short shrift with thieves; he hanged, it is said, 72,000 of them for an example. But besides the loafers there were many industrious poor men who had won a precarious living off the waste and common lands, which, being now enclosed, they were reduced to the deepest penury. There were also the conscientious Roman Catholics who were naturally aggrieved at the deprivation of their religious usages, and a host of malcontent ecclesiastics, whose occupation being gone, turned their time and talents to fostering sedition.

One Bond, who had murdered his master on Durdham down, was hanged on the spot (top of Gallow's Acre lane, now Pembroke road) where he had committed the crime.

In May, 1548–9, there was a great rising in this city, and William Pykes, mayor in that year, was on the alert. He had the castle and the city walls repaired and mounted with cannon, most of the gates were newly made, a new Tolzey, or place of justice, was built at the High Cross, guards of soldiers kept watch and ward both by day and night, and Sir William Herbert, a man of repute in arms, was constable of the castle. But the disaffected knew better than to attack stone walls, their grievance lay chiefly afield, they set to with a will,

[1] Henfrey, 353–5.

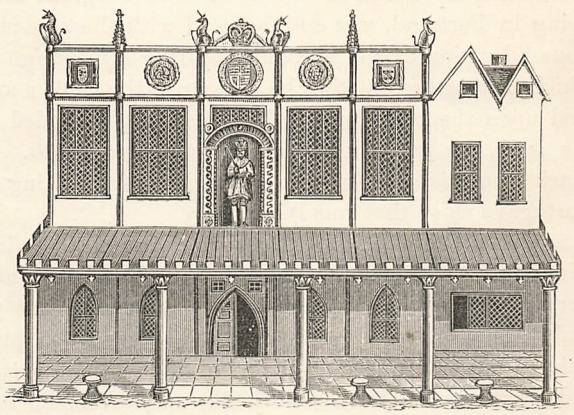
[1] Old MS.

levelled the new hedges, and filled in the ditches of the enclosures lately made, and which had put altogether a different face upon the country and its industry. The mayor marshalled his men, and, fully armed, went with them into the Marsh to meet the malcontents. William Chester, an ex-mayor, by his kindliness of manner and wisdom of speech, induced the rioters to submit, and, relying upon his word, they ceased the strife and were pardoned. Well was it for them that they submitted, for presently into the city came the Lord Grey de Wilton with a band of men, and Captain Spinosa also with 300 soldiers; these were on the march to Scotland, but finding no work for them in Bristol they turned westward to Honiton, where they defeated the disaffected, who throughout the west country had risen upon the same pretexts, but who had proved by their conduct that plunder, rather than piety, was their ruling motive.

William Pykes bequeathed by will, in 1550, £50 for repairing the highways, £20 for St. Thomas' pipe, and land of the annual value of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* for the poor in Burton's almshouse.

Bishop Bush, of Bristol, this year surrendered the manor of Abbot's Leigh to the king, who granted the reversion of it after the death of the bishop to the Nortons, from whom it passed to the Trenchards. Sebastian Cabot, of Bristol, was this year made grand pilot of England and governor for life of the Russian Company. Mr. Hippesley was lord high steward of Bristol. During the year 1549, when William Jay, apothecary, was mayor, the following precaution was taken in ballasting ships; it was ordered "that no person or persons whatsoever do henceforth cast any sand out of any lighter or boat into any ship or vessel within the port of Hungroad, except there be a sail put between the ship and the boat, so that none fall into the water, upon pain to forfeit, for every default duly proved, four ducats, half to go to the chamber and half to the presenter."

On May 24th, 1551, the king granted the charter for the September fair, the profits of which, excepting 20*s.* to the Corporation, were to go to the poor. Change was the order of the day; the base money coined by the late king was publicly cried down on July 12th—the 12*d.* to 9*d.*, the groat (4*d.*) to 2*d.*, and the next month the 12*d.* was further reduced in value to 6*d.*, the 2*d.* to 1*d.*, and the 1*d.* to ½*d.*, so that every man who owned these coins lost within two months half their value. Altars were destroyed in churches and tables substituted in their stead. That terrible disease born of uncleanliness, the sweating sickness, once more prevailed in the city; it lasted from Easter to Michaelmas and swept hundreds of victims off every week. The poor could get no bread; wheat was 4*s.* 8*d.* per bushel, until the new mayor caused the bakers to furnish bread to the needy at a lower price. The price, in Bristol, of sweet wine was 12*d.*, and claret was 8*d.* per gallon. The Bridewell was built this year, and by letters patent the king incorporated the Society of Merchant Venturers with four consuls and twenty-four assistants, Sebastian Cabot being the first governor. The next year this eminent Bristol citizen promoted a voyage to the North Sea, and opened up a trade with Russia through Archangel, its only seaport. In 1552, John Walshe, was lord high steward of Bristol. The Corporation built a Council-house upon the site of the old chapel of the fraternity of St. John, which stood on the south side of the church of St. Ewen, the spot upon which the present Council-house stands. It had a



The Tolzey.

covered piazza, supported by five stone pillars, fronting Corn street, in which stood three brass pillars (termed nails), somewhat similar to those in the old Tolzey which now stand in front of the Exchange. There were now three of these covered structures forming the Tolzey, the most ancient at All Saints, the second at Christ church, and the third this in front of the Council-house. This year corn was so plentiful that wheat was sold for 7*d.* per bushel, or one-eighth of the price of the previous year. A multiple of nine will give about the present value for corn. Taverns were restricted in number by Act of Parliament, only six being allowed in Bristol, but one MS. states six more were allowed this year, making their number twelve. As those towns that did not possess a cucking or ducking stool were presented this year, and Bristol was not, it is certain that the city was still in possession of this remarkable instrument which our sage forefathers employed for imposing silence on unruly female tongues. It was set up in the millpond in Castle ditch, at the junction of Ellbroad street and Lower Castle street. In form it was a chair

set upon a long beam, which moved by a swivel on a post set in the pond. The termagant wife being seated, bound in the chair, was swung over the water and dipped at discretion, according to the heinousness of her offence. The brank in use at this period was an iron bridle, which was constructed so as to be fitted to a head of any size; it had a flat piece of iron that was placed in the mouth, pressing upon the tongue of the wearer; the machine was locked behind the victim's head. Its weight was no inconvenience, neither did it prevent the discharge of any domestic duty or maternal care, save that a kiss to her child would be as difficult for the woman to achieve as would a tirade to the husband. These were municipal punishments for scolding and brawling women and fraudulent ale-wives. This year William Gardiner, a Bristol man, servant to Mr. Paget, merchant, in the madness of religious zeal, being in Portugal, was so disgusted with the superstitious adoration of the sacrament during a marriage at which he was present that he overthrew the chalice and trod upon the host, for which, after being wounded in the *mêlée*, he was shortly after burned to death. A spark from his *auto da fe* set on fire one of the King of Portugal's ships that was lying near.

"On July the 6th, 1553, the young king died, having reigned 6 years 5 months and 4 days, and ye Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed queen in certain towns; but ye Lady Mary, King Henry's eldest daughter, was proclaimed likewise queen on the 22nd of ye same month, and was crowned on the 30th day of November following."[1]

23. As early as the seventh year of Edward IV. the Merchant Adventurers claimed to be an ancient guild, at which date they petitioned for the confirmation of their prerogatives. Their supplication was granted; and it was commanded that the mayor and town council should yearly assemble fifteen days after Michaelmas, in order to choose a person who had been mayor or sheriff to be master of the Fellowship of Merchants, together with two wardens and other officers. The chapel of Spicer's hall, on the Welsh back, was engaged for their place of religious worship, and the "draught chamber" of the same mansion was to serve for their business meetings. All merchants were to attend (if in town) upon summons, or to pay one pound of wax to the master and fellowship. All rules for selling to strangers "any of the four merchandises" were to be kept, on pain of 20*s.* for each default, "one-half to the fellowship, the other to the chamber." Nor upon pain aforesaid were they to sell to any stranger under the ruled price.

[1] Old MS.

"The Society of Merchant Venturers, as it now exists, is undoubtedly the traditional representative of the ancient Guild of Merchants, whose ordinances, as just stated, were renewed by Edward IV., but whose liberties 'to buy and sell in the town freely and quietly from all toll and customs, &c.,' had been antecedently confirmed by John, Earl of Moreton, afterwards King John. The present company was incorporated by Edward VI., whose charter recites that men who had never been apprenticed to merchants having with strange ships encroached upon the trade of the port, to prevent the continuance of such irregularities the freemen of the city using the art or mystery of Merchant Venturers should be incorporated by the style of the 'Masters, Wardens and Commonalty of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol.' It was likewise granted that they should choose a master and two wardens of the mystery, 'who would be sworn before the mayor and aldermen, and have power to make ordinances for the profitable government of the mystery and the men of the same, and such only as did touch and concern the said mystery, but not in prejudice of the royal prerogative, or of the mayor of Bristol, or any of the royal charters, or of the Society of Merchants trading to the coast of Holland, Zealand, Brabant, Flanders, and the parts adjacent; and that none should practise the art of merchandise in the city of Bristol except such as were admitted into the said society or otherwise apprenticed, or had used the mystery for seven years.'[1] This charter was confirmed, by Act of Parliament, in the eighth year of Elizabeth; and in consideration of the Merchant Venturers having aided the queen with twenty-five ships for the defence of the realm, it was further enacted that any who should exercise the resource of merchandise beyond the seas unless admitted into the society, or else serving or apprenticed to the mystery for seven years, the penalty of forfeiture of all the goods and merchandises so trafficked in, one moiety to the crown, the other to be divided between the society and the civic corporation.[2] This act was repealed five years after (13 Eliz., c 22) by a fresh enactment which recites 'that no manner of benefit or commodity appeareth to grow by the said act,' &c.

"The next notice of the Merchant Adventurers appears in the Council Book of the Civic Corporation, 31st December, 1605. On that day it was agreed that there should be a company of Merchant Adventurers of the city of Bristol, to be governed amongst themselves by such orders as should be set down by the mayor, aldermen and common council, and according to the charters of the city, and by the masters, wardens, and

[1] Lunell's Port Improvement Question, 53. [2] *Ibid*, 24.

community and corporation of merchants within the city of Bristol.

"Charles I. (7th Jan., 1638) restored to the society the charter of Edward VI., that had been extended, but afterwards repealed, by Elizabeth. By the restored charter 'the master, wardens, assistants and commonalty were to meet annually on the 10th of November in their merchant's hall, and elect one of the commonalty to be master, two of the assistants to be wardens, and ten of the more discreet men of the society to be assistants for the following year. The master and wardens were to be sworn before the master and wardens of the preceding year, or any two of them. Power was given to the whole society to remove any of the assistants for misbehaviour and to elect others.'[1] A second charter was granted by Charles I., and 'in consideration that the merchants of Bristol have expressed their loyalty and fidelity to us in these late times of difficulties, when even the citizens of London and the merchants thereof, who have enjoyed many more privileges and immunities for the advancing of a free and complete trade into all foreign parts, have forgotten their duty unto us, and many of them have traitorously rebelled against us,' it grants to the company of Merchants of Bristol and their successors that they may have a free trade whithersoever the Eastland or Russia companies of London might trade, &c. This second charter of Charles I. did not affect the constitution of the society, which is therefore now established under the authority of the charter of 1638.[2]

"The proper characteristic of the company, as qualified by their charters of being a guild of commerce and nothing more, has been practically changed in modern times. In respect to being a kind of feudal corporation and monopolists of foreign trade, its once enormous power has collapsed, and it now lies, like King Arthur after his last battle, but as a shattered column. It has, however, renewed its youth, by becoming 'from its respectability the almoner of many noble charities,' and (even an enemy himself being the judge) 'the society has proved a most faithful steward in this respect.'[3]

"Almost the only part of the charter now observed with strictness by the merchants is the care they take to elect none into their society who are not already freemen of the city. By the regulations now followed in the yearly election of officers, the master must be one who has been master, warden, or assistant. The present master nominates one such candidate, the wardens and assistants one, and the commonalty one, and from these three the election is made by a majority of the whole society present.[1] The ordinary meetings are held monthly. No salaries are paid to the master or any of the officers, nor does any pecuniary benefit accrue to members.

"The right of admission into the society, according to present demands, is obtained in three ways—by birth, by apprenticeship, and by purchase. 'Every son of a Merchant Venturer, born after his father became a member, is entitled, by birth, after taking up his own freedom of the city, to be admitted into the Society of merchants. No necessary qualification exists with respect to the trade or profession actually exercised by him. The only refusal to admit, on that ground, was on the application of a clergyman. This case was dismissed by the society, and finally rejected. Some of the present members of the society have taken orders since they entered it, without ceasing to be members.' Those who claim to be admitted by apprenticeship must have served a Merchant Venturer for seven years in a mercantile capacity.

"The society are proprietors of considerable landed estates, and possess, among other property, the Hotwells at Clifton,"[2] and the manor of Clifton.

24. "No Bristol coins of this king [Edward VI.] are known to me. His first silver coinage, issued in 1547, was of the same low standard as the last coinage of his father, viz , 4oz. silver to 8oz. alloy. The weight was at the rate of 10 grains to the penny.

"The Bristol pennies of this base coinage bear, *obverse*, the king's bust in profile to the right, crowned, and within a beaded inner circle; legend, ED' 6 . D' G' ROSA SINE SPINE (or SPINA). One coin reads SPIPA by mistake. Mint-mark, a cross before ED. One penny has a cross after ROSA; another, with the cross after ROSA, has also trefoils after SINE and SPINA. *Reverse*, shield of arms within inner circle, surmounted by a cross fleurée; legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLIE. One has a fleur-de-lys after CIVITAS; another has a cross after the same word. Some specimens have also trefoils in the angles of the cross. The penny of this coinage in the British Museum is not so base as others. For engravings of these pennies see Snelling's *Silver Coinage*, pl. IV., No. 6; *Ruding*, pl. IX., No. 16; and *Hawkins*, fig. 415.

"The halfpennies are very rare, like the pennies, and bear, *obverse*, crowned profile and inner circle, as on the pennies; legend, E' (or ED.) 6. D' G' ROSA' SINE' SPIN' (or SPINA). Mint-mark, a trefoil before E. One halfpenny has small trefoils after E, D, G, ROS, and A'SPIN. *Reverse*, cross fleurée, with three pellets in each angle; also a beaded inner circle. Legend, CIVITAS BRISTOLI (or BRISTOLIE). Trefoils or roses in the forks of the cross.

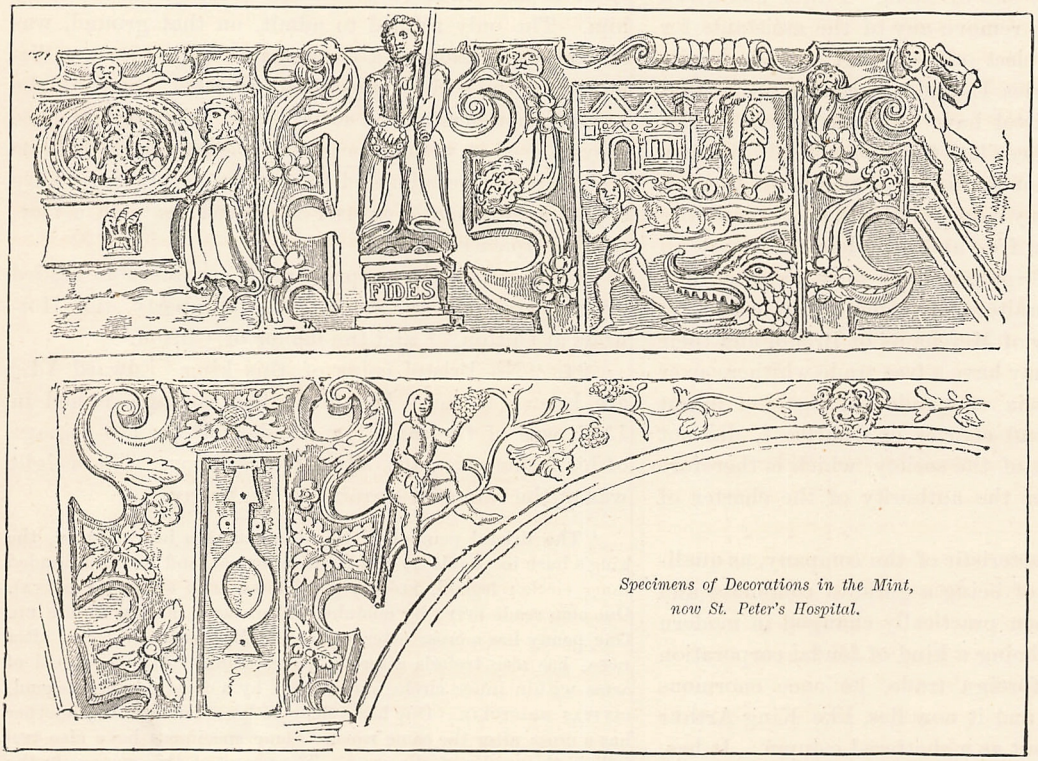
"In the Public Record office, London, are preserved several original documents relating to the Bristol coinage of this reign. The earliest one is an indenture (partially decayed) of all the gold and silver bullion,

[1] Lunell's Port Improvement Question, 26. [2] *Ibid*, 27.
[3] A Burgess's Letters, 133.

[1] Lunell's Port Improvement Question, 27.
[2] Taylor's Book about Bristol, 236-9.

coined monthly into moneys by Sir William Sharington, under-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, from the 1st of May, 1546, to the last of March, 1547.[1] Sharington is designated in this document 'Sir Willm. Sharyngton, knyght, one of the gentillmen of the ks mats[2] most honorable p'vey[3] chamber, and under-treasr of his highnes Mynte wthin the Castell of Brystowe.'

"No 32 of the same volume of State Papers is Sir W. Sharington's account of the bullion coined according to the foregoing indenture and of the expenses thereof. It appears that during the period above stated (1st May, 1546, to 31st March, 1547) there was coined £962 5*s.* value in gold (of 20 carats fine to 4 carats alloy) and £16,833 4*s.* value of silver (of 4oz. fine to 8oz. of alloy).



Specimens of Decorations in the Mint, now St. Peter's Hospital.

It is also stated 'harp groats' of 3oz. fine to 9oz. of alloy were made at this mint for use in Ireland. The value of them came to £3,657 4*s.* in the period above mentioned. This account ends with the signatures of Sir William Sharington, Roger Wigmore (comptroller), and Thomas Marshall (paymaster).

"No. 33, vol. I., of these State Papers, is an indenture, dated 6th April, 1547, between Sir William Sharington and Roger Wigmore (comptroller and surveyor of the mint of Bristol), of money delivered to Wigmore for necessaries for the mint there.

"In vol. II. of Edward VI.'s *Domestic State Papers*, No. 10 is an indenture of all gold and silver bullion, coined into moneys in the office of Sir William Sharington, from the 1st April to 30th September, 1547, in the mint of Bristol. No. 11 is a duplicate of the preceding document. No. 12 is the account, also dated 30th September, 1547, of Sir W. Sharington, of gold and silver bullion coined into moneys from 1st April to 30th September, and of the expenses thereof.

"Both documents, Nos. 10 and 12, vol. II., are signed by Sharington, Wigmore and Marshall; and they record that, during the period 1st April to 30th September, 1547, there was coined at Bristol £204 4*s.* in gold of 20 carats fine and 4 carats alloy. The gold was coined in July, August and September only. In the months of April to September, inclusive, 1547, the value of the silver coined was £6,838 4*s.*, of 4oz. fine to 8oz. alloy.

"No. 3, vol. IV., of the same papers, is another indenture of all bullion of gold and silver coined and made into moneys within the office of Sir William Sharington, in the mint at Bristol. This document is imperfect, and the date is gone, but it apparently records the amount of money coined from May, 1547, (?) to March, 1548, inclusive. The total amount of gold coined during this period was 213 lbs. 10 oz. (troy weight). The amount of silver, 4oz. fine to 8oz. alloy, was 16,833lbs. weight, some being coined in every month from May to March, inclusive, except August and September, 'by reason of coyning of Irish mony theis ij moneths.' These Irish coins were harp groats of 3oz. fine and 9oz. alloy, and the amounts of them made were, in August, 2,000 lbs.; in September, 1,657lbs.; total, 3,657 lbs. weight. The account ends with the signatures of R. Wigmore and Tho. Marshall.

"No. 23 in the same volume of State Papers (vol. IV.) is an indenture, dated 2nd July, 1548, between Sir Edmund Pekham, treasurer of all the mints, and Sir William Sharington, of the receipt of certain sums arising from the profits of the mint at Bristol, to the king's use.

"In January, 1549, Sir William Sharington, the chief officer of this mint, was arrested on a charge of coining base money, clipping, and other frauds.[1] In order to save his own life he made a confession to the council, admitting his guilt, and stating that he had been in league with the Lord Admiral Seymour to supply the latter with money for his designs upon the crown. It appears that the admiral was actually Sharington's debtor to a considerable amount. After a short

[1] No. 31, vol. I., Domestic State Papers, Edward VI.
[2] King's Majesty's. [3] Privy.

[1] Among Edward VI.'s State Papers, VI., No. 29 (February, 1549), is a specification of all the plate, money, jewels, &c., belonging to Sir William Sharington at the time of his arrest in January.

time, however, Sharington was pardoned and restored; but his confession was the immediate cause of Seymour's being sent to the Tower, on the 19th January, 1549. Bishop Burnet says:—'And now many things broke out against him (Seymour), and particularly a conspiracy of his with Sir William Sharington, vice-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, who was to have furnished him with £10,000, and had already coined about £10,000 false money,[1] and had clipt a great deal more, to the value of £40,000 in all; for which he was attainted by a process at common law, and that was confirmed in Parliament.'[2] The 23rd article of high treason, &c., against Lord Seymour stated that he had moved the lord protector and the whole council that he might, by public authority, have that which by private fraud and falsehood, and confederating with Sharington, he had obtained—that is, the Mint at Bristol to be his wholly. It also appears, by the act for his attainder,[3] that he had devised this mint, with all the treasure in the same (except £10,000 a month for the wages of his men), to be at his command, by the means and consent of Sir William Sharington.[4] Seymour was executed on the 20th March, 1549, on Tower hill.

"Horace Walpole, in his *Anecdotes of Painting*, says that there are two or three portraits of Sir William Sharington extant, one being among the royal collection of Holbein's drawings.

"It should be borne in mind by the reader that the base silver coins of Edward VI., described above, and mentioned in the Indentures, cannot be properly termed 'false' coins, since they were then the legally authorised currency of England. Money of the same standard was also made at London, in the Tower mint.

"In 1549 the plate belonging to All Saints' church, Bristol, was delivered into the mint for the king's use, as appears from a receipt printed in William Barrett's *History of Bristol* (4to, Bristol, 1789), p. 440, as follows:—

"On the 13th of August, 1549, was received by me, Robert Recorde, comptroller of his majesty's mint of Bristol, to his highness's use, of Mr. William Younge and John Pykes, proctors of All Hallows in Bristol, in gilt silver 19lbs. 11½oz., and in parcel gilt 15lb. 3oz. "ROBERT RECORDE.

"In the same year Recorde also accounted for the receipt of 107oz. of gilt plate and 142oz. of parcel gilt, belonging to the church of St. Auden or Ewen.[5] And 13lbs. 8oz. of plate belonging to St. Leonard's church were delivered to the king's mint for his highness's use, by virtue of his majesty's letter, two chalices excepted (13th August, 1549).[1] Even one of these chalices was afterwards taken away in 1553.

"The Rev. Rogers Ruding remarks, in his *Annals of the Coinage*, that Burnet does not date the visitation for the plate in the churches until the year 1553,[2] which must be too late if the above receipt be correctly given.

"It further appears from Barrett's *History of Bristol*, p. 440, that there being much plate still remaining in All Saints' church in 1552, it was, on the 6th of August, delivered to the king's commissioners for the use of his mint at Bristol, two chalices and six bells excepted, which were left till the king's pleasure was further known.

"John Evans, in his *Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol*, p. 142, states that in 1549, August 14th, the plate of All Saints' church weighed 423½oz., but that it was nearly all taken to the mint for coinage in 1549–52."[3]

Edward VI., through his mother, was sixth in descent from a rich merchant of Bristol, named Markus William, mayor in 1422.

DESCENT OF EDWARD VI. FROM A BRISTOL MERCHANT.

Markus William, merchant of Bristol, M.P. 1421, mayor 1422. Arms, Per bend. g. and arg., three roses in bend counterchanged, as quartered by the Duke of Somerset. = ...

Isabel, daughter and heir. = Sir John Seymour, Knt., died 20th December, 1464, aged 52.

John Seymour, Esq., died in his father's lifetime, 1463. = ...

Sir John Seymour, Knt. (*æt.* 14 in 1464). = ...

Sir John Seymour, Knt., died 21st December, 1536, *æt.* 60, constable of Bristol castle. = Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth, K.B., had besides others

Sir Edward Seymour, K.G., "the Protector," Duke of Somerset, beh. 22d June, 1552. = ...

Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, beh. 1549. = Queen Katherine, widow of Henry VIII.

Jane, mar. 20th May, 1536. = Henry VIII.

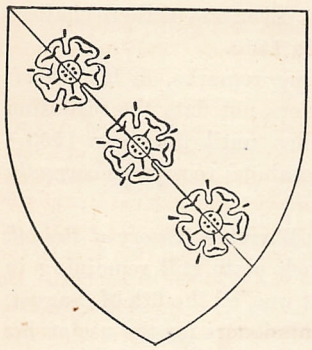
Sir Edward Seymour, first cousin of Edward VI. = Jane, daughter of Mr. Justice Walsh, late recorder of Bristol.

King Edward VI., born 12th October, 1537, died 6th July, 1553.

The Dukes of Somerset and the Marquises of Hertford.

[1] In the State Trials, VII., 1, the sum is £12,000.
[2] History of Reformation, II., 93. [3] State Trials, VII., 7.
[4] See Ruding's Annals of the Coinage for many of these particulars. [5] Barrett, 478.

[1] Barrett, 509. [2] History of the Reformation, II., 205.
[3] Henfrey, 355–9.



Arms of the Seymour Family.

Markus William's name is variously given. In the Seymour pedigree he is called William MacWilliam. William Wyrcestre, mentioning the great garden and orchard belonging to him between the Frome and the Old Market, styles him "Markyswilliam." In the Parliamentary writ his name is thus given:—"Markus William." Leland says:—"One MacWilliams, being younger son of a gentilman in Ireland, came to Bristowe, and there so increased in riches, that he bought lands to the sum of three or four hundred markes by the yere. . . ." Isabel, who survived her husband, and died in 1483, was possessed of houses in Redcliff, Thomas and Temple streets, and many others in various parts of Bristol.

25. Mary, the eldest daughter of Henry, succeeded Edward VI. at the ripe age of 38 years. On the occasion of her marriage with Philip of Spain, in 1554, there were great rejoicings and a grand procession in Bristol. With the new *régime* the Roman Catholic religion was restored, and during her happily brief reign religious intolerance and cruel persecutions were rampant. Naturally sincere and high-minded, kind and charitable to the poor, a much more womanly woman than her magnificent sister and successor, Mary was, nevertheless, ill-fitted to wear a crown. Her piety was fostered into furious bigotry by angry, revengeful and interested priests; ill-health, an unhappy marriage and domestic troubles made her peevish and ill-tempered. Differences of opinion on religious matters were treated as crimes, and thousands of persons in this kingdom were, during her reign, deprived of goods, liberty, health and social status, whilst not fewer than 285 persons, including five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, fifty-five women, and four children, were burned to death for conscientious adherence to the truth, as they understood it from reading the Word of God. Of the cruelties perpetrated under her authority in Bristol, Ricart's Continuator in the *Calendar* is judiciously silent, the records have been destroyed, and it is only from incidental fragments, scattered through various MSS., and from the history of the Martyrs, that we can gather the probable number, names, and the quality of the sufferers. These are generally supposed to have been only five, and their names are preserved on a commemorative monumental tablet erected in Highbury Congregational church, which was built upon the site of the gallows, and covers the identical spot where these martyrs, rather than abjure, sealed the truth with their blood.

In Memory
Of the under-named
Martyrs,
Who during the reign of Queen Mary,
For the avowal of their Christian faith,
Were burnt to death on the ground
Upon which this Chapel is erected.

WILLIAM SHAPTON, Suffered Oct. 17th, 1555.
RICHARD SHARP, May 17, 1557.
EDWARD SHARP, Sept. 8, 1556.
THOMAS HALE, May 17, 1557.
THOMAS BANION, August 17, 1557.

"Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do."

We are afraid the number of the sufferers must be extended, and that two names, one being that of a woman, must be added to the above list.

In a calendar of the mayors and sheriffs of Bristol, once the property of Henry Mugleworth, who was the sword-bearer in the last years of the 17th century, there are these two entries:—

1555. Mayor, Wm. Young, grocer. Sheriffs, Thomas Shipman, merchant, and Giles Burton, soapmaker. This year Rose Pencell and William Shapton, weaver, were burnt for religion on the 17th of October.

1556. Robert Sexley, draper, mayor; George Snigg, merchant, and John Griffith, bedder, sheriffs. This year were two men, the one a weaver and the other a cobbler, burnt for religion; and a shearman for denying the sacrament of the altar to be the body and blood of Christ really and substantially. Also this year wheat was sold for 8*d.* the bushel, but at the end of the year it rose to 22*d.* the bushel.

The martyr list it seems to us, if the above be correct, should read thus:—

1555.	*Age.*	*Occupation.*	*Apprehended.*	*Burnt.*
Rose Pencell, or Peniell				Oct. 17.
William Shapton		Weaver		Oct. 17.
1556.				
Edward Sharp	Over 60			Sept. 8.
William Saxton	Young man,	Carpenter	Aug. 8	Sept. 18.
1557.				
Richard Sharp		Weaver	March 9 / recanted 19	May 7.
Thomas Hale		Shoemaker	April 24	May 7.
Thomas Banion		Weaver		Aug. 27.

Fox, in his *Book of Martyrs*, only mentions four of the above.

William Sarton, a weaver, who was committed to prison by Dalby, the chancellor of the diocese, and condemned for holding that the sacrament was a sign of an holy thing, also he denied that the flesh and blood of Christ is there, after their words of consecration. He was burned the 18th of September, anno 1556, and as he went to the fire he sung psalms. The sheriff, John Griffith, had prepared green wood to burn him; but one Master John Pikes, pitying the man, caused divers to go with him to Ridland, half a mile off, who brought good store of helme sheaves, which indeed made good dispatch with little pain, in comparison

to that he should have suffered with the green wood. In the mean space, whilest they went for the sheaves, the said Sarton made many good exhortations to the people, and after died constantly and patiently with great joyfulness.

Richard Sharp, weaver, of Bristow, was brought the 9th day of March, anno 1556, before Master Dalby, chancellor of the town or city of Bristow, and after examination concerning the sacrament of the altar, was perswaded by the said Dalby and others to recant, and the 29th of the same month was enjoyned to make his recantation before the parishioners in his parish church. Which when he had done, he felt in his conscience such a tormenting hell that he was not able quietly to work in his occupation, but decayed and changed both in colour and liking of his body. Who shortly after upon Sunday came into parish church, called Temple, and after high mass came to the quire door and said with a loud voice: "Neighbours, hear me record that yonder idol (pointing to the altar) is the greatest and most abominable that ever was; and I am sorry that ever I denyed my Lord God." Then the constables were commanded to apprehend him, but none stepped forth, but suffered him to go out of the church. After by night, he was apprehended and carried to Newgate, and shortly after was brought before the chancellor, denying the sacrament of the altar to be the body and blood of Christ, and said it was an idol, and therefore was condemned to be burned by the said Dalby. He was burned the 7th day of May, 1557, and died godly, patiently, and constantly confessing the articles of our faith.



Highbury Congregational Church.

The Thursday in the night before Easter, anno 1557, came one Mr. David Harris, alderman (apothecary, mayor, 1551, under Edward VI.), and John Stone, to the house of one Thomas Hale, a shoemaker, and caused him to rise out of his bed, and brought him forth to his door. To whom the said Thomas Hale said: "You have sought my blood these two years, and now much good do you with it." Who, being committed to the watchmen, was carried to Newgate the 24th of April, the year aforesaid, and was brought before Mr. Dalby, the chancellor, committed by him to prison, and after condemned by him to be burnt, for saying the sacrament of the altar to be an idol. He was burnt the 7th of May with the foresaid Richard Sharp, and godly, patiently, and constantly embraced the fire with his arms. They were bound back to back.

Thomas Banion, a weaver, at the commandment of the commissioners, was brought by a constable, the 13th day of August, anno 1557, before Master Dalby, chancellor of Bristol, who committed him to prison for saying there was nothing but bread in the sacrament as they used it. Wherefore the 20th day of the said August he was condemned to be burnt by the said Dalby, for denying five of these sacraments and affirming two, that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ and of baptism. He was burnt the 27th of the said month and year, and died godly, constantly, and patiently, confessing the articles of our Christian faith."[1]

We have here the record of four sufferers and the dates of their martyrdom, 1556–7. Supposing Sarton, the weaver, according to Fox, to be identical with the young man by trade a carpenter (elsewhere mentioned by the calendars but without giving the name), we have three others to account for. William Shapton is mentioned by three authorities (Seyer, Evans and Mugleworth) as suffering on October 17th, 1555; Rose Pencell, mentioned only by Mugleworth, burned in the same year; and Edward Sharp, a Wiltshire man of three-score years, who was burned on the 8th of September, 1556, whom Fox, it seems to us, has confounded with Richard Sharp, who did not suffer until the 7th of May, 1557. As we have stated, all other records of these frightful atrocities have been apparently destroyed. Whether the sufferers were five or seven cannot positively be asserted, but "the record is on high."

Paul Bush, the bishop, a married man, who refused to

[1] Fox, Acts and Monuments, III., 749–50, 855.

relinquish his wife, had given up the see and retired to Winterbourne rectory, where he died. John Hollyman, who succeeded him in the bishopric of Bristol, to his eternal credit, refused to have anything to do with these cruelties.

Good Bishop Hooper, who was burned at Gloucester on the 9th of February, 1555, was a friar of the Carmelites in Bristol ere he embraced the new doctrines. Bishop Latimer was well known in the city as a most popular preacher, he is described at his trial as being clad in "an old threadbare Bristol frieze gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at the which hanged by a long string of leather his testament, his spectacles without case depending about his neck upon his breast." He was burned with Bishop Ridley at Oxford on October 16th, 1555. It is recorded that many others in Bristol were questioned but escaped. Two of the reforming preachers, Pacy and Huntington, made their way to the Continent; returning after the accession of Elizabeth, Huntington, preaching at the Cross in College green, charged his hearers, and especially David Harris, the ex-mayor, Sheriff Griffith, and Chancellor Dalby, who had all three been active agents in the persecutions, with ill-using both those that escaped and those that suffered. "Know you not who made the strict search for Mr. Pacy? Whom, if God had not hid, as Jeremiah, you had burned stump and all [Pacy had a wooden leg]. Yet you had no pity. And you know who went to Redland to buy green wood for the execution of those blessed saints that suffered, when near at home, at the Back or the Quay, he might have had dry. Take heed; a little sorrow will not serve, God may cast you into unquenchable fire, worse than the soultering of green wood."[1] [If this refers to the occurrence noted at 248, it is only another instance of the distortion of facts by prejudiced narrators.]

These Marian persecutions were as politically foolish as they were cruelly wicked. Had the martyr list closed with the death of the great leaders of the Reformation, men who exulted in a death by fire as the crowning glory of their life's labour, we might understand how a spirit of revenge had obliterated in their persecutors the heavenly quality of mercy. But when humble artisans and contemplative weavers were, on the spiteful accusation of some bigoted neighbour, dragged from their peaceful homes to the stake and the fire, intense hatred and disgust were excited at such a mockery of religion. The sublime ennobling effect produced by the happiness amidst the torturing flames of these lowly martyrs for conscience sake, gave to their faith a mighty commanding influence over the beholders, and truly "their blood became the seed of the Church." They never die,

> "They are here!
> With us in the march of time,
> Beating at our side!
> Let us live their lives sublime,
> Though we die not as they died."

[1] Evans, 145.

We have given the dark side of David Harris' character, but in justice to him it should be mentioned that when mayor, in a time of great scarcity, he "prepared for the poor, for he caused every baker to bake bread for the commons at a price which the mayor and the bakers agreed upon." He appears to have been more appreciated as M.P. than as mayor, having been twice elected representative of the city.

John Smyth was mayor in 1547 and 1554. In the latter year he was a commissioner to take the surrender of the Hospital of St. John, without Redcliff gate. Part of the confiscated church lands which he purchased belong to Ashton Court estate. During his mayoralty, in 1554, the following notice occurs: "Paid for a copy of the Corporation of the College, wherein the town is called the City of Bristol, henceforth as appears by said draft out of Walter Glisson's office, 3*s.* 4*d.*" Also the following:—

> It is ordained that from henceforth no person or persons shall be elected or chosen Town Clerk, or Steward of the Court of the Tolzey in this city, unless he or they have been an under-barrister at some Inn of Court. And it is further ordained that from henceforth none shall be elected and chosen to be Recorder of this city under the degree of a Bencher.

Smyth's monument was at the east end of the north aisle of St. Werburgh's, it bore the figure of a man and seven sons, engraven in brass on one side of a lectern, on the other side of which his wife and two daughters were depicted, all in an attitude of supplication. Underneath was the following inscription in Latin verse:—"To John Smith and Johanna his wife, Hugh and Matthew, sons of the same, have erected this. A pair lie together in this family tomb: a husband united with his wife. Just as the marriage couch sustained the two, so does the sepulchre. John Smith, the husband, a man worthy of being loved, chose Johanna, equally graced in love. The happy pair passed many a year together, with a double token of their love. 1556." When the said church was re-built in 1760, and shortened to widen the entrance of Small street, the monument was entirely removed.

William Young, grocer, mayor in 1555, gave by will, in 1587, £50 to keep the prisoners at work in Bridewell.

During Sexley's mayoralty, in 1556, the following ordinance was passed:—

It is ordained that the Town Clerk of this city, for the time being, shall be resident and abiding in this city, and shall assist the Mayor and other officers with his best counsel and advice, and diligently serve and execute his office, and not to depart out of the said city without the special license of the said Mayor, procured and had according to the ancient order, and that for one week or more according to the discretion of the said Mayor, upon pain to lose and forfeit his office for evermore. And it is also agreed that the said Town Clerk of Bristol shall have intelligence of this ordinance and desire between this and June next, to make provision accordingly.

In 1557, we learn a complaint was laid before the Council that the magistrates of Bristol seldom came to the sermons at the Cathedral; so the dean and chapter, with the cross carried before them in procession, used to go to their houses, to fetch them to church. Upon which a letter was written to them to conform themselves willingly to the orders of the Church to frequent the sermons and go thither of their own accord.[1]

26. On April 4th, 1555, another brutal execution took place in Bristol. Four men, John Walters, Robert Haddy, Gilbert Sheat, and John White, were convicted of coining money. They were hanged, drawn and quartered, and their bloody quarters were set up over the gates of the city. Need we wonder that under such demoralising influences crime increased greatly. Robberies with violence were prevalent, men of rank became robbers, loathsome offences abounded. At Oxford fifty men were hanged at one assize.

Seyer, quoting from one of the MS. Calendars, says, "in 1556 the merchants of Bristol, in a great conflict on the sea, lost ships and goods to the value of £40,000, or thereabout." This must have been in 1558, we think, when Calais was taken by the Duke of Guise, England not being engaged in any foreign war in the year named. During the latter years of Mary's reign the rose penny, it is said, fell to nought, the coin was so fearfully debased. Needles and glass were first made in London during this reign. There was scarcely a chimney to any ordinary house in the country parts, the fire was kindled by the wall and the smoke found its way out through roof, door, or window; the walls were plastered with clay, and the internal condition of the dwellings had undergone little or no improvement from that described by Erasmus. The great bulk of the people slept on straw pallets with a round log of wood for a pillow. The dinner hour was eleven in the morning, the supper between five and six in the evening. Wheat fluctuated greatly in price; during a year of scarcity it was sold for 6*s.* 8*d.* per bushel, but immediately after harvest it fell to 8*d.*, then it rose by Christmas to 22*d.* Horse hire was 6*d.* per day.

[1] Burnet, 559.

Mary died of dropsy on the 17th of November, 1558, having reigned 5 years 7 months 11 days. She is not known to have coined any money in Bristol.

27. Elizabeth began her reign on the death of her sister, she being then twenty-five years of age, a woman of good natural ability, considerable learning, of a tall, commanding appearance, with red golden hair. She was, like her father, of an arbitrary disposition, but had sufficient judgment to yield to the inevitable in time, and so secure the affection of her people. She loved her country, and by her choice of wise counsellors maintained its honour and prosperity both at home and abroad. No sovereign of Great Britain has left a higher reputation for talent, prudence and magnanimity than Elizabeth, yet she was by no means free from the weaknesses that pertain to human nature or those peculiar to her sex.

In the first year of her reign she confirmed the Bristol charters. The office of mayor was no sinecure, but was one of great power as well as honour. During the mayoralty of Roger Jones, grocer, the second of Elizabeth, 1559:—

"It is ordained that from henceforth the mayor of this city, for the time being, shall sit one day in the week with the aldermen in the Council Chamber over the Tolzey, secretly, there to instruct and devise for the good order, rule, and governance of the said city and common affairs, and not to hear private suits or complaints on that day unless the cause be great and urgent."

In this latter year we are told that by the cost and industry of the mayor, Mr. John Pikes, mercer, Bristol was exempted for ever from the Marches of Wales, which before had been great trouble and expense to them. We have before noticed the successful claim of exemption, in 1528, from the jurisdiction of the lord president of the council of the Marches. Seyer thinks that up to this date Bristol had to bear its share in furnishing men and money for the defence of the borders from the Welsh. It may be so; the conflict of authorities in the Marches frequently remained in an unsettled state for many years together. If justice were blind, equity was lame, and much people suffered under their infirmities; but the above is clearly a ratification of the decision given at Ludlow. Hugh Draper, a merchant of Bristol, was, in 1560, tried at Westminster, with seven other men in good position, citizens of London, Winchester, &c., "for conjuration and sorcery." They having "confessed their wicked actions, and bound themselves by oath to abstain from the like for the future, were committed to the Fleet prison." By special command of the queen and council, they were set in the pillory

before the queen's palace at Westminster hall. Temple conduit was removed and re-built in the centre of the street of that name in 1561–2. The fountain head is shown by a square stone, high up in the road, cut through Pile hill, near the three lamps at Totterdown.

28. During the first three years of Elizabeth's reign polemics had been rife throughout the land. The queen, in 1558, had forbidden the elevation of the Host in the Chapel Royal, and had liberated all the prisoners who had been incarcerated for matters of faith. The Bishop's Bible was published in 1559, and that of Miles Coverdale was re-introduced into England in 1560. The Act of Uniformity was passed, the queen was declared the head of the church, Edward VI.'s laws and the Book of Common Prayer were restored, and the Roman Catholics, both bishops and priests, were deprived of their sees and livings, whilst many of the laity who conscientiously refused to take the oaths of supremacy went into voluntary exile. Then Protestant refugees returned from the Continent in large numbers, and both the queen and her advisers had to resist the ultra-Protestantism that would willingly have revived the smouldering embers of persecution. Laws against astrologers were enacted in 1561. It was this probably that enkindled afresh the turbulent spirit of the citizens and apprentices, and may help to account for the above prosecution of Draper and the following curious entry in our annals:—

1561. This year was much trouble about the christening of a child, for which the whole city was in an uproar, and all went armed into the Marsh one among another, not knowing scarce their foes. The mayor ordered the Marsh gates to be taken off, to make more room for the commons; but he and his brethren stood trembling in the Marsh to see what would become of the stir, which in the end was pacified by the help of Mr. Chester, a pointmaker, with his company.

There was a gathering of much people in the Marsh, and the apprentices did beat great drums and make great brags; but when Mr. Chester (him that had been mayor) and his company did come, and he inquired of the leaders what they required, they did not answer a word, having no cause for complaint, and presently dispersed to their homes.

Nicholas Williams, tailor, presided over the councils of the city in 1563, when the following memoranda are set down:—

That the 4th day of February, in the year aforesaid, it was ordained that every first Tuesday of every month in the year all the persons of the common council shall be called and resort together to understand and take order for such things as shall be amiss, that the same may be redressed.

"Item. The 6th day of June, in the year aforesaid, it was ordained that for every ship of the burthen of one hundred tons or upwards that shall be graven or mended at the slip of the Back of Avon, the owner shall pay to the Chamber of this city forty shillings for every time; and for every ship under a hundred tons to forty tons to pay 26*s.* 8*d.*; and under forty tons to pay 20*s.* for every such graving. Provided also, and it is ordained that no person shall have any ship or any other vessel with holm, straw, or any other thing at the back aforesaid; but if they heat any pitch or plank, they shall do so upon the Chesill, within ten feet of the low water mark; and that if any dig any holes or break any part of the slip they shall fill and repair the same again at their costs and charges forthwith."

A cautious repugnance to strangers was still a salient feature of the commercial laws:—

"Also, that any boat having any mast shall be shoaled upon any of the slips upon pain to forfeit every time 6*s.* 8*d.*; and if any stranger offend in any the said points after lawful warning, he shall forfeit the double of the same above written."

The year 1564–5 was remarkable on several accounts. On the 7th of October there was an extraordinary display of the Aurora Borealis, which, being followed by an outbreak of the deadly plague, that lasted a whole year and carried off 2,500 persons, the people in their superstitious ignorance concluded the natural phenomenon had been the cause of the disease. Also, from December 21st to January 3rd the frost was so intense that the tidal river froze as far down as Hungroad, and the people crossed on the ice in perfect safety.

O'Neil having risen in rebellion in Ireland, 700 soldiers arrived in Bristol about the end of St. James' fair on their way to that country, being detained here by contrary winds for six weeks. They grew unruly and quarrelled with the citizens. Many blows were interchanged around the High Cross, when Captain Gilbert, one of the officers who lodged at the New inn, behind All Saints church, rushed out with sword and target and quieted the tumult. Then Captain Randall the next day held a court-martial, and was proceeding to execute four of the ringleaders—Lawes, Herring, Carvell and Grant; the gibbet was erected before the mayor's door (Northall, the pewterer), in High street, at the end of St. Mary-le-port street, but the mayor and citizens interceded and saved their lives. The expedition left Bristol on October 8th, but many of the men died in Ireland of the cold, and others were sick, so that Randall had only 300 men, with whom he defeated 800 of O'Neil's army, slaying, it is said, 600 without the loss of a man, save Randall himself, who perished through the wilfulness of his horse, which carried him into the midst of the enemy.

One Monsieur Laudonniere arrived in Bristol this year on his return from Florida, where he had taken a party of French Protestant emigrants to found a colony. The Spaniards, who claimed the Continent, landed and attacked them: the settlers surrendered, but were cruelly hanged, with ignominious labels attached to their bodies. Laudonniere escaped. This atrocity was revenged a few years afterwards by the French, who treated the Spanish prisoners whom they had taken in the like manner.

The town clerk, Mr. Read, erected a windmill on Brandon hill, which it is commonly believed was made free to the Bristol washerwomen by the queen. This year also the following ordinance was passed:—

"Eighth of Elizabeth.—It is ordained, the two-and-twentieth of March, in the year 1565, that if any freeman or burgess of the city shall depart out of the same city to dwell, and being adjudged by the Common Council of the same city to be of ability to bear the office of Sheriff or Mayor of the same city, or shall not supply the same office when he shall be lawfully required thereunto, shall forfeit to the Mayor and Commonalty of the City aforesaid the sum of two hundred pounds and lose the freedom of the city."

William Pepwall, grocer, was mayor in 1568; it was ordered that a new straight cut should be made for the river Parrett through the lordship of Hamp (? *Hanip*), near Bridgwater, in order to prevent the submergence by the tides of at least 10,000 acres of land. The Commissioners were Sir Hugh Paulet, Sir George Speke, Sir Maurice Berkeley, Humphrey Coles and Henry Portman, Esqs., with other good yeomen of the country. The said lordship belonged to Bristol.[1] The plague still lingered in the purlieus of the city, but was far less fatal than it had been in the preceding year; 188 persons only are recorded as having died thereof in eleven months. Three sheriffs succumbed to the disease. Roger Smith, the sheriff, died; he was succeeded by William Rich, who, dying, Richard Carey took his place; he also died and was succeeded by Richard Young.

The leaning tower of Temple church has ever been an object of curiosity, and strangers to the city looked upon it as one of the lions of Bristol. This year Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, came from Bath, having with him the Earl of Worcester, the Earl of Berkeley, Lord Rich, and others. In order to test the report of the vibration of the said tower, he and his friends had the bells rung. Little did the duke think of the instability of his own greatness, he was already tottering to his fall; whilst listening to the merry peals a messenger arrived from the queen summoning him in all haste to London. Elizabeth had discovered a project of marriage between the duke and Mary, Queen of Scots, and he exchanged Bristol with its hospitable gaieties for a stone-walled cell in the Tower, and two years later he laid his head upon the block. Robert, Earl of Leicester, was now lord high steward of Bristol; the Bear and Ragged Staff in Narrow Wine street was his cognizance. The plan of the city, known as Hoefnagles', was this year, 1569–70, printed in a book entitled *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. Modern lithographs will have made this map familiar to most of our readers. The Earl of Bedford and his son came to Bristol and were entertained at the house of Mr. Higgins (or Wiggins), Small street.

[1] Mayor's Calendar, 57–8.

William Tucker, mayor in 1570–71—

"It is ordained that as well as the nomination of the three persons, whereof one shall be chosen to be mayor of this city for the year then next following, also the choosing and election of the said mayor shall be on the morrow after the exaltation of the Holy Cross, and at no other time. At which time and day the mayor and other officers of the said city have time out of mind been chosen. Anything in any former ordinance to the contrary hereof notwithstanding."

This mayor was one of three aldermen who died in the same week in September, 1583. He bequeathed 40*s.* per annum to St. Nicholas parish, at Easter 20*s.* and at Christmas 20*s.*, and 6*s.* 8*d.* for a sermon next Sunday after Trinity Sunday for ever. He caused, during his year of office, a market to be established in Thomas street every Thursday. The vestrymen of the parish built the market place along the breadth of the church and churchyard for the sale of wool, yarn, cattle, &c. In return for this privilege the feoffees of St. Thomas granted to the mayor and Corporation the two houses and land on which the meal market was kept in Wine street, now the guard-house. John Willis, chamberlain in 1569–70, caused all the causeways about the city (seven miles in length) to be made; he also built the Bell tavern in Broad street and obtained the Back hall as a gift to the city, wherein himself died this year.[1]

Thomas Chester, son of William the "pacificator," was chief civic magistrate in 1569–70, during his mayoralty this memorandum is entered:—

"That the two and twentieth day of March in the year aforesaid it is ordered, that whensoever the office of the High Steward of this city shall be void, the same office shall be given to one of the Privy Council commonly attending upon the Queen's person as heretofore hath been used."

Two years previously Thomas Chester represented the city in Parliament. In the same year he purchased the manor of Almondsbury, and was high sheriff of the county of Gloucestershire. The summer of 1583 was fatal to aldermen, three dying in one week, Thomas Chester being one. He died 24th June, and was buried in St. James' church. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Samuel Asprey [or Astrey], of Henbury, in the county of Gloucestershire. In 1582 Thomas Chester, by deed, gave to the Corporation, lands worth £10 per annum; to St. John's almshouse, £7 16*s.*; to that on St. James' Back, £4, and to the people in Bridewell, £2. Anthony Standback, mayor in 1564, gave the Corporation, by will, certain tenements on the quay, the income to Queen Elizabeth's hospital.

[1] Evans, 149.

29. John Stone, brewer, mayor in 1562–68–71. In his last year of office he "kept a watch at Midsummer night and St. Peter's night":—

The doors of the richer citizens were dressed out with green stuffe, birch or long fennel, adorned with garlands of gay flowers; tables before the doors were set out furnished with sweete breade and good drinke, whereunto they would cordially invite their neighbours, and the passers by, and be merry with them, in great familiarity.

Lamps of oyl, which burned all night, were hung out in clusters on branches of iron of curious workmanship; at stated intervals in the streets and open places huge bonfires blazed; hundreds of torches threw their yellow flare around, whilst the red cresset lights of the constables, and the thousands of waxen candles in the windows, turned the night as it were into day.

First marched the train bands with trumpets blaring, drums rolling, and many whistlers and fifers, whose shrill tones woke up the echoes of the darkling night. Ancients with their banners shaking and fluttering in the wind, demi-launces on their great horses; gunners with hand-guns, or half-hakes; archers in coats of white fustian, with the city arms stamped on the breast and back, their bows unstrung, and quivers full of arrows; pikemen in bright steel corslets; the mayor, aldermen and Council in their robes of office; grave citizens in unofficial coats of silk, or cloth, with golden chains around their necks; then the different trading companies with their master, officers and pageant, bedeck'd in colors, armed with all manner of warlike weapons; these were succeeded by the mayor's liverymen in say jackets of Watchet blue, followed by the sheriff's men in lesser numbers and clad in graver colors, who all combined to make a goodly show, as the many-colored lights flickered on divers parts of the huge procession, now clothing a group with a golden hue, deepening the rich scarlets of the Corporation to a glowing purple, flashing back bright beams from the polished corslets, and mellowing the distance with the haze of an artificial twilight.

But the humming stuff was too strong and the broken heads too many for the scene to be repeated, and so John Brown, the next mayor, turned these night watches into a general muster of a war-like character on Midsummer day, followed by another on St. Peter's day. Then each craft and company marched with drums, colours and pageant to Canons' Marsh (Queen square), in grand procession, and practised at the butts with bow, cross-bow, hand-gun and artillery, diversifying their practice with merry bouts of kiss-in-the-ring, and tripping the toe fantastic with their wives, sweethearts, and the well-pleased lookers on. Political feeling now began to exhibit itself in connection with the election of members of Parliament. John Popham and Philip Langley were returned by the sheriffs, contrary, apparently to the wish of the burgesses. A seat in the House of Commons had become an object of ambition. Popham was high steward of Bristol.

In John Stone's last official year the following ordinance was promulgated:—

"30th April, 1571.—Mem. That the day and year above written it is ordained that the Chamberlain's book of accounts which he shall yearly render, suche being subscribed with his own hand, shall remain in a chest with three lockes, whereof the Maior, for the time beinge, to keep one key, and one of the Aldermen to keep another key, and the third key to be kept by one other of the Common Council appointed for that purpose. And that the Chamberlain shall keep a booke containing the full of his yearlie accounts for his remembrance, whereunto the auditors, for the time being, yearly shall set their hands at the time of the delivery of the saide bookes."

Thomas Warner, soapmaker, and Randolph Hassill were sheriffs. The plague was "hot" in Bristol in 1575, and "the sickness that walketh at noon-day" had no respect for official dignity. To it John Stone fell a victim; his monument was in Temple church, it is now on the outside of the chancel wall and bears this inscription, "To John Stone, thrice Mayor, who had four wives; *he died 24th of June*, 1575, *with his effigy and his four wives; with the brewer's arms.*"

Although representing the city in Parliament in 1559–63–67, also chosen to the civic chair in 1560, William Carr is more known for his large-hearted liberality and his discriminating benevolence. He gave by will, in 1574, to the Corporation lands, &c., to the value of £10 per annum, to the poor of the city in the several almshouses, and £26 13*s.* 4*d.* towards the marriage of poor maids, and £25 to the highways. He died of the plague in 1575, and was buried in St. Werburgh's church. In 1575 Ann Carr, by will, gave the Corporation £60 to clothe poor people, and £50 to buy coal and wood, to be sold to the poor without gain.

John Brown increased the size of barrels and kilderkins; also, he left money for "good uses." In 1595 he gave, by will, "out of two tenements on the Weir, twelve shifts, six for men and six for women, to the value of 28*s.* 8*d.* per annum. One year to the Merchants' almshouse in the Marsh and two years to the poor of St. Nicholas' parish, and so to continue for ever."

30. In 1574 Thomas Kelke, merchant, was mayor. Like many another city magnate this good man at his death, in 1583, left to the corporation £10 in land for the use of the poor of the city, and £70 for other uses. During his mayoralty Bristol prepared to receive her virgin queen. Old guns were furbished up and all kinds of artillery were put into requisition to add to the din in which English loyalty delights to explode. Stocks of gunpowder were increased and stored away for the occasion. On the eve of her Majesty's visit one such hoard exploded at the Pelican inn (now the Talbot, Victoria street), and ten men were blown to atoms.

The next day Elizabeth entered the city, and was most honourably received by the mayor and his brethren, who met her with the citizens and their companies with their colours, &c., the mayor carrying the sword before

her, and so they came to the High Cross, newly painted and gilded, where, "in a disguised manner stood Faem, very orderly set forth, and spoke as followeth, by an excellent boy," but we spare the reader the speech; when Faem had ended and flung up a great garland, the scene was renewed at St. John's gate, where "Salutacion" and "Gratulacion" had each an equally "long ditty," leaving the fourth boy, "Obedient Good Will," no chance to speak, the time was so far spent. They then proceeded to Sir John Young's great house, in front of which "three hundred soldiers shot off their pieces, at which warning the great artillery went off a hundred and thirty cast pieces; and then a hundred shot [not cannon shot, but musketeers] not pikemen, were appointed for her guard, where she rested at the great house."



Queen Elizabeth at St. John's Gate.

"On Sunday the Queen went to the Colledge [Cathedral] to hear a sarmond, whear thear was a speetch to be sayd and an imme to be songe by a very fien boye;" but the schoolmaster, who should have made the speech, "envied that any stranger should sett forth these shoes," and either in the sulks, or more probably in drink, could not, or would not, say it.

Two forts being made close by the water, over at Wapping, a scaffold was raised for the queen and the Court at Gibb Taylor, on this or the city side of Prince street bridge. There were volleys of powder spent in attacking the fort, and volleys of poetry (save the mark) between Dissencion, Peace, and Warre.—Soldiers attacked the little fort on Redcliff hill and rased it to the earth, but the main fort held out till, by torchlight, the queen went to her lodging.

"The next day was thear maed a newe aproetch to the mayn fort for a better order of warre, and to the ayde of the fort cam dyvers gentlemen from the Court. Now sarved the tied, and up the water from Kyng roed came three brave galleys, chasing a shyp, that cam with vittayls to the fort."

Then John Robarts, of the Temple, swam, in his clothes from the fort in its great extremity to the queen for aid, carrying in his hand a book covered with green velvet, in which were the speeches she could not hear, *i.e.*, "the whole substance of this devyce."

"Then Perswasion takes up her tale, and the City answers her: Perswasion was dismissed. War brings fresh batteries into play, and the fort succumbed on the third day, when all joined in crying 'God save the Queen.'"

It speaks well for the taste of her Majesty, that "aer theas things wear brought to an end, she went in the gallees down to Kyng roed," to see the lovely scenery of the Avon. But her purgatory was not ended yet, for on her departure "a gentilman in the confiens of the toun's liberties spaek this speech that follows: 'The dolfull a Due!'" [the which if any desire to read, may be found with all the rest of the foolery in the "First part of Churchyardes Chippes Twelve several labours, 1575."] The official notice of this visit reads thus:—

"This yere on Satterday, beinge the xiiijth day of August, the Queene came to this citie, and Mr. Maior and the Common Counsell ridinge with foote clothes, receaved her highnes within Laffardes gate. And ther Mr. Maior delyvered the gilt mace vnto her Maiestie, and she then presentelie delyvered it to him againe. And so Mr. Maior knelinge whiles Mr. John Popham esquier, Recorder of this citie, made an oracon, did after it was ended stand vp, and delyvered a faire purse wrought with silke and golde having an hundred poundes in gold in it, vnto her highnes. And therevpon Mr. Maior and his bretheren toke theire horses, and Mr. Maior rode nighe before the Queene betwene two

sergantes-at-armes. And the residewe of the Common Counsell rode next afore the nobilitie and trumpeters, and so passed throughe the towne vnto Mr. John Yonges howse, where she lay vntill Satterday then next followinge, on which day a litle before her Maiesties departure hence she made five knightes—(that is) the said Sir John Yonge, Sir Richard Barkeley of Stoke, Mr. Tracie, Sir Thomas Porter, and Sir William Morgan of Penycoite. And duringe her abode here (among other thinges devised for plesure) there weare iiij c. soldiers in one sute of apparell, whereof iij c. weare harquebussiers and j c. pikemen in corselettes. Also there was made a greate large forte standinge in Trenemill meade over againste Gibtaylor, which was assaulted by land and water iij. daies. And there was also another litle forte called the base fortt, standinge upon the hill beyond, which was wonne the first night that the assault was given. And the Queene was there at euerie assault duringe the saide iij daies, for whose standinge there was builded a large scaffolde of tymber in the Marshe. Whiche martiall experiment being verie costlie and chargeable (especially in gonnepowder), the Queene and nobilitie liked verie well of, and gaue Mr. Maior and his brethren greate thankes for theire doinges." [1]

"The charge of the Queenes Maties enterteignem^{t} to the citie of Bristol:

	£	s.	d.
Gilding and painting the High Cross, and making new beams	66	13	8
Newly rafting and plastering of Laford's Gate, on both sides; Newgate, and both the Froome Gates, on both sides; and for setting up of scaffolds and taking down the same	16	6	1
Painting and gilding the said gates	26	13	4
Pitching the streets [sanding, various several charges]	13	18	10
Setting up a scaffold at the High Cross, for the oration	0	8	3
Setting up the Queen's arms and the Town's arms, in freestone, in the Guildhall wall [the same now standing—1824]	10	14	0
The purse of gold, silver, and silk, wherein the 200 angeletts was presented	1	12	0
Setting up a gallery in the Marsh, for the Queen's Majesty to see the triumphs	19	4	3
Mending the way in Magdalen-lane, where the Earl of Lincoln lay	0	6	8
Fees and charge to the Queen's Clerk of the Market, and to the Yeoman of the Bottles	5	0	0
Making the Queen's way through Temple-Mead, at her going away	0	14	3
Mr. Domynyck Chester, for charge of the two forts, with other business, as by his accompt	81	8	4
John Field, for his pains in dressing the Marsh	1	0	0
Captain Shute, for his travaile, who was captain of all the army	16	13	4
Mr. CHURCHYARD, *for his travaile both in the forts and concerning orations*	6	13	4
To eighty-six Pioneers who wrought at the forts	4	5	0

"The whole of the items number fifty-eight, and the sum total is £1,053 14*s.* 11*d.* The charges included herein for gunpowder amount to £210 7*s.* 8*d.* The price seems to have been from 1*s.* 1*d.* to 1*s.* 2*d.* per lb.

"Lord Burghley and the Earl of Oxford joined the Queen while she was in Bristol." [2]

[1] Mayor's Calendar, 58-59.

[2] Evans, 154.

Whether Thomas Kelke,[1] the mayor, was disappointed because the queen did not knight him, as she did her host, Sir John Young, does not appear, but he got crusty with the sheriffs and commanded them both to prison. One of them, William Bird, submitted; the other, Edward Porter, defied the mayor with the words, "The prison is mine, Sir Mayor; with it you have nothing to do."

One result of the queen's visit was that David Harris, the persecuting apothecary, and Roger Jones, grocer, who had been mayor during the last year of Mary's reign, were both of them deprived of their offices as aldermen, John Chester and John Stone being chosen in their room. The latter did not long enjoy the honour, for the next year the plague raged virulently in the city and he and three other ex-mayors, John Northall (pewterer), John Cutt, and William Carr, merchant and soapmaker, together with upwards of 1900 persons, fell victims to it. Bacon says "Praise is the reflection of virtue." Little dreamt good Mr. Northbrook, the preacher at Redcliff, that in this century his faithfulness to God and his kindness to his perishing fellow men would be had in glad remembrance, he during the whole of this awful visitation "did very much good in word and deed by teaching publicly, and in private from house to house."

Another result of Elizabeth's visit to Bristol was a treaty with the king of Spain relating to the trade with the Low Countries. The trade with Spain was now perhaps at its highest. In 1576, the *Peter*, a ship of 220 tons, belonging to Thomas Williams, merchant, of Bristol, was wrecked near Clevedon, and all the men but three perished. She was laden with oil and wine (sack), most of which was lost or stolen by wreckers. Next year "came such sweet and pleasant sack from Andalusia as was never before known, as pleasant as bastards." [2] (Sack and bastards were sweet muscadel wines, much admired in mediæval days). 1578 was evidently a good wine year.

The queen this year made an attempt to put the sumptuary laws against excessive apparel into force. Example, however, is better than precept. A sovereign who had 3,000 dresses in her own wardrobe could not reasonably expect to restrain the prodigality in fashion of her subjects.

31. About this time (1576) certain sailors of Pill stole a barque, and, turning pirates, robbed the Irish and other ships that were coming with goods to St.

[1] Mr. Kelke resided in Small street. In 1824 the house was occupied by Visgers, for offices, and Overbury, for a warehouse.

[2] Mayor's Calendar, 60.

James' fair. They abandoned the vessel in Wales, but four of the men foolishly returning to Pill were taken, tried on the 25th of September, and being condemned to death "three of them were hanged in chains on the point over against Gib Taylor [Prince street bridge] that the tide might run over them."

To "paddle your own canoe" has become a proverb, and the healthy pastime is one greatly indulged in by Bristol youths, to whom the large calm surface of our harbour affords a suitable arena for the exhibition of their skill. Thirty years ago a canoe was a curiosity, of which there were only very few specimens in the kingdom. The first canoe ever seen in Great Britain was exhibited three hundred years since on the river Avon [now the Floating Harbour]; it was brought here, in 1578, by Martin Frobisher, on his return in the Queen's ship *Aid*, 200 tons, from a voyage in search of the north-west passage to Cathay. He brought back a cargo which he fondly imagined to be gold ore, and also an Esquimaux with a wife and child, who were clothed in skins, and who fed upon raw flesh. On October 9th the man at high tide "rowed in a boat about 14 feet long made of skins, in form like unto a barge, but sharp at both ends, having but one round place for him to sit in; and as he rowed up and down he killed a couple of ducks with his dart, and when he had done he carried away the boat on his back through the Marsh; the like he did at the Weare and other places. Within one month they all three died." A second voyage was rapidly made for more of the valuable cargo, but alas! the ore was tested at the Mint in the Castle, also in London, the result being a speck of gold about the size of a pin's head, which is still preserved stuck upon the seal of the report.

Somewhere about this date "a gallant ship, the *Golden Lion*, 540 tons, from Andalusia, being badly moored at Hungroad, fell over and carried down with her a new hulk of 400 tons burthen, laden with 200 tons of salt, that was moored alongside of her." The *Golden Lion* was nearly unladen, having in her but 60 tuns of sack. This appears to have been the greatest calamity that has ever befallen the navigation of the Avon. The two vessels entirely for a while stopped up the river. Ships, lighters, casks and great engines were employed by the mayor and commonalty with very many men, to raise the sunken wreck. It was a very wet March. Once they got the ship "up a good height, but the engines and a great cable brake; after which time they could not move again, but at low water tore up all they could come at, *i.e.*, they had to break her up where she lay. Some part of her was seen long after on Shirehampton side; but I hear of no great hurt against her since."[1] The Mayor's *Calendar* states that more than half a year was spent in the attempt to remove the obstruction, and that "the river was in great danger utterly to have perished." The large ships were generally moored at Hungroad, the sandstone cliff opposite Shirehampton, until they were wholly or partially unladen, the huge rings and mooring chains may be remarked by any one passing on the river. John Prewett, tanner, was the mayor that year.

In 1577 there was a remarkable comet visible for ten days in the west, and in Easter week, 1579, a strong shock of an earthquake was felt in the city; another, termed a mighty earthquake, occurred in 1580. The old fortification of Monken-bridge was now destroyed (all except the tower—shown at 40—which stood until 1880), and the Bridewell built upon the site; "Meg Lowry, who feigned herself mad, was the first ill-person there corrected" (*i.e.*, flogged as well as imprisoned). The ship *Swallow* was taken by the Turks in the Bristol Channel.

32. There was a terrible fire near the great tower on the Quay, which broke out in the house of one Wolfe, a joiner, several houses were destroyed, and the smoke from the burning pitch was so dense the sky could not be seen from the streets.

Terrified by the danger to the wooden houses and straw-roofed buildings of the city, a by-law was passed by which

> It is ordained and enacted, that after the Feast of Pentecost, if any fire do appear gleaming out of any house within the said city of Bristol, or suburbs of the same, that the owners thereof shall forfeit and pay for every such offence 6*s.* 8*d.* to the use of the Chamber.
>
> Item: It is ordained that after the Feast of St. Bartholomew no house, roof or pent house within the walls of the city of Bristol shall be roofed with reed or thatch, upon pain that the same shall be pulled down and taken away, by the command of the Mayor of the City of Bristol, for the time being.

Ten years later it was ordained "that every member of the Common Council should keep six buckets of leather in his house, to be in readiness against fire, or forfeit 20*s.*" Nor were the citizens who eschewed municipal honours to escape; so "the mayor and aldermen were to appoint other substantial citizens, who must do the same or pay 10*s.*" This was our first fire brigade. The streets were now pitched, and every man had to pay 1½*d.* per yard for the work done before his own house.

John Wade, upholsterer, whose country house was at the Wick, Arlingham, Gloucestershire, was mayor in 1576. He was father to the Major Wade who defended the city of Gloucester against Charles I., and grand-

[1] MS. Calendar.

father to Major Nathaniel Wade, of the Rye House Plot and Monmouth rebellion notoriety. A scrap of MS. which was in the possession of the late Mr. Tyson, says:—"Forasmuch as the aforesaid mayor (Wade) being an austere man, did incline to Lollardism, which gave great offence, and to let (hinder) his influence in the Chamber they revived an Act 'that no person shall be mayor more than once.'" A rule that of late years everyone must admit to have been "more honoured in the breach than the observance." The next page in the *Calendar* shows that this must have been a party movement directed against a man who was not acceptable to the majority of the house, for when "Thomas Colston [sheriff of Bristol in 1562], Colonel of the Train Band, who had married the daughter of William Challoner, an ancient family in the said city," was chosen mayor in 1577, his conduct while in the civic chair so won the esteem of those over whom he presided that the Corporation were desirous of rescinding the above resolution and again conferring that honour upon Mr. Colston, to prevent which he paid a sum of money to the Chamber on the express condition that he should be exempted from the liability of again serving the office of chief magistrate, and the Corporation were mean enough in the face of the above entry to take his money. Colston died in 1597, after a life of honour and usefulness, and at his own desire was interred by the side of his first wife, before the little vestry door in All Saints church. His second wife survived him, and left by her will the munificent sum of £200 for charitable purposes.

Barrett says:—"On an old stone under the reading-desk was the following:—Thomas Colston, Mayor, and Alderman of this city, died November 16th, 1597;" appended were the following lines:—

"Death is no death, now Thomas Colston lives,
Who fourscore years hath livèd to his praise;
A joyful life now Christ doth to him give,
Who wrong'd no wight, each man commends his ways.
Death him commands to bid this world adieu;
Thrice happy those who die to live anew."

Farewell now to the home-brewed, which the ale-wives had brought into sad disrepute; for it is ordered by Thomas Stocombe, the mayor, that no one shall brew or sell crock-brewed ale under a penalty of 40*s.*, whilst all brewers were to take out a license from him to brew good ale for the citizens, and to sell it at 3*s.* 4*d.* per dozen, under a penalty of £10. The queen also in this year (1581) was graciously pleased to grant the city a new charter by which six additional aldermen were given to it, making, with the recorder, twelve, or one for each ward, into which the city was then divided; but inexorable death during the next year laid three of them low. Holland, the chamberlain, died also, and Nicholas Thorne, jun., was chosen as his successor.

Philip Langley, grocer, who had represented the city in Parliament in 1571–2, was chosen mayor in 1582, and in March "the Earl of Pembroke was received honourably into Bristol, with sixty horsemen, honest burgesses; the mayor, with the aldermen and common council, met him in Wine street, and then went to the Tolzey, and there stayed until one Mr. Temple had ended his oration in Latin."[1] On the front of the pommel of the Sunday sword in the Council-house is the coat of arms of Elizabeth, on the *reverse* a cross with the date 1583, and on the exergue—

"This Sworde we did repaire
Thomas Aldworth being Mayor."

The Calendar was now adapted to the Julian year by the use of the double date, thus $158\frac{2}{3}$ indicating that the year began March 25th, 1582, and ended March 25th, 1583; this mode of dating continued until 1782. There was another large fire in Bristol this year at the Quay head. A MS. says [we modernise the spelling]:—

"In 1583, Walter Pykes being mayor, there came to the Tolzey the Earl of Ormond with the Duke of Desmond's head pickled in a pipkin, which he exhibited to the mayor and his brethren, who were much gratified, and returned the duke many thanks for the entertainment."

The man who struck it off had a pension of £20 a year, which he enjoyed a long time, but he was ultimately hanged at Tyburn.

In the same year occurs the following item:—

"It is ordained and established that from henceforth no foreigner nor stranger be admitted into the liberties of the staple of Bristol."

In the Mayor's *Calendar*, 60, it is said, "This year, before Christmas, were many taken and arraigned in this country for conspiracies against our gracious queen whom God defend." They were Romanist co-plotters with the Pope, Spain and France. Walter Gleeson was committed to Newgate because he would neither serve as sheriff nor pay a fine of £20. He remained in prison eight days until he gave surety for the payment. We find this also:—

"Item. It is ordained that from henceforth no person nor persons whatsoever shall keep or set up any boards or standings in the High street, upon pain that every such person doing contrary to the tenour of this ordinance shall forfeit for every such offence 3*s.* 4*d.* to the Chamberlain to the use of the Mayor, Sheriffs, and commonalty. Provided, nevertheless, that it shall be lawful for such as sell fish on market days, to place and set up their fish-boards beneath the Hall door at the sign of the George."

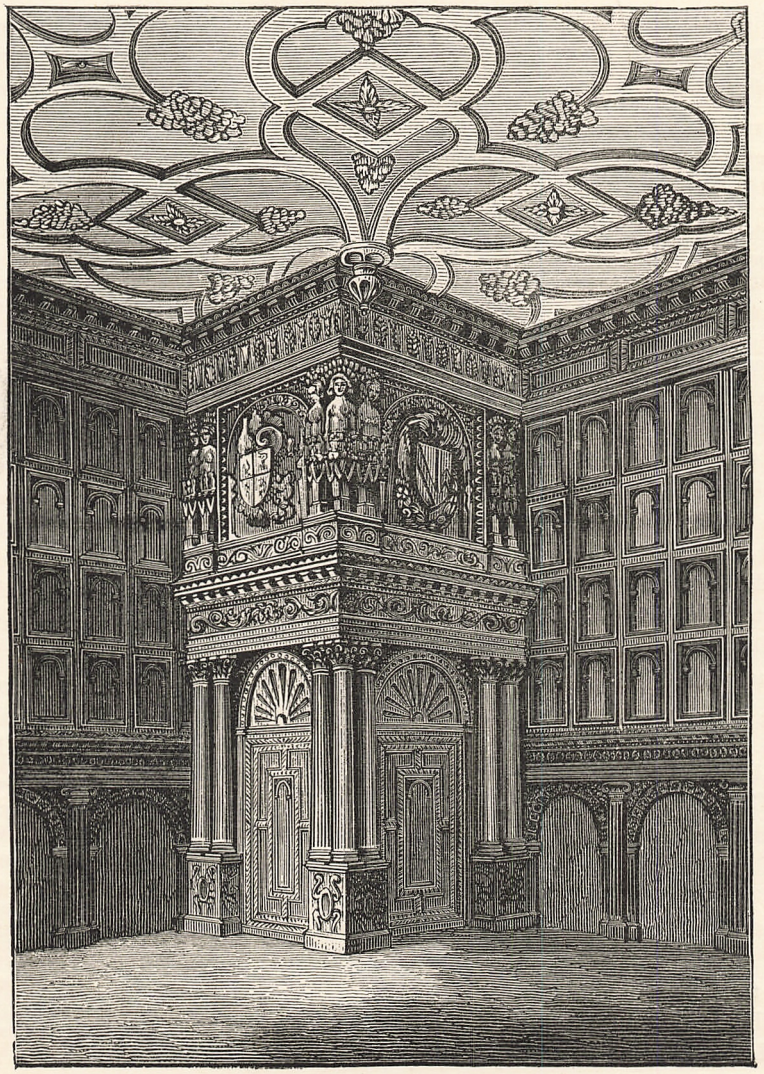
Walter Pykes married Alice, daughter of Nicholas Thorne, jun. She outlived her husband, and on the

[1] Mayor's Calendar.

death of her father came into possession of estates, which are now held by the Charity Trustees. During the mayoralty of Thomas Rowland, in 1584, occurs the following:—

"It is ordered that there shall be forthwith a box set in some convenient place in the Mayor's and Alderman's Court, in the Guildhall, and one other box in the Sheriff's Court, and upon every judgment given in any of the said Courts, or also in the Staple Court, the party for whom such judgment shall be given shall forthwith give 4*d.* to the relief and comfort of the poor prisoners in Newgate."

The lodge, gardens, orchards, &c., on Stoney hill, belonging to the Friars Carmelites, now known as the Red Lodge, had been sold to Thomas Rowland, merchant, mayor 1584–5, who conveyed the same in fee, 7th April, 1578, to Sir John Young, for the sum of £26 13*s.* 4*d.* Richard Cole, mercer, was mayor and representative of the city in Parliament in 1585. To the latter dignity he was again chosen in 1593.



Lobby and Door in the Red Lodge.

March 17th, 1585.—The Earl of Pembroke, Lord Lieutenant of the trained bands in Bristol, Somerset and Wilts, came hither from Wells to a general muster of the soldiers, when he insisted on taking precedence of the mayor, Richard Cole, mercer (who was in Bristol the queen's escheator and representative). Elizabeth being informed of his conduct considered it an insult to the crown, and sent for the earl, chid him severely, and committed him to the Tower till he paid a fine for the offence.[1]

"One Frogmorton, attainted of treason, was drawn, hanged and quartered.[2] Also one Thomas Parry, a notorious traytor to the queen's majestie, who conspired her death, was also hanged and quartered." On the 19th September there was darkness at noonday for the space of an hour in Bristol.

Richard Cole appears to have been active, farsighted, prudent and benevolent. Our annals relate:—"1585, Wheat at 7*s.* per bushell (not 17*s.* as Evans says), and all other grains dear, and for relief the commons began to make an insurrection, but the mayor wisely pacified them, and caused the Pensford bakers to come into the city with bread every day in the week. And the mayor also having notice that a barque, being in Hungroad, had taken in kinterkins of butter for France, he himself went down by water on board the barque and seized the butter; and notwithstanding the sailors resisted in what they durst, and misused him in reproachful words, yet the butter was unloaded into a barge and brought up to the Key, and the mayor caused it to be sold at 2½*d.* per pound. The sailors who resisted the mayor were committed by him to ward, where they lay in irons until they had paid the price set upon them for their disobedience. The mayor also procured corn from Dantzick, and a great quantity of rice was imported and sold at 4*s.* per bushell."

"This yeere there was provided by Thomas Aldworth, alderman, and James Cullimore, of London, haberdasher, v. shippes laden with corne out of Lyne and Boston, with wheate, rye, malte, and barley, to the valew of 2,600 li. worth, and brought to the Cittie of Bristoll at the

[1] See 209, sec. 26.

[2] Mayor's Calendar, 61.

chardge of the saied Thomas and James, and did relive Wales vp Seavorne, and the country about vs, to the great comfort of all the people."[1]

Aldworth died in 1592, and was buried in All Saints church. He gave by will, proved in Doctors Commons, in 1597, lands and tenements to Queen Elizabeth's Hospital. To the Corporation, reversion of lands for the poor of this city, and £85 for the poor; £30 for repairing the roads, £20 to marry poor maids, and 20*s.* for two sermons at All Saints. He also gave a tenement in the Barrs, called the Greyhound, let at £1 8*s.* per annum; and two gardens in St. Philip's parish, each let at 8*s.*, in all per annum £2 4*s.*

TO BE GIVEN AS FOLLOWS:—

To the prisoners in Newgate in coals	10*s.*
To do. for three trusses of rye straw	9*s.*
Do. in bread	3*s.*
To the Almshouse, Lewin's Mead	10*s.*
To the Taylor's Almshouse	10*s.*
To the Churchwards of All Saints for the time being	2*s.*
	£2 4*s.*

And £4 per annum for ever to the almshouse on St. James' back. His wife, Alice Cole, gave £12 per annum to three almshouses in St. James' parish for ever. In 1604, Alice Cole also gave by will £20 per annum to feoffees, arising out of certain lands, for four almshouses £4 each and for four sermons; also £20 per annum, issuing from the same, to clothe poor boys; she also gave £60 to poor decayed householders, and £35 to be divided between certain ministers.

In 1586 Richard Dole gave out of a house in the Shambles (at the corner of the steps that lead from Bridge street up to St. Mary-le-port church) a sum towards the repairing of St. Peter's pump for ever. And in the same year, 1586, April 10th, John Carr gave by will his manor of Congresbury towards founding a hospital for maintaining and educating poor orphans and other children, after the manner of Christchurch Hospital, London.

"This yeere aboute iij. weekes in lent, there was presented in the house a patente from her ma^tie^ as concerneinge a hospitall to be erected by the name of Queene Eliz: Hospitall, yssueinge oute of John Carres landes. Which said Hospitall was the same yeere, by the greate dilligence and charitable endevour of the said William Birde, founded at the Gauntz, and xij. poore children placed therein for a beginninge of the sayd good worke, to the which the sayd William Birde was a bountifull benefactor and gave therevnto 530*li.* in money for the advancement thereof."[2]

Robert Kitchen was sheriff in the year 1572. In 1587 he entertained, at his residence in Small street (now the Water Works offices), the Earls of Leicester and Warwick, who came at Easter from Bath. The following year he was chosen chief magistrate, and during his mayoralty he attended the funeral of Robert, Earl of Leicester, high steward of the city. At the general thanksgiving to celebrate the destruction of the Spanish Armada, he attended the Cathedral with the Incorporated Companies, when the Corporation partook of the Holy Communion, and, with the charitable and benevolently disposed, on their return dispersed abroad and distributed money amongst the poor. Kitchen died in 1594, leaving a widow, Justyne, and was buried in the chancel of St. Stephen's, near his first wife, Joan, who departed 21st January, 1560. He bequeathed a considerable portion of his property for charitable purposes: "to the best benefit and interest of the poor people within Bristol, and of the town of Kendal, in the county of Westmoreland." By will he gave the Corporation £400, to be lent young tradesmen at £25, £10, and £5 each, interest free, and £7 16*s.* per annum in bread to the poor of Christ church, St. Stephen and Temple; £12 per annum for placing out six poor children; £2 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum towards maintaining a scholar at Oxford or Cambridge; £26 per annum to poor householders of the several parishes in Bristol. He also gave a handsome salver and ewer of silver gilt, which was presented to the chamber by his executors. The former was stolen during the memorable riots of 1831, and discovered cut into numerous pieces, which were carefully re-united.

Salt, although now an absolute necessity, was a luxury to the poor at this period; its value and estimation are suggested by an ordinance during Kitchen's mayoralty:—

"It is ordained that no person or persons whatsoever presume to measure any salt within this city, or liberties thereof, but only the common measurer of salt, being sworn and appointed thereunto, or otherwise, such person or persons as shall be licensed or appointed under him by the mayor and aldermen, or the most part of them, and sworn truly and indifferently to measure salt between the buyer and the seller, without fraud, cover, or affection, on pain of 40*s.* for every offence, or twenty days' imprisonment if he be not able to pay the fine." It was also "ordained that the office of salt-master shall be given from time to time by the common consent of the Common Council."

Concerning salt are two items illustrating what this useful commodity had to endure, the swearing and other official pastimes, before it came into the possession of the consumer.

"Richard Chard yt. about 7 months since ye officer of salt being at Glour. sold him 1217 bushels of Droitwich salt which by order of the justices of the peace for Glousr. was delivered him by said officer, and that the salt on board the *William Drew* was at the key of St. James, there not being any advice to a distrain thereof.

[1] Mayor's Calendar, 61-62. [2] *Ibid*, 62.

"Richard Chard, dealer in salt in the city of Bristoll, maketh voluntary oath that about seven months since the officer for the salt duty in the county of Gloucester sold twelve hundred and seventeen bushells of Droitwich salt to the informant, which by order of the last exciseman for the county of Gloucester was delivered him, and that the salt on board the *William Drew* at the key of Bristoll is the same salt delivered him without alteration or addition."

The above is written on the outside of a sheet of paper, endorsed—"A rate for the rebuilding of St. Werburgh's Church and Tower, 1697."

In 1730 the salt duty was taken off, upon a gracious recommendation from the throne, to the great relief of poor artificers and manufacturers, but not for long; in 1732 the odious impost was laid on again and mortgaged for the year, in order to raise £500,000 for the current expenses.

33. Evans, in 1824, says, "On a beam over the entrance of the New Market in Broad street (so called from containing butchers' shambles) is the following carved inscription:—'This building is at the charge of Robart Kitchen, late Alderman of Bristoll, for the reliefe of the Poor.—R. K. 1598.'

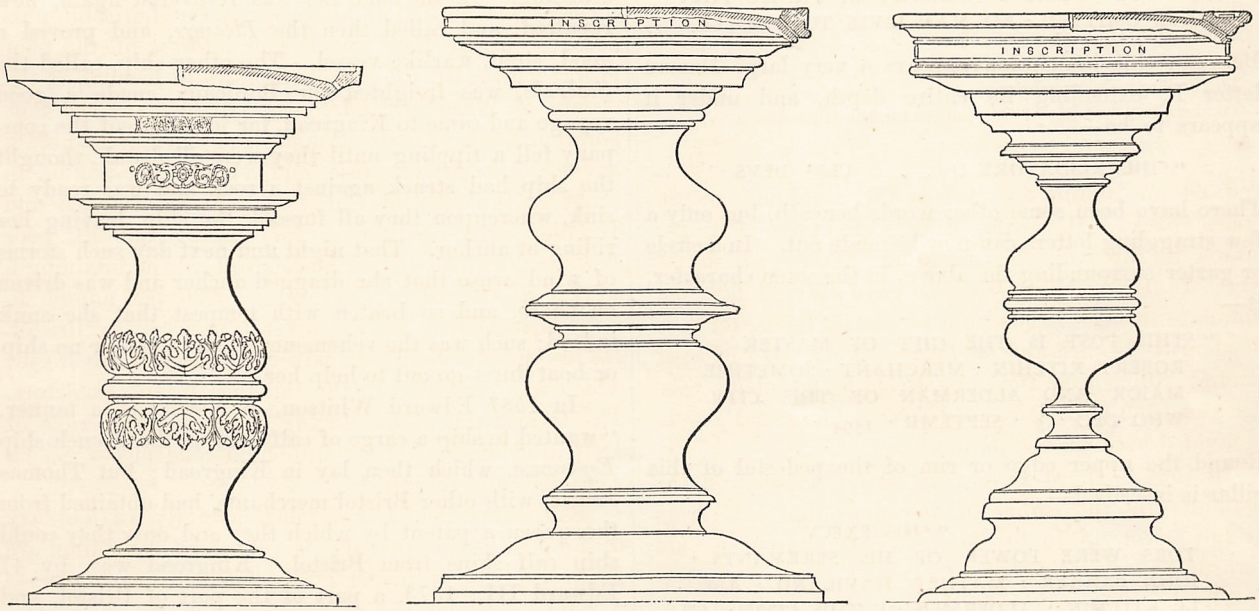
"1598. The new shambles in Broad street was built by the executors of Mr. Robert Kitchen, deceased."[1]

Over the vestry door of St. Stephen's church is a brass on which is engraved this simple and quaint epitaph:—

"Robert Kitchen, Alderman, and his wife,
Lieth near this place, closed in earth and clay;
Their charities alike in death and life,
Who to the poor gave all their goods away;
Leaving in trust such men to act the same,
As might in truth perform their good intent,
So that the poor indeed, and eke in name,
To lasting ages in this city meant,
And other places of this city fair,
As Kendall towne and Stockland field both have;
With Bath, the native place of her first ayre,
The bounty of their gifftes they to them gave."

"In front of the Exchange are erected four pillars of brass, which, more than a century ago, stood between the columns which supported the shed or penthouse called the Tolzey, a structure extending the whole length of the north side of All Saints church, against which it was raised. At the west end it joined the house of the kalendaries, at the base of which was All Halon conduit. The Tolzey was the place where our merchant ancestors met for business, and when, in 1771, the pavement in and about it, and also before the Council-house, on the opposite side of the street, was altered, the brass pillars were removed to the place they now occupy, previous to which our merchants paid for their purchases on them; hence, I believe, originated the phrase, 'pay down upon the nail,' that is, upon either of these pillars, which were then called *nails*.

"The first of these pillars of brass (travelling from east to west) appears to be somewhat older than the



No. 1. Nos. 2 and 3. No. 4.

Brass Pillars in front of the Exchange. [*Nos. 2 and 3 are almost identical in size and shape.*]

[1] Evans, 160.

rest, and bears on its face a shield charged with a chevron, but there are no perceptible marks indicating the colours; all traces, also, of an inscription are entirely removed. On the pedestal is a small ornamented band, divided into compartments, containing birds volant or animals rampant, and beneath it is scroll work with acorns. Still lower down, in two bands, is a leaf ornament, with acorns at intervals. This pillar appears to be of a date late in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or early in that of James I.

"The second pillar, westward, is inscribed in Latin on its face, and in Roman capitals, as near as I can decipher it,

"'THEY HAVE RELATED THAT WHICH IS UNWORTHY OF NOTE · WHAT IS WORTHY OF PRAISE THEY HAVE OMITTED · NO MAN LIVES TO HIMSELF ·'

Between this inscription appears a very large Roman letter P, extending its entire depth, and under it appears to be—

"'HILARLIDATORE D . . . CLI[1] DEVS ·'

There have been some other words beneath, but only a few straggling letters can now be made out. In a circle or garter surrounding the above, in the same character, is—

"'THIS POST IS THE GIFT OF MASTER ROBERT KITCHIN · MERCHANT · SOMETIME MAIOR AND ALDERMAN OF THIS CITV WHO DEC · 5 · SEPTEMB · 1594 ·'

Round the upper edge or rim of the pedestal of this pillar is inscribed—

"'HIS EXECV TORS WERE FOWER OF HIS SERRVANTS · IOHN BARKER · MATHEW HAVILAND · ABE LL KITCHIN · ALDERMEN OF THIS CITV · AN D IOHN ROWBOROW SHERIFF · 1630 ·'

Encircling the face of the third pillar is—

"'PRAIS THE LORD O MV SOVLE AND FORGE T NOT ALL HIS BENEFITS HE SAVED MV LIFE FROM DESTRVCTION AND TO HIS MERCY AND LOVING KINDNESS · PRAISE . . .'

And round the rim, or upper edge, beneath is—

"'+ THOMAS HOBSON OF BRISTOL MADE ME ANNO 1625 · NICHOLAS CRISP OF LONDON GAVE ME · TO THIS HONORABLE CITTY IN REMEBRANCE OF G ODS MERCY IN ANNO DOMINI · 1625 · N C ·'

Inscribed round the face of the fourth pillar is—

"'AD · 1631 · THIS IS THE GIFT OF MR GEORGE WHITE OF BRISTOL MERCHAUNT BROTHER VNTO DOCTOR THOMAS WHITE A FAM OVS BENEFACTOR TO THIS CITIE ·'

[1] Probably part of a date.

And upon the rim beneath is—

"'THE CHVRCH OF THE LIVINGE GOD IS THE PILLAR AND GROVND OF THE TRVETH SO WAS THE WORKE OF THE PILLARS FINISHED ·'

There appear to have been engraved on the face of this pillar six lines in verse and a shield, the latter most probably bearing the arms of White, but the whole is greatly obliterated. There is no ornament whatever on the pedestals of the three last-mentioned pillars."[1]

Two ships were wrecked at the river's mouth about this date—one, "the *Mayflower*, belonging to Mr. Thomas James and others, caught fire through the negligence of a servant, and was with difficulty quenched by scuttling. In the end she was recovered again, new repaired, and called then the *Pleasure*, and proved a good, stout, warlike vessel. The other ship, called the *Seabrake*, was freighted for Bordeaux, made a good voyage and came to Kingroad, for joy whereof the company fell a tippling until they were all drunk, thought the ship had struck against a rock and was ready to sink, whereupon they all forsook the ship, leaving her riding at anchor. That night and next day such storms of wind arose that she dragged anchor and was driven on shore, and so beaten with tempest that she sunk indeed; such was the vehemency of the weather no ship or boat durst go out to help her."

In 1587 Edward Whitson, of Newlands, a tanner, "wanted to ship a cargo of calf skins in the French ship *Esperanza*, which then lay in Kingroad; but Thomas James, with other Bristol merchants, had obtained from the queen a patent by which they and only they could ship calf skins from Bristol. Kingroad was, by 47 Edward III., 1373, a part of the port of Bristol, and Edward Whitson was decidedly in the wrong; nevertheless he loaded a wood bush with his skins, and, with Walter Ely and nine others, well fitted with bows and arrows, pikes, targets and privy cotes, suspecting blows might happen, floated down the Severn from Brockwere. But Thomas James, with Thomas White and John Brunsdon, his fellow merchants, and ten others, were on the look out in the searcher's pinnace, James having a musket, and the others half-pikes and other offensive weapons, hoping to meet the said wood bush and to make seizure and forfeit of the prohibited goods. The forest men were bold and resisted, arrows were shot at the pinnace, whereby Thomas White and others were hurt; hot-headed Thomas James shot at and killed John Gethin, the master and owner of the wood bush, and all was dismay. For this the sheriffs arrested James and seized upon his goods, and also on those of his con-

[1] Pryce, 291–3.

federates. James was indicted for the offence and arraigned at Southwark, but no evidence appearing against him he was released, but it cost him much besides his trouble.

And now men girded up their loins to meet an imminent calamity and to repel the most powerful naval force the world had then seen, the Spanish Armada, which was destined to invade their land. Bristol furnished four well fitted out men-of-war, with full complements of brave men and plenty of ammunition, which she despatched to Plymouth, there to join Her Majesty's fleet, these were all "ship-shape, Bristow fashion," and were named the *Great Unicorn*, the *Minion*, the *Handmayde* and the *Ayde*. All the canvas which had been brought for sale at St. James' fair and was laid out in the Back hall was taken up and sent on to Tilbury, to make tents for her Majesty and her brave soldiers. Then

"Right sharp and quick the bells all night rang out from Bristol town,
And ere the day three hundred horse had met on Clifton down."

The Armada came, but the brave English tars hung on the skirts of the huge fleet, seizing every opportunity to attack the Spaniards, whom they literally worried to their destruction. On the 24th day of November, 1588, the whole population turned out and filled the churches to thank God for his great deliverance in answer to a nation's prayer. The mayor, John Barnes, with Robert Kitchen, at the head of the Incorporated Companies attended the Cathedral, and received the Holy Communion. Mens' hearts were opened by their escape from peril, and the wealthy everywhere feasted the poor.

34. William Bird, draper, who was sheriff in 1573, when Elizabeth visited the city, was mayor in 1589, and was made an alderman on the 15th October, 1590. He was a great benefactor to the new Queen's Hospital, founded by Carr. During his mayoralty the school was opened, with 28 boys, in the Mansion house, together with the cloisters of the good men of St. Mark, in Orchard street, the lease of which was purchased by him. Including this purchase, his gift amounted to £530. He also obtained from the Corporation as a gift to the school a duty for eight years of 4*d.* for every ton of lead, 4*d.* for every ton of iron, and 2*d.* for every piece of raisins that was landed upon the quays. He had previously given £50, or rather lent it for ever at 10 per cent. interest, but in order to stimulate others to the like good work he freely forgave the payment thereof.

At his death his son, regretting that his father had not remembered the hospital in his will, requested his wife, after his own decease, to present to the governors a piece of plate as a token of his affection. This she did in 1599. It is an elegant grace cup with cover, weighing 30 ounces, and is now in the possession of the Corporation.

During his mayoralty a waterman, named Ferris, for a wager, rowed from London to Bristol by sea in his wherry. He left London on Midsummer-day and came up the Avon at half-ebb on August 3rd, against the tide. He and his boat were carried in triumphant procession to the Tolzey, and the wherry was put as a monument of British pluck and perseverance in the Guildhall. Bird died on the 8th October, 1590. He left his wife 1,000 marks, together with his house and furniture. He was buried in the church of St. Mark.

In 1590 the mantle of authority fell on John Hopkins, fishmonger. He was again chosen mayor in 1600, and elected M.P. the following year.

At the successful expedition against Cadiz, in 1595, commanded by Howard, Lord High Admiral, and the Earl of Essex, one thousand of the nobility and gentry serving as volunteers,

John Hopkins, fishmonger, sett forth a shippe, and in persone went captaine to Cades action. At whose returne he was with much joy mett by the citizens on Durdham downe, and in the evening was a gathering of much people in the streetes, and rejoycings of lamps of divers colours and tallow candells, and a greate bonfire at the High Crosse, very beautifull to beholde !

1595. Paide for a draught of wood to make a bonfire at the High Crosse at the glad tidings of Cades, vj*d.*

John Hopkins gave by deed to the Society of Merchants £10, they paying 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum to the Merchants' almshouse.

The revived act that no one shall be Mayor more than once was dormant in 1592, on the second election of Thomas Aldworth, an enterprising merchant, to the municipal chair. Himself and family are particularly distinguished by their adventurous spirit in the colonisation of Newfoundland. When mayor, in 1582, he advised Sir Francis Walsingham of the merchants' intention to provide 1,000 marks and two ships, of 60 and 40 tons, for discoveries on the coast of America. He also, in 1586, represented the city in Parliament. He died in 1598, and by will left £108 for charitable purposes.

Barrett says that in the chancel of the church of St. Mark "there is a very grand carved freestone Gothic arched tomb and monument, with the figure of a man in an alderman's gown, with a son behind him, with the following epitaph on a table:—'Thomas Aldworth, obiit Februarii 25, anno 1598,'" &c. Both figures are depicted in the attitude of prayer.

During the mayoralty of Thomas Aldworth it was ordained:

That no taverner nor vintner shall suffer any person to spend his time in drinking, or in any unlawfull exercises, in any of their houses after the Bow-bell ceaseth ringing noine of the clock at night at St. Nicholas church in the winter, or after the hour of ten of the clock at night stricken by the clock at St. Nicholas church in the summer season. Any taverner or vintner doing the contrary to forfeit ten shillings, &c.

Michael Pepwall was mayor in 1593–4, when the Corporation stood upon their dignity in the matter of robes of office. Points, laces, and slashed jerkins, with barrel-breeches are disallowed, and

It is ordained that if any alderman shall come to the place of audience or to the place of justice, at the Tolzey or the Guildhall, in any other fashion gown than an alderman's gown of the gravest sort, he shall forfeit and pay to the Mayor and Commonalty, or to the Chamberlain, to their use, 6*s.* 8*d.* And in like manner every of the Common Council which shall come to the assembly in the Council-house in any other gown than of the gravest fashion, worn commonly of those that have been sheriffs, shall forfeit and pay 6*s.* 8*d.*

"This yeere [1594] Thomas Aldworth, alderman, did buy to the use of the commones of this cittie, from Christmas till Mychellmas followinge, 1,200 *li.* worth of wheate and rye, and did bringe and caused to be brought into the markett euery markett daie a quantitie, and thother daies did serve the Commons of the cittie, to the greate good of the whole comunaltie of the cittie, as by accompt maye be seene.

"This yeare [1596] all manner of corne was deere, and Mr. John Whitsune, of the citty of Bristoll, merchant, did buy of Mr. Thomas Offeley, of London, merchant, 3000 quarters of Dansk rye for the prouision of this cittie, which rye ariued here in the moneth of July, and was presently sould, and there was clearely gained thereby seauen hundred pounds, a great part whereof was spent in procuring an Act of Parliament for Ophants [Orphans] causes, Mr. George Snigg, Recorder, and Mr. Alderman Ellis beinge then Burgeises of the Parliament for this cittie; and the resedue of the money remained to the Mayor and Commonaltie."[1]

In 1594–5 John Corsley, a goldsmith, and one Saunders, were taken up in Bristol for coining Spanish money; but they were not executed.

That fish were plentiful in the Avon at this time is evident, for we are told that in September, 1592, a great porpoise was taken in the river between the bridge and the castle, and another was caught in 1600 between Gib Taylor and Rownham. These had followed the salmon.

1594. From an old account book in this year we copy the following items:

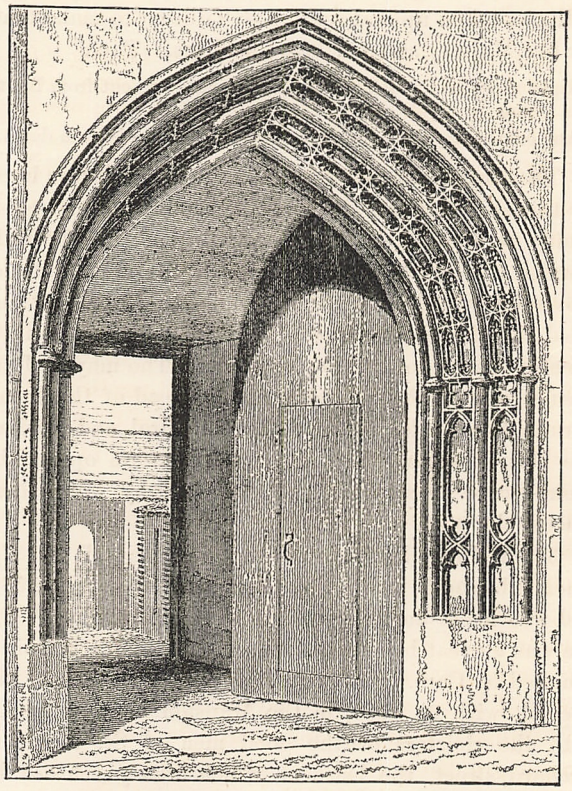
Mar. 26th.—Pd. for 104 lbs. of butter out of Gloucestershire, whereof 16 lbs. at 3½*d.*, the rest at 3*d.* lb. Salt for same 6*d.* Carriage of same from Bristol to London, 4*s.* 6*d.* 4 lb. soap, 10*d.*

In 1595 the queen granted the ulnage of drabs and the farm of the subsidy in both Gloucester and Bristol to Robert Webbe for the annual rent of £72 6*s.* 8*d.* Alderman John Brown, who had been mayor in 1572, bequeathed for the poor of St. Nicholas, including those in the almshouse, £30 6*s.* 0*d.* per annum.

[1] Mayor's Calendar, 62-3.

Francis Knight, mercer, was mayor in 1594, and again in 1613. He is only noticeable from an ordinance passed during his mayoralty:—

It is ordained that no artificer or handicraftsman within this city or liberties thereof shall at any time retain or set on work any foreigner or stranger to the liberties of this city which shall resort here having wife or children in the city or elsewhere, upon pain that any person who shall so retain or set on work any such foreigner or stranger contrary to the merit and meaning of this present ordinance, shall forfeit and pay to the chamberlain, to the use of the mayor and commonalty, 6*s.* 8*d.* for every week that such foreigner be so retained or set to work. And that this ordinance shall be endorsed on every ordinance of the company's within this city. And that this ordinance be also observed by all innkeepers and victuallers within the city and the liberties thereof, excepting only during the fairs holden within the city.



Guard House Passage.

The Guard house passage, in Wine street, demolished in 1881, was the mansion of William Yate, who was mayor in 1596. His device, a gate (a pun upon his name, Yate or Gate), with the initial W., was on one of the brackets of the bow window over the archway, and upon the other the initials C. B. and the date 1571. This doorway has been re-erected at Bishopston.

Hunger, which had for two years past been knocking sharply at every poor man's door, was now master of the situation, and the executors of good Master Kitchen came nobly to the rescue. Long be their names held

in honourable remembrance, together with those of Thomas Aldworth and William Whitson, whose liberality in previous years had carried comfort into many a destitute home. The executors, John Barker, Matthew Haviland, Abel Kitchen and John Rowborough, gave weekly 100 marks for the relief of the poor in divers parishes. Kitchen's house is now the office of the Water Works Company [the monogram repeated on the frieze of the boardroom is that of T. Kelke, who formerly resided there]. It seems almost like a prevision of its destined use that these four good men as they sat therein should, amongst other methods for employing the poor, have devoted 20 marks to the beautifying of the Quay pipe that brought the precious water into the city. Nor were the corporation idle. It was ordained

That this year all the men of habilities within this citty were enjoyned to give one meale of meate to poor people every day, viz., some to eight, some to six, and some to two, according to their habilitie.

Moreover, the Corporation spent £400 in purchasing land and building a new market for corn, out of the rents of which £20 yearly was to be spent in apprenticing poor lads to trades. The Quay conduit and All Saints conduit were re-built and finished by 1601.

"In 1597 John Andrews, Customs' officer, wrote to Secretary Cecil, undertaking to purchase in the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan, and deliver in Bristol by a certain date, 400 barrels of butter, for £3 a barrel of 216lbs. of butter each, to be transported to Ireland.[1] This was at the rate of less than 3½*d.* a pound, a price at which we find, a year or two before, butter was usually retailed. In contrast to this, to take for example a high modern price, a riot took place on March 23, 1811, in the Bristol market, in consequence of fresh butter being advanced to 2*s.* 6*d.* a pound, a price that it nearly attained to in 1871. In 1811 the average price of bread was 1*s.* a quartern."[2]

William Whitson was sheriff in 1590, when the queen granted a charter to Queen Elizabeth's Hospital (City school), and in 1597 an Act of Parliament was passed in its favour. This charter has a miniature portrait of the queen, which conveys a higher idea of her intellectually than do most of her portraits.

An old MS. says:—"Eggs were two a penny, and other wares excessive dear. Wheat was 20*s.*, and malt and rye 10*s.* per bushel."

In 1601, when William Vawer, cardmaker, was mayor,

It is ordained that every personne which have bene or shall bee Maister of the Companie of Drapers shall bee at liberty to keep three apprentices the saide occupation, and everie other householder and widow of the saide Companie shall be at libertie to keep two apprentices, any article contained in their ordinances or orders granted to the saide Companie to the contrarie notwithstanding, and no person or personnes to keepe above the same number limited by the present ordinance, upon paine to forfeit and paye to the Chamberlaine the sum of 20*s.* for every month that suche person or personns shall take or kepe any apprentice contrary to this ordinance.

That when any office was to be bestowed on any person by the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of this city, that then the Mayor for the time being shall first give orders to his Sergeants to summon every person of the Common Council to make his appearance before the Mayor in the Council-house, so that there may be a whole House warned, and none be left unsummoned by the Mayor's directions for any purpose whatsoever, upon paine that the Mayor for the time beinge, which shall be in default or deal partially or indiscretly herein contrary to the intent of this ordinance, shall forfeit to the Chamberlaine the sum of one hundred pounds, to the use of the Maior and Commonalty of this city.

We have said that in 1590 Gaunt's Hospital, the beautiful chapel of which had been used as a granary by the Corporation in times of public scarcity, was converted into Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, or school for poor infants and orphans, born and to be born in the city of Bristol, or within the manor of Congresbury. On the 20th of June, 1599, Alderman John Whitson was appointed by the Council one of a committee of six "to survey the lands and see what money may be made by granting estates (out of the lands devised by Carr) in reversion for years determinable on lives."

By will dated 29th October, 1601, Lady Ramsay, relict of the Lord Mayor of London in 1557, and a daughter of William Dale, sheriff of Bristol in 1519, gave £1,000 to be laid out in lands for the benefit of this charity; and in 1602 Whitson purchased lands in Winterbourne, of the then yearly value of £100 with the above, and £400 additional, of which £200 was contributed by Mrs. Ann Coulston. Whitson also agreed to receive from Richard Winter the sum of £50 towards the above payment, and assured to the Hospital at Lawford's Gate £3 per annum for ever on account of the gift, but this appears to have fallen through; at all events it is untraceable.

The Red Lodge and Sir John Young's Great House were sold, in 1598, to Nicholas Strangeways, of Bradley, in the county of Gloucester, the stepson of Sir John.

35. In 1602, the inhabitants were taxed to pay for the queen's entertainment. This entry is inexplicable, her Majesty had not visited the city since 1574, and one can scarcely conceive that the expenses had not long ere this been paid, unless the following may explain it:—Sir John Stafford, knight, as a reward for his valour, had been made constable of Bristol castle. On March 6th this year the mayor and commonalty presented a

[1] Dom. State Papers, Eliz., 1595–7, 359.

[2] Taylor's Book about Bristol, 390.

petition to her Majesty and the Privy Council representing the loose manner in which Sir John held his office, being non-resident and leaving a mean and unworthy deputy, who suffered forty-nine families, consisting of 240 persons, to inhabit the Castle, who subsisted chiefly by begging and stealing; and praying that Sir John might be made to take order for removing them into such places where they last dwelt, and that none should be allowed to inhabit there but only such as he would undertake for their sufficiency and good behaviour; to the end that the city be not further charged or molested, nor her Majesty's castle pestered with any such base cottagers or scandalous inmates. It will be remembered that the mayor had no power to arrest or follow by his officers any offender who sought refuge in this Alsatia. Probably the above tax was intended to get the Queen or her privy councillors to "entertain" this petition. Sir John died September 28th, 1605, and was buried at Thornbury, where he resided. The Stafford knot is a conspicuous ornament in many parts of the castle of Thornbury.

Bristol was the chief port for shipment to Ireland, hence when troubles arose in the Green Isle it was the general route for the troops despatched to that country. In 1589, on a report that the Spaniards intended to land there, 400 soldiers were sent from this port, who returned hither two months later. In April, 1595, the Lord-General Norris passed through with a troop of horse, and out of an army of 20,000 men sent to put down the rebellion of the Earl of Tyrone a very large proportion were shipped from Bristol.

Contrary winds often detained the troops. In November, 1596, 750 soldiers were waiting for a fair wind seven weeks in this city, and then were all discharged. In May, 1597, came 800, in July, 1598, 800 more, in February, 1599, 1,000 foot and 100 horsemen, and in March 1,200 foot and 600 Welshmen, under Southampton, Rutland and Sir H. Danvers. In January, 1600–1, 400 soldiers were here on their way to Ireland, in February came 800 more, and on the 17th of August, 1601, Florence Macarta and James Desmond, two great rebels, were taken prisoners in Ireland, brought to Bristol, from thence sent to London where they were committed to the Tower, "Desmond had an English boy manacled to him by strong irons by the handwrists." In 1602 the Earl of Tinmouth passed through Bristol with 1,012 soldiers for Ireland. The mayor, Richard Hunt, grocer, had much trouble in shipping them off, frays by night with the citizens were common, but the soldiers mostly had the worst of it. On May 26th, when they were about to take barge to go down the river they drew their weapons against the mayor in the Marsh, whereupon the town bell was rung by the sergeants-at-mace, the citizens seized their weapons, the apprentices their clubs, and rushed to the rescue; the military fared but ill, many of them were sorely hurt, one man was killed, and the rest took boat as fast as they could, but not until the ringleaders were arrested and imprisoned. The next day "three of the soldiers had judgment of execution in the High street upon a gibbet, whither they were brought with constables and halters about their necks; and when one of them, being mounted, had prayed and prepared to die, their pardon was begged and they released."[1] This was history repeating itself to the letter, for one of the *Calendars*, under date 1599, says: "The mayor received a blow with a stone from a soldier as he endeavoured to force them aboard, being unruly. The man was condemned but not executed, because the mayor would not lay his death to him."[2] Also on Whitsun eve there came 800 soldiers for Ireland under the command of Sir Edward Wingfield, these sailed June 30th.

36. "This queen [Elizabeth] did not have a mint at Bristol, and consequently none of her coins require description here.

"In the third year of her reign, 1560–61, the base shillings issued by Edward VI. were decried. Those of the better sort (made of 6oz. silver to 6oz. alloy) were ordered to pass current for fourpence halfpenny each, and to be counter-marked with a portcullis before the king's face; while the shillings of baser metal (3oz. silver to 9oz. alloy) were to pass for twopence farthing only, and to be marked with a greyhound.

"I find among the Domestic State Papers of Elizabeth, vol. XVI., No. 10, an original letter from William Carr, mayor of Bristol, to the Privy Council, dated Bristol, 30th January, 1561. In this letter Carr states that £1,000 in new money had been sent down to Bristol by the queen, to be distributed to the poor, in exchange for the base money issued by Edward VI. Two London goldsmiths, Francis Eton and Robert Wells, were sent down in charge of the money, taking with them a letter from the Privy Council. The exchange of the base money was declared by the council to be sevenpence in the pound only. An account of the exact sum spent, and showing the rates at which the base money was exchanged, is enclosed in the mayor's letter. I give an exact copy of this:—

"Bristoll. A note of the p'ticlar somes of base monyes exchanged into new monies by ffraunces Eton and Robert wells, begone the xxvth daie of January A^{o} 1560 and ended the xxxth of the same moneth.

"In primis in peces of ij^{d} q^{d}—xlvj m' v^{c} xlvj peces amounting to iiij^{c} xxxvj^{li}. vij^{s} iiij^{d} ob.

[1] Seyer II., 242. [2] *Ibid*, 243.

"In pecis of iiij^{d} ob.—xij m' iiij^{c} lxxij peces...ij^{c} xxxiij^{li}. xvij^{s}.
"In pecis of j^{d} ob.—l iiij m' viij^{c} v pecis...iij^{c} xlij^{li}. x^{s}. vij ob.
Some...j m' xij^{li}. xv^{s}. "William Carr mayer.

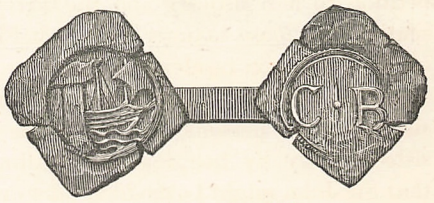
"The first item in this account (46,546 pieces at 2¼*d.*, amounting to £436 7*s.* 4½*d.*) refers to the base shillings of Edward VI. that were countermarked with a greyhound; the second item (12,472 pieces at 4½*d.*, amounting to £233 17*s.*) refers to the shillings of better silver which were marked with a portcullis; and I suppose that the last amount (£342 10*s.* 7½*d.* in 54,805 pieces at 1½*d.*) refers to the base groats of Edward VI.'s first coinage. The total was a little over the sum sent by the council, being £1,012 15*s.*

"This interesting little document has never before been published, and is, I believe, the only contemporary account existing relating to the calling-in of Edward VI.'s base coins.

"In 1594 the mayor and corporation of Bristol received a licence from Queen Elizabeth to make 'farthing tokens, which were struck in copper, with a ship on the one side and C. B. on the other, signifying *Civitas Bristol.* These went current (for small things) at Bristol and ten miles about.' Also, 'on the 12th of May, 1594, a letter was sent (by the Privy Council) to the mayor and aldermen of Bristol, requiring them to call in all the private tokens which had been stamped and uttered by divers persons within that city, without any manner of authority, and which they many times refused to accept again. The mayor, &c., were required, by authority of that letter, henceforth to restrain them, and, in the names signed to that letter, straitly to charge and require them to change the same for current money, to the value they were first uttered by them; and that none should make the same without licence from the mayor, &c., who were to take especial care that the former abuses were duly reformed.'[1]

"A few of the farthing tokens struck by the mayor and corporation of Bristol in Elizabeth's reign, according to the licence above mentioned, are still preserved, but they are very rare. An engraving of one is given on p. 88 of Boyne's *Tokens of the Seventeenth Century*, 8vo, 1858. It is lozenge-shaped, and is stamped on the obverse with the arms of Bristol (a ship issuing from a castle) on a square shield, surrounded by a beaded circle. On the reverse, C. B., in large letters, also within a beaded circle. A specimen of this token, in copper, is in the British Museum, as well as another example nearly half its size, but otherwise similar. The smaller token has, however, no signs of a shield on the obverse. The date of both is supposed to be about 1600. [In 1880 one of each kind, together with a copper farthing of Elizabeth, 1601, were dredged up in the Floating harbour.] This latter coin bears *obverse* the inscription ELIZABETH DEI GRATIA round a shield, with E.R. on the field on each side thereof. *Reverse*, harp crowned with date, 1601. POSUIT DEUM ADJUTOREM MEUM. This rare coin is engraved in *Ruding*, Sup. part II., pl. v., Nos. 6, 7.

[1] Rev. R. Ruding's Annals of the Coinage.



Bristol Farthing, 1594.

"It is considered by collectors that these Bristol farthings are the earliest English tokens, and the only ones sanctioned by the state before the 18th century."[1]

About the year 1503 *blanche poudre* (white refined sugar) was invented by a Venetian. Within a few years the Bristol merchants were importing it, but it was so scarce and valuable that a loaf of sugar formed a handsome present to a judge, lord-lieutenant, or even to a king.

The Bristol channel was infested with pirates, with whom unscrupulous men trafficked freely whenever a ship of that character appeared off the coast. In 1548 a reward of 400 crowns was offered for Richard Cole, of Minehead, a pirate (quick or dead). Cole escaped to Ireland, where he petitioned the lord-deputy, and was allowed to come in and submit to the king's mercy. He was employed in reducing the castle of Straughan, and then in attacking a rebel chieftain named Savage. Being successful in both instances, he was pardoned.

In 1587 Nicholas Herbert, Esq., John Thomas Bener and William Richards, of Cardiff, were accused as aiders of pirates, and were examined touching the lading and victualling of them and buying of their goods. Colin Dolphin, of evil fame for his exploits as a pirate in the Bristol channel, was taken by Sir Edward Stradling, of St. Donyatt's, who hanged him.

In 1593 the mayor of Lyme obtained a warrant from the lord admiral to seize a caravel belonging to Thomas Alworthy and Thomas Ware, of Bristol, which the crew had seized and carried off and sold. The purchasers changed her name to the *Tobacco Pipe*, and sent her out as a privateer.

Bristol did an export trade in coal at this period. "On the 19th July, 1569, the ship *Grace of God* entered the cobb of Lyme with coal from Bristol, and paid port dues 3*s.* 4*d.* The same year the corporation of that town paid to Hugh, of Bristol, for playing the organ in the church (and at my house), 1*s.* 5*d.*

"Signed, "R. DAVIS,
"Mayor of Lyme."

"On March 24th, 1603, Queen Elizabeth died, having reigned 44 years 4 months and 6 days, and on the same day in London, and in this city on the 28th of the same month, King James was proclaimed king by Mr. George Snigge, Recorder."[2]

[1] Henfrey, 361. [2] Old MS.

CHAPTER X.

THE ✝ STUART ✝ ERA, INCLUDING ✝ THE ✝ COMMONWEALTH.

PART I.

1. *The Accession of James I. John Whitson, Mayor. Dearth; Plague; State of the Country, etc.* 2. *Whitson denounces Purveyance; becomes Member of Parliament; his conduct in the House, etc.* 3. *Great Flood in Bristol and the West.* 4. *Census of the City.* 5. *The Severn Frozen over. Great Dearth.* 6. *Robert Aldworth, Mayor. Visit of the Duke of Brunswick.* 7. *Dr. Thomas White's Gifts. Great Drought, etc.* 8. *James' Queen (Anne) visits Bristol.* 9. *Bristol Incidents: City Library founded; Shooting Contest with the Men of Exeter; Dispute as to Precedence in the Council.* 10. *John Guy, of Bristol, colonises Newfoundland. Whitson and the House of Commons.* 11. *The Struggle between James and the People.* 12. *Incidents. Corn Market built. Well sunk in Wine Street. Coins of the Reign. Death of James.* 13. *Proclamation of Charles I. The Turkish Ambassador present. Differences between Charles and the People.* 14. *First Artillery Ground in Bristol. Whitson stabbed: his Death, Tombs, etc.* 15. *The King grants an Inspeximus. Loyalty on the wane. Sanitary condition of Bristol.* 16. *The City purchases the Castle. Conflict between the Crown and the Common Council.* 17. *Bristol Items.* 18. *Ship Money demanded. Bristol versus Liverpool. Special Commission. Hardships inflicted on the Citizens.* 19. *Sketches of the Mayors. The Plague. Corsairs in the Bristol Channel, etc.* 20. *Constitutionalism in the ascendant. Trimmers. Bristol garrisons Duncannon. Misgovernment in Ireland. Charles raises his standard.* 21. *Bristol prepares for War.* 22. *The Lines of Defence around the City.* 23. *Aldworth refuses admission to the Royalist troops. The Constitutionalists enter the City.* 24. *Petition to the King: his answer.* 25. *Fiennes succeeds Col. Essex as Governor of Bristol.* 26. *Mrs. Carey's vision. Excesses of the Puritan party.* 27. *Yeomans and Boucher fail in their attempt to seize the City. Narrative of one who escaped. Cruel death of the Royalist leaders.* 28. *The Battles of Lansdown and Roundway. Prince Rupert storms Bristol.* 29. *Fiennes' defence of his conduct.* 30. *Bristol under the Royalist régime. Charles' residence.* 31. *Bristol Coins of Charles I. Prince Charles in Bristol as Commissioner of the West. Moneys extracted by both parties.* 32. *Cromwell and his Officers.* 33. *The Second Siege of Bristol.* 34. *Various Assaults; the Lines stormed, Prior's Hill Fort captured, and surrender of Rupert.*

JAMES I., when he left Scotland to ascend the English throne, was thirty-six years of age. He was proclaimed at the High Cross in Bristol by Mr. Recorder Snigge on the 28th March, 1603. The plague had once again desolated the city; on the 18th of the previous July it broke out in Pepper alley, Marsh street, and during the year it swept off 2,600 persons, whilst those who died from all other causes combined only numbered 395. All the known precautions had been taken to prevent its entry. No person was allowed to enter the gates without a clean bill of health. The merchants who attended St. James' fair had to come provided with a certificate that the house from which their goods were brought was not infected, or had been free for at least six weeks; nevertheless the pestilence entered, and made deadly havoc. The miserable survivors were taxed 2*s.* in the pound for the expenses of this visitation.

The mayor this year was John Whitson, a man whose whole life warrants our placing him amongst the earliest and best of Bristol's philanthropists, as well as one of the fastest and sturdiest champions of constitutional liberty. When thirteen years of age he, a poor lad from the Forest of Dean, carrying his all in a pocket-handkerchief, came to Bristol and apprenticed himself to Nicholas Cutts, a wine-cooper, in Nicholas street; marrying in due course Bridget, his master's daughter, he succeeded to the business, which was carried on upon the site of the back entrance to the Athenæum.

Scrupulously conscientious in his dealings, he lived up to the "golden rule" and prospered in all his affairs. During Parfey's mayoralty Whitson had been commissioned to buy a large quantity of corn for the relief of the city; ere it could be delivered the market fell, and the mayor and aldermen cried off the bargain, offering Whitson £8 2*s.* 6*d.* for his expenses, and telling him he must bear half the loss; but ere the ships arrived corn had risen again to 48*s.* per quarter, and the market still going up Whitson could have made £3,000 profit by the transaction, whereupon the authorities offered him £50 if he would return to the original bargain. He consented on certain conditions; large quantities were distributed amongst the starving poor, the rest was sold at below the market rate within twenty days, and the Corporation after all had a balance of £774 on the transaction.

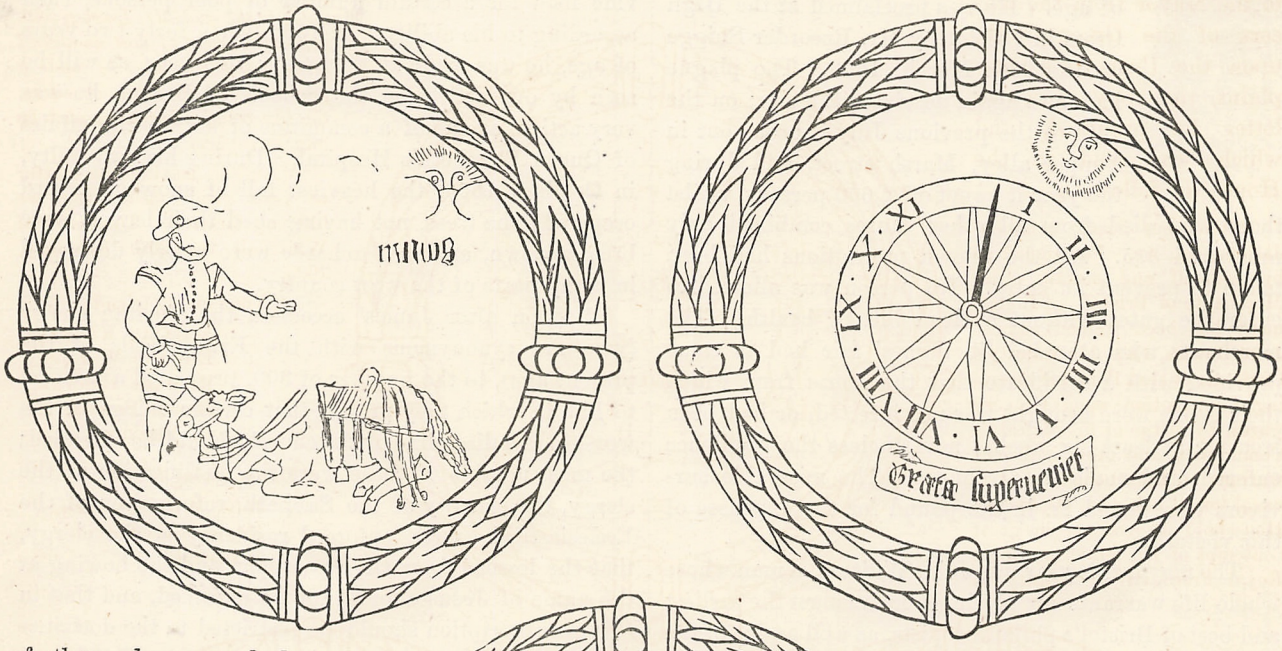
Whitson had served as sheriff in 1590. In 1597, another year of dearth, he went to London to buy corn for the poor, and on his return it was ordered that every alderman and burgess should, at their own houses, provide food for a certain number of poor persons, each according to his ability. In 1599, when forty-two years of age, he was made an alderman; this year, as will be seen by our article on the Schools of Bristol, he was very active, as one of a committee of six, in the affairs of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital. During his mayoralty, in October, 1603, the heaviest fall of snow on record occurred; the trees, not having shed their leaves, were broken down, and the orchards were utterly destroyed in many parts of the west country.

2. Soon after James' accession the Puritan clergy (who are synonymous with the Evangelicals of the present age), to the number of 800, presented a petition to him in which they prayed that certain things in the worship and discipline of the church should be amended; the most notable of these were the qualification of the clergy, the sanctity of the Sabbath, reformation of the Ecclesiastical courts, enforced residency of the clergy, that the lessons from the Apocrypha and the bowing at the name of Jesus should not be enforced, and that in future subscription should be restricted to the doctrines of religion and to the king's supremacy. The king's answer was, "If you aim at a Scotch Presbytery it agrees as well with monarchy as God with the devil." To the other party [the bishops] he said, "If you are out and they are in I know what will become of my supremacy . . . . for no bishop, no king." The king's mockery of their petition soon reached every Puritan fireside, and produced the following determination: "We are driven from the court, now we must look to our footing in Parliament; the elections are at hand, we will appeal to the constituencies." Thus commenced the struggle between the court and the country party, which ended so disastrously for the Stuarts.

The Puritans must not be confounded with the Nonconformists. Although ultimately driven, many of them, into separation, they, the fathers of the constitutional movement, were, both clergy and laity, members of the National church, their ministers were all university men, and the parish church was endeared to them by hallowed sacraments and religious services, their fundamental rule was that all matters of church polity should be based on Scriptural authority alone. This *jus divinum* claim was met by James with another, "the divine right of bishop and king."

With the Puritans were joined the Patriots, a less numerous but more distinguished body, men who regarded the safety of the nation as inseparable from the

safety of its Protestantism, men who were jealous of any encroachment by the clergy on the province of the magistrate, who regarded Romanism as hostile to civil freedom and social improvement, and who would, many



Mural Decorations of a Dormitory in the Deanery. Temp. James I.

of them, have crushed by force the papal system as a power which invaded the conscience and destroyed the soul. Coke, Selden and Pym are well-known names amongst the talented leaders of this the united Constitutional party, and now, in 1605, John Whitson was sent by Bristol to the House of Commons to aid them in the struggle for liberty.

The great trading towns had also other grievances which pressed upon the mercantile class in the form of commercial monopolies, unjust impositions and restrictions and purveyance. Purveyance had been for generations an acknowledged grievance, though no one spoke out and denounced it as against the spirit of the constitution. When the wants of the king's household could not be supplied from the royal demesnes, a body of officers, called Purveyors, had the right by custom of seizing, in any market, provisions for the king's use. Corn, meat, every description of food, wood, &c., they took at their own prices, to be paid for when it suited the king. Carts, horses, carriages, ships, were impressed in the same manner. This power was grossly abused. Elizabeth in her day called the purveyors "Harpies," but it became an intolerable evil under James, and Bacon says, "These purveyors, under their commission from the Board of Green Cloth, lived at free quarters on the country; terrifying dealers by their claims of immense quantities of provisions at an insufficient price, out of which they made a profit; cutting down woods without the owners' permission, and even demanding the labourers to work for them at their own grinding rate of payment."

Whitson, as mayor, denounced the exercise of this despotic prerogative, and initiated an opposition, which was begun in this Parliament by Thomas James, one of the members for Bristol, and ceased not until the obnoxious impost was declared to be illegal. Vol. I.

of the *Journal* of the House of Commons, 185, records that—"Mr. James, of Bristowe, informeth the House of the proceedings of a Purveyor at Bristowe, of the opposition made by the Mayor, and of a letter directed to the Mayor from the officers of the Green Cloth, upon the Purveyor's complaint, the copy of which letter he produced, and which was read in the House as followeth:—

"After our hearty commendations, &c., &c. Forasmuch as by yourself and certain other Merchants of Bristoll an Indictment has been framed against John Dowles, Esq., his Majesty's Customer of that Port, for receiving Composition upon Grocery wares, by virtue of his Majesty's Commission, and other sufficient warrant on that behalf, as it is usual for all other his Highness's Household Provisions, in great contempt of His Majesty's most Royal Prerogative, contrary to *we hold to be greatest of all, for that you being Mayor and principal Magistrate of the said City, would once give consent, or suffer such audacious proceedings in your Court, the which you ought rather to have suppressed and severely punished than any way to have maintained, as in the sequel you shall perceive, if in the meantime you do not cause good satisfaction to be made to the said Mr. Dowles, with acknowledgment of that unadvised error, which else must be made a precedent for all future offenders, the like being never attempted by any heretofore.*

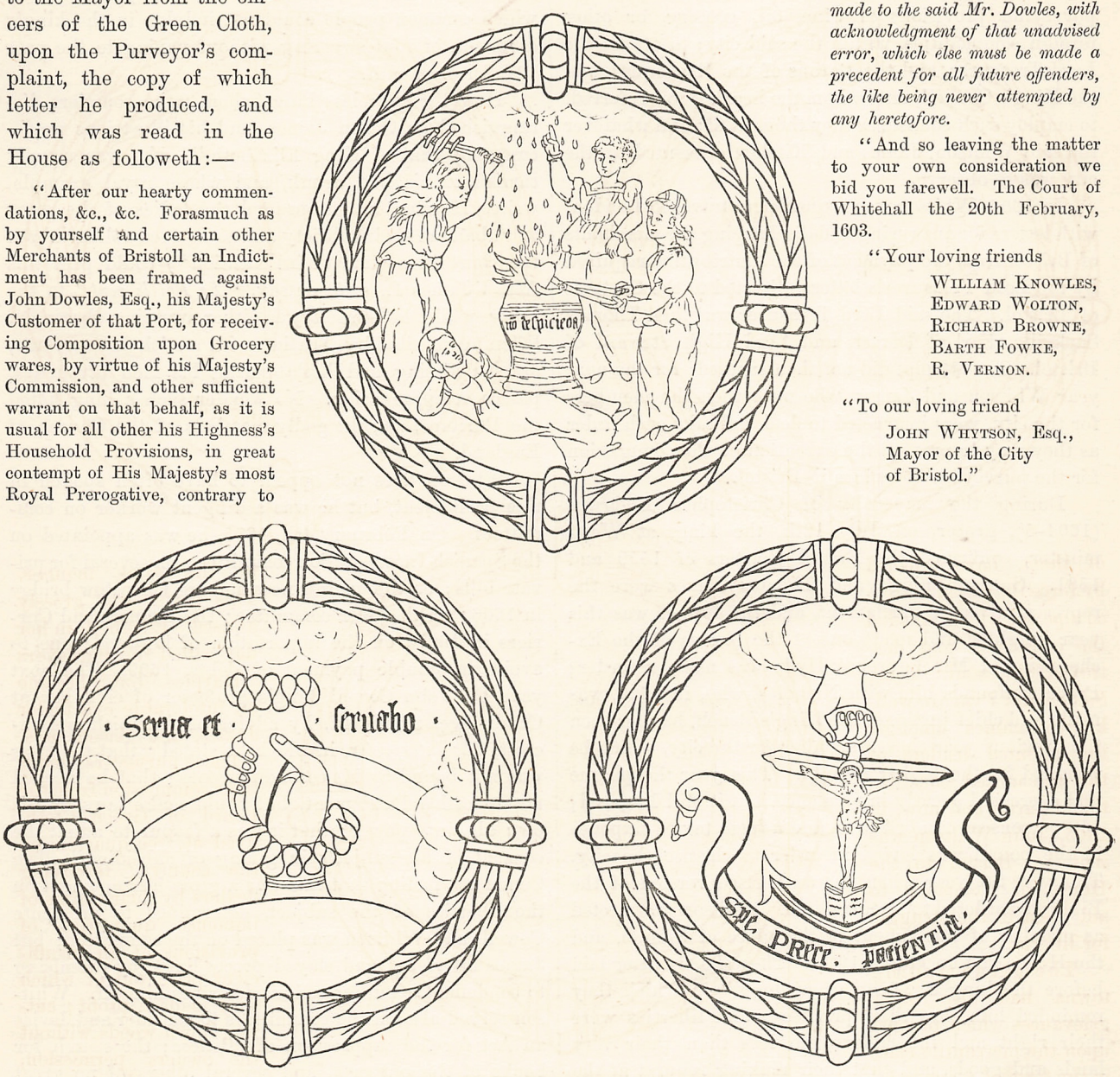
"And so leaving the matter to your own consideration we bid you farewell. The Court of Whitehall the 20th February, 1603.

"Your loving friends

WILLIAM KNOWLES,
EDWARD WOLTON,
RICHARD BROWNE,
BARTH FOWKE,
R. VERNON.

"To our loving friend

JOHN WHYTSON, Esq.,
Mayor of the City
of Bristol."



Mural Decorations of a Dormitory in the Deanery. Temp. James I.

your wonted acknowledgment to our late Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory; although at this time *we have spared to send our Warrant for you as we have done for the rest, because of your necessary residence in that City (considering the present sickness and mortality wherewith it is now sore visited, as we are informed) nevertheless you must hereafter expect to hear from us to answer your own contempt therein, which*

Bristol may well be proud of this just magistrate and fearless man, whose actions were dictated by principle; but hedged in by the plague, and encircled by the stalwart citizens to whom his humanity had endeared him no less than his firmness, in throwing open his court to do justice against the unprincipled officer of the king,

his conduct had won their approval, and he suffered no molestation.

In 1604, Whitson, James and Kitchen, were appointed to follow the suit for relieving the city and its inhabitants from the execution of any commission for purveying provisions of wine, oil, grocery, or other foreign commodities, within the said city; to attend the Lord Treasurer, and the Barons of the Exchequer, and the King's Council, unto whom the hearing was referred, to employ such counsel as they thought fit; and whatever the said Whitson, James and Kitchen consented to, the city was to observe.

In 1606, Whitson was requested to travel to London, with letters for answering and discharging the merchants of Bristol from the payment of the contribution required by the Lord Treasurer's letters, directed to the Customs of Bristol. The said Lord Treasurer was then Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, and Lord High Steward of Bristol. The attempt did not then succeed; for the next year Whitson and James, who were then the members for the city, were instructed to deal and take such order as they may to prevent the execution of the commission for the purveyance of wines in Bristol.

During the mayoralty of Christopher Kedgwin (1604–5), grocer, on July 12th, the king, at Westminster, confirmed the Bristol charters of 1559 and 1581. George Snigge and Thomas James were the representatives in Parliament, and the former was this year knighted and made one of the barons of the Exchequer and Mr. Laurence Hyde was made recorder; Pryce confounds him with Nicholas, who, in 1626, was made lord chief justice of the King's Bench, having been the previous year chosen member for the city, which he resigned for the higher dignity. This year the plague had decreased greatly in virulence, but it still lingered; 150 persons succumbed to it, and a fresh tax of sixpence in the pound was levied in order to cleanse the city. This was the year when the authorised version of the Bible was ordered to be translated. Whitson was elected as member of Parliament in the place of Snigge, and the House met on March 19th. They shortly after laid before the king a "form of apology," in which they reminded him that their privileges and liberties were their right and inheritance, no less than their very lands and goods, and that their making request at the beginning of a Parliament to enjoy them was only an act of manners, and did not weaken their right. They practically asserted their privileges in the case of Fortesque, Goodwin and Shirley.

The union of Scotland and England was proposed, and on the 24th October, 1604, James assumed the royal title of "King of Great Britain." Happily delivered from the detestable plot of Catesby, on the 5th of November, this Parliament began its labours. The following Acts will cause it to be remembered:—An Act for repressing the odious vice of drunkenness; the celebrated *5s.* and costs Act (still extant); an Act by which common people could not indulge in the kingly diversion of foul swearing without paying to the poor *12d.* for each oath.

How the graceless king (whom "the courtiers distinguished as Queen James, and his illustrious predecessor by that of King Elizabeth,"[1] who was usually carried to his bed drunk, and whose royal example, writes Harrington, encouraged the ladies of the court to "abandon their sobriety and to be seen rolling about the court in a state of intoxication") could pass this Act, 4 James I., c. 5, or say, "*Le Roi le veut*" to the latter, whilst he himself was either swearing obscenely, listening to ribaldry, beating with a stick his servants, or else kissing and beslabbering his men favourites, passes comprehension. No wonder such a king hated the Puritans, *i.e.*, the godly members of the Church of England.

Whitson does not appear to have often spoken in this parliament, but he was a diligent worker on committees. On February 4th, 1605, he was appointed on the Spanish Incorporation committee; on several for private bills; on the one for new making Chepstow bridge in 1606; on the Beer committee; the Tanners and Curriers in 1607; on the importation of logwood; one to avoid the double payment of debts, 1609. The next year Dr. John Cowell, king's professor of civil law at Cambridge, published, by advice of Archbishop Bancroft, *The Interpreter*, in which he stated "that the king was not bound by his coronation oath; that he needed not to call a Parliament, but could make laws by his own absolute power; that it was a favour to admit the consent of his subjects in giving of subsidies." The Commons, feeling that this was a gross infringement on the liberties of the subject, determined to prosecute Cowell, and Whitson was placed on the committee; but James interfered and stayed proceedings, by promising to condemn the author and his doctrines himself. Whitson served also on the committees to consider and devise an Act for the suppression of idleness; the search for books of the outports, and several others of no great note.

On the 11th of July, 1610, the great debate took place on the king's demand of £200,000 as a yearly revenue, and more than £100,000 as compensation for giving up his feudal revenue. There was a great conflict of opinion in the Commons as to the amount to be

[1] Disraeli's Curiosities of Lit., 282.

granted; it was finally fixed at one subsidy and one-fifteenth, which amounted to less than one-sixth of the king's demand. In this debate Whitson spoke, and that emphatically:—"Mr. Speaker,—*I am for granting one subsidy and no fifteenth.*" On the question of the fifteenth the House divided:—

Noes	129
Yeas	149
Majority	20

On July 12th he asked leave of the house to depart, perhaps to carry home the decision of the Court of Chancery, passed that day, that the mayor should be always the special governor of Queen Elizabeth's Hospital.

Unable to wring sufficient money from the dissatisfied House of Commons, James imposed heavy dues on merchandise under the authority of the great seal alone, instead of by Act of Parliament. And now began the mutterings of the storm, whose thunders rolled louder and louder, until the bolt crashed on the head of his unfortunate son Charles. With an arrogance that was almost sublime, the king commanded the Commons "not to enter upon this question, as it touched his prerogative;" and, in a rage, he dissolved the house on February 9th, 1611.

The Earl of Dorset dying in 1607, Robert Cecil, the politic Earl of Salisbury, succeeded him in his office of Lord High Treasurer of England; and the city of Bristol, with an eye open to the main chance, forthwith elected him as Lord High Steward of the city; in 1612 Whitson was deputed to wait upon his lordship at Bath with the usual present of wine and sugar, which cost £15 4*s.* 8*d.*, given annually as a compliment to the High Steward. [This was continued down to the Municipal Reform Act of 1835.]

Thomas James was mayor in 1605–6; he also represented the city in Parliament, and was one of the commissioners for promoting the union between England and Scotland. He was mayor for the second time in 1613-14; but being elected again as M.P., he was allowed to vacate the municipal chair, which was filled by Francis Knight. James died in 1615, and was buried in the church of St. Mark.

3. When John Barker was mayor, 1606–7, on 20th January, in the morning at high water the sea, driven by a violent south-west wind, broke over the banks, flooding the lowlands on both sides of the Severn, driving the people to the housetops and the trees for shelter, where many of them had to remain in that inclement weather two, and some even three, days, until they were fetched off by small boats despatched from Bristol by the mayor and corporation. The water in the city was so high that a boat of five tons floated over the present site of the cab-stand at St. Nicholas church, and the man in her pushed off from the crypt door with his oar. In Temple, Thomas and Redcliff streets it was breast high, and the damage done to the stocks of the merchants was immense. At Treen Mills (Bathurst basin) the water was five feet deep on the river bank; the flood at ebb tide brought down large quantities of trees, and the bridge was in great peril, but escaped without much damage to the houses thereon.

The following account of this disastrous flood is extracted from a pamphlet written soon after the event, which is preserved amongst the Harleian MSS., &c. It is dated January 27th, 1607:—

> The first bursting of the sea over the banks in prodigiously high waves was tremendous. The whole vale from Bristol to Gloucester was overflowed for six miles distance from the river on both sides, and most of the bridges and buildings were destroyed. From Chepstow to the further end of Carmarthenshire it came on so fast that it was supposed 500 persons, on a moderate computation, lost their lives, beside many thousand cattle, and vast numbers of sheep, hogs, horses and poultry, and many climbed to the tops of houses, trees and towers, whence they saw their cattle and other substance perish, and sometimes their wives and children, without being able to afford them any assistance.
>
> At Cardiff a great part of the church next the river was carried away. Children at school and travellers on the road were alike involved in the general calamity; if they fled to the housetops or the tops of the hills they were alike in danger of perishing with hunger or cold, but many were involved before they were aware of their danger. On the English coast the same calamity was suffered the whole way from Barnstaple to Bridgwater. It is a most pitiful sight to behold what numbers of fat oxen were drowned, what flocks of sheep, what herds of kine have been lost. There is little there remaining now to be seen but huge waters like to the main ocean; the tops of churches and steeples like to rocks in the sea; great ricks of fodder for cattle are floating like ships upon the water, and dead beasts swimming thereon, now past feeding on the same. The tops of trees a man may behold remaining above the waters, on whose branches multitudes of turkeys, hens, and other such like poultry were fain to fly up to save their lives, where many of them perished for want of relief, not being able to fly to dry land by reason of their weakness.

The famine that followed was sore in the land, and great numbers of people perished for lack of food. Large imports were made by the merchants; sixty ships, freighted with corn, came into Bristol in 1608, bringing a total of 112,439 bushels, at a cost, as shown by the books of the Custom-house, of £24,017 5*s.*[1] Virginia was this year colonised.

4. During the mayoralty of John Barker a census of the city was taken, and it was found to contain 10,549 people. "This was done because they should know how much corn would serve the whole by the week." A dispute between the mayor and corporation

[1] Evans, 166.

and the cathedral authorities occurred this year, for particulars of which see ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, 72.

Barker died suddenly, at the close of his year of office, on September 13th, and the corporation gave him a pompous funeral in St. Werburgh's church, which was hung with black. All the incorporated companies, together with the municipality, attended, and the church was much damaged by the press of people. A tawdry monument, bearing on an altar-tomb a coloured effigy of the deceased in his municipal robes, with gauntlets and other insignia, marked his last resting-place. The day after the funeral the chamber chose Richard Smith, tanner, as mayor for the remainder of the year. "This year a fish, 5ft. long by 3ft. wide, was caught in the river; it had two hands and two feet, a very wide mouth, and was called a 'Friar.' William Child, the well-known Doctor of Music, was born in Bristol this year; he lived to be ninety years of age. Single beer was 3*s.* 4*d.* per barrel; double beer, 7*s.* Ale, 3½d. per gallon the best; the second sort, 2*d.* per gallon; and 'London' barrels and kilderkins were allowed to be made in Bristol."[1] A smith was most righteously whipped, in the Pillory, for putting out the eyes of a horse.

5. Matthew Haviland, merchant—born in 1550, was a native of Poole, Dorsetshire; he married Alderman Kitchen's daughter, and bought several manors in Somerset—succeeded Smith, and during his mayoralty there occurred a frost, which for intensity and duration appears to have been without parallel in this country. It began on November 20th, 1607, and lasted until the 8th of February following. The temperature had been, doubtless, greatly lowered by the floods of the previous year, and the saturated land had no chance of recovery during a cloudy summer.

"Many of the poor would have perished from hunger and cold had not the mayor and his brethren, at their own private costs, distributed bread, wood and straw. The Severn and the Wye were so thickly frozen that people passed from one side to the other. A fair was held, and fires made upon the ice and victuals cooked. Oxen and sheep were roasted whole on the Severn. No long trows nor wood bushes could come to Bristol, yet the Avon at the Back and Key, and downwards to Hungroad, was not frozen. When the ice broke it came down with the tide, doing much damage to the shipping in Kingrode. The frost made great havoc with the birds, and did much injury to the corn in the ground."[2]

"John Boucher, draper, mayor in 1608–9, has not left traces of his footprints; but his widow, who became Mrs. Catherine Searchfield, gave the corporation, about 1620, two pairs of candlesticks, snuffers and pan, weighing 100oz. 10dwt., which, in the reign of Anne, when anything antique could not be tolerated, were exchanged for a bowl, cover and skinker, weight 60oz., to which was added 40oz. and 10dwt."[1] John Fownes left £4 a year for raking and cleaning the walks in the Marsh. The tavern in High street, kept by Henry Hobson, was shut up for a fortnight and guarded by watchmen night and day, because the plague had appeared there.

[1] Tovey's Local Jottings. [2] Old Chronicle.

On Monday, April 10th, the king's uncle, Ludovic Stuart, Duke of Lennox, came to Bristol, and was honourably entertained by the mayor. He slept at Sir John Young's house, on St. Augustine's back, where Bishop Thornborough then dwelt, he showed his good taste by going down the Avon to Hungroad; he departed next day, being sent for by the king.

The Mayor's *Calendar* informs us that Matthew Haviland, in 1619, bequeathed to the Corporation of the city £4 per annum, out of certain lands, for twelve sermons in Newgate. When he was chief magistrate an Act was passed "that none of the council of this city shall sue to the king's majestie for any office of the city, upon paine to be dismissed as well from the house as also the liberties of this city."

6. Robert Aldworth, who succeeded Boucher as mayor, born in 1561, became an eminent merchant. He was one of the promoters of the voyage of Martin Prinne, or Pring, in 1603, who surveyed the coast of Maine, hoping to find a passage to the westward. [We shall refer again to this distinguished Bristol mariner.]

In 1607 Aldworth purchased of Robert Chambers, gentleman, the noble ancient mansion of the Nortons, familiar as St. Peter's hospital. A MS. informs us:—

He builded the faire house in St. Peter's churchyard, with all the cellars and lofts, for refining sugar. Another large building he made in the Marsh, and made two docks there for shipping, which came to nothing.

The site of these docks was on the Quay, abreast of Alderskey [Aldworth's quay] lane.

In the year 1609 Aldworth was chosen mayor, and during the following year "the Duke of Brunswick came to Bristol, and was honourably entertained by Aldworth and his brethren. He was saluted on his arrival with the discharge of twenty-five pieces of ordnance in the Marsh. He slept at the 'White Lion.' At supper-time many volleys of small shot were given him by three hundred of the train band of the city; and the next morning the mayor, with some of the magistrates, gave his grace *a walk about the Marsh to show him some pleasure,* and in the meantime the ordnance was twice discharged, and after being accompanied by the mayor and magistrates to his lodging they took their farewell of each other, and so his grace departed the same day, being Easter-evening, for London."

[1] Tovey's Local Jottings.

Aldworth died, without issue, on the 6th November, 1634, aged 73. By his will, dated seven days before his death, he left "towards the setting of poor people to work within the city of Bristol the sum of £1,000," which money was to be lent on security in sums of £50 each, interest free, for ten years, to such persons as should "set the poor to work." He also gave £100 out of a house in Broadmead towards the maintenance of eight poor women or widows in the almshouse of St. Peter's. The almshouse was near the churchyard. He also built the Parsonage-house, opposite St. Peter's pump, which remained, with the date 1613 [see Illustration at 129 of our ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY], till destroyed by fire some thirty-five years since.

7. Dr. Thomas White, son of John White, of Temple street, where he was born, became a student of Magdalen college, Oxford, in 1566, rector of St. Dunstan's, D.D., in 1584, and a prebendary of St. Paul's, canon of Christ church, Oxford, 1591, and canon of St. George's, Windsor, 1593. He founded the almshouses still known by his name, the entrance to which was under the hall of the Tuckers' guild, in 1610–11, completed in 1613. These houses were for six men and six women. In the chamber of Bristol there is a quaint portrait of him, with some Latin verses ending, *Quique Albos cœli portamque invenit apertam*. The property was enfeoffed to the corporation, who now maintain therein thirty-two poor people, each of whom has two rooms, 8*s*. per week, half a ton of coal at Christmas, and certain articles of dress periodically. The buildings are a parallellogram, 240ft. × 21ft., a quaint relic of an olden time. The doctor also left the sum of £100 a year for the repairs of the highways about Bristol; he especially specified ten miles on the Oxford road, and the whole road to Bath (*i.e.*, *viâ* Hanham and Bitton—the other road, *viâ* Keynsham, was not then made), and five miles in every road leading to a market town in either Somerset or Gloucestershire. He died March 1st, 1623. He left in his will directions as to the form and manufacture of two communion cups, one of which was for the church of St. Werburgh; he also left £40 with which to buy chains and manacles for the prisoners of Newgate, that they may be brought chained in a body on Sunday to St. Dunstan's to join in worship, and to be a warning to others not to become evil-doers. Another item was a sum to warn the parishes of London before the execution of a convict, in order that they may pray for the culprit, and that a silver trumpet of the sanctuary may be sounded to that effect. He also bequeathed money to build a strong house of brick, with open windows to ventilate the same, for the reception of the bodies of persons executed, and which are to be undressed, and portions of their bodies covered with sorry linen by two aged decent females and the executioner.[1]

The new work over against All Saints church, at the Tolzey, was built; also the Fish market in the Shambles (Bridge street); and the corporation advanced money to set up the manufacture of Colchester baize in the Smiths' hall. Beggars and poor people in want were set to work at spinning worsted and knitting stockings, under the inspection of the officers of the parishes. Goods brought by Irishmen from London and other places infected with the plague were deposited without the city till they could be shipped.

"July 12th, by a decree of the Court of Chancery, the mayors, for the time being, were made special governors of the Grammar school, St. Bartholomew's hospital."

When, in 1611, William Carey was mayor, "there was a very great drowth, so that much cattle was starved, and ye comon ground and grass was burnt up, not one drop of rain fell for four months; butter was sold for 6*d*. per lb. (double its usual price), cheese 33*s*. 4*d*. per cwt., and hay £3 per load."[2] A multiple of ten will give an approximate value. Carey was a draper; he in his old age appears to have fallen, if not into poverty at least into disrepute. "He was made keeper of the Back hall, and being a widower of upwards of fourscore years, with sons nearly sixty, he married his servant, by whom he had a son."[3] Posts and rails were set up at Gib Taylor by the Merchant Venturers in his year.

8. In 1612, Anne, wife of James, came from Bath to Bristol, and was right royally received, the mayor, Abel Kitchen, presenting her with a fair purse of satin, with £110 in it, and for three days she was entertained with fair shows on the Elizabethan style. Robert Naile, a Bristol apprentice, wrote a poetical account thereof, the style of which may be seen from the last six lines:—

> "It is good to keep alive what would be dead,
> Therefore hee hits the *Naile* not on the head.
> But yet he hath done the office of a naile,
> To fix that fast, which otherwise would faile.
> As now proues true, his name matching his fate,
> In nailing fame on eaternities firme gate."[4]

We have some little gauge by which we can measure the purveyors' method of doing business through this queenly visit to Bath. Neither Anne nor her ladies of honour could have been very temperate if they consumed the thousandth part of the rich wines provided for them during her brief stay in that city. She is

[1] Bristol Times, 1853. [2] Old MSS. [3] Ald. Haythorne's MS.
[4] For a full account of the proceedings see Seyer, II., 264–67, and Evans, 168–70.

charged with 5 butts, 5 tuns, 2 pipes and 49 hhds. of wine (equal to 5,229 gallons); 207 lbs. sugar; groceries, £152 18*s.* 8*d.*; spices, £94; pepper, £9 6*s.*; oil, £8 12*s.* 4*d.*; the sum total being £1,016 7*s.* 8*d.*—an enormous sum, if we consider the value of money in those days.

Whitson was a creditor for at least three tuns of fine old Gascony wine, for which he eventually received £60 (just five farthings a pint). Her majesty also condescended to borrow money of him, and repaid him and the citizens with the remark (empty words) that, such was their profusion and hospitality, "she never knew she was a queen until she came to Bristol."

In 1613, Whitson was empowered, under the Corporation seal, to recover—1st. The sums of money due to the Corportion and citizens for certain wines, &c., provided for her majesty when at Bath. 2nd. The money lent his majesty under his seal. 3rd. To obtain a commission for apprehending pirates. His attempts to recover the moneys were not successful, and, in 1614, he and Thomas James, as members of Parliament for the city, were further requested to present a petition to the Lords of the Treasury for the repayment of the above claims, as well as for any additional sum for various things provided for his majesty when at Woodstock and Oxford. No money was forthcoming, but as a sop to the Bristol men a commission was granted to them for suppressing piracy in the Severn, and three ships were at once fitted out for that purpose.

Nevertheless, persistent in their purpose, with dogged resolution, the mayor and commonalty in this same year again petitioned the Lords of the Treasury, in the name of the Corporation, "that it will please you to order the payment for the wines, sugars, spices and other provisions, which were taken up for the queen's majesty's household at Bath last year."

9. Abel Kitchen, mayor 1612, by will executed 1639, devised that the ring, given to him by Queen Anne, valued at £60, should never go out of the family, but be handed down to posterity. It, however, mysteriously disappeared at his decease. Three of this mayor's descendants were, in 1824, pensioners of the Chamber of Bristol. Kitchen died in 1639, and was buried beside his wife Dorothy, in Christ church. He was a benefactor to the city and bequeathed:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
For apprenticing poor boys	14	0	0
To All Saints church	3	6	8
To Temple "	3	2	0
To Christ "	3	18	0
To Westbury "	0	13	4
To the Vicar of Kendal for a Sermon	0	10	0
To the Vicar of St. Stephen's one Sunday in Lent ...	0	10	0

In Kitchen's year of office, on the 9th June, the chamberlain of Bristol died, and Thomas White was chosen as his successor, "but the same year he broke for debt, and Mr. Nicholas Meredith was put in his place."

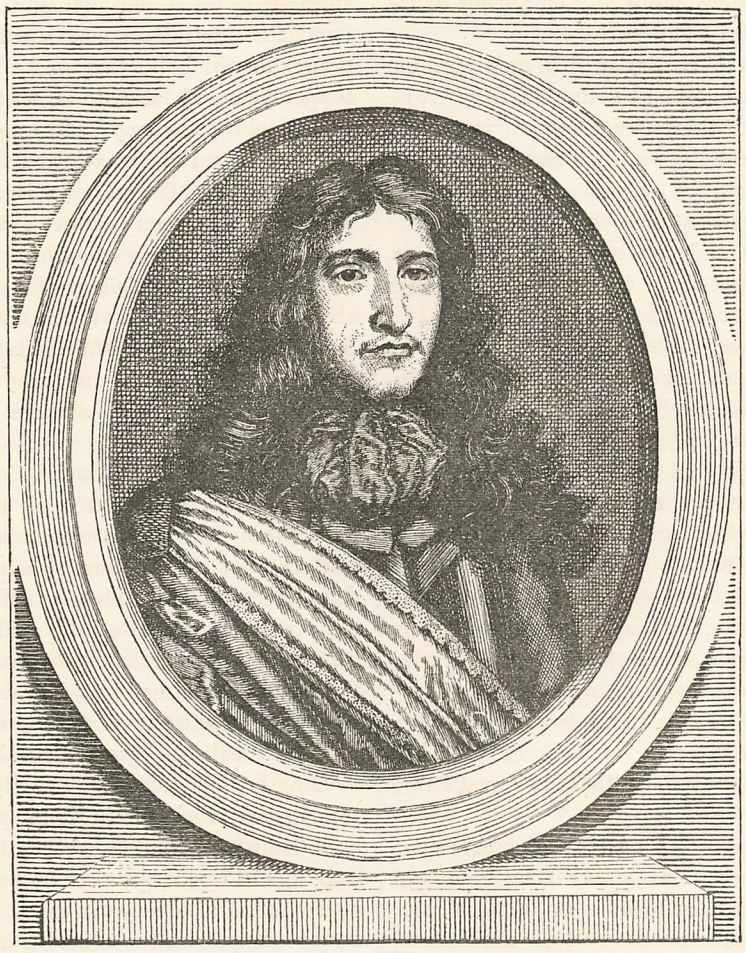
No stage players were allowed to play at Bristol at St. James' fair, on account of the plague which was raging in Wales. Much corn was again imported; from September, 1613, to June, 1614, 104 ships brought 25,105 qrs.; this was in the mayoralty of Francis Knight, who served the city two years in succession, these being his second and third years of office.

The king's necessities compelled him, in 1614, to call a parliament, being led to believe that under proper management he might do with the members pretty nearly as he pleased. The gentlemen of England, however, who had not learned the court fashions, were a spirited as well as highly intelligent race; they had studied closely their country's laws and the history of its constitution; they brought not only solid arguments, but precedents to bear against impositions, benevolences, monopolies, purveyances and proclamations which claimed to be good as statute laws. They dreaded corruption, hated tyranny, and showed a bold front to the king's insane crusade against the liberties of their country.

Whitson and James had, for the third time, been sent by the city to represent it in the Commons. Stormy were the debates, perilous the times; not a single bill was passed when the king dissolved this two months' old assembly, which has been as wittily as truthfully called the "addled Parliament." Whitson had established his character in the estimation of his colleagues, for on the first assembling of the House he was put to serve on the "Committee for the Statutes on the Church of England and the Commonwealth," which sat every Monday during that session. He was also one of forty appointed to confer with the Lords on the allowance to be made to the Elector, Prince Palatine Frederick (the father of Prince Rupert), who was the Protestant champion and the king's son-in-law. He moved also, on the 10th of May, that the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, who was accused of interfering with the Stockbridge election, be heard at committee, as others had been before. On the 11th, on the Act for the recovery of small debts, he says:—"I will not suffer my bill to be rejected, without speaking one word for it, as a learned serjeant of this House has done with his." Bill referred to committee, of which he was a member.

On the 2nd of June, Lovatt, a Popish recusant, was before Parliament, having accused the Bishop of Lichfield of taking money for passing him as a Conformist. Whitson moved that one of the Privy Council be at

committee in the afternoon to take Lovatt's oath; later on in the day he spoke at some length. "We were lately told that they that dissuaded a Parliament will do the best they can to dissolve it." [The king's message that day was to the effect that if they did not forthwith treat of his supply he would dissolve them.] This was now found to be true. The Commons' *Journal* gives only the following fragmentary remarks of Whitson's speech:—"The bishop's book *da totum*. . . . That the king calleth a Parliament but for form. . . . That my Lord Treasurer sent for the merchants of the three out-ports and told them, 'That it was a miserable State where the king may not impose taxes of himself.' . . . . They, the House, would appeal from Philip sleeping to Philip waking." A good hit this last. He could scarcely, with safety to his head, have said, from Philip drunk to Philip sober. It took immediate effect, nothing so severe had been uttered in the debate, and that afternoon the king dissolved the Parliament.



Prince Rupert. From an old print.

Whitson's conduct in the House met with the approval of his fellow-citizens; for on the next municipal election, in 1614–15, he was again made mayor of the city; his late constituents thus ratifying the votes he had given in the Imperial Legislature. During his mayoralty one of those horrid scenes which descended from barbarous feudal times was enacted in Bristol. Phelps, a felon, refused to plead in the usual form and say he would be tried by "God and his country," but insisted on saying by "God and Somersetshire." Heavy weights were placed on his chest until he was crushed to death. The law was imperative; it dated from Henry III., and, to the disgrace of our legislators, was retained on the statute book until the last century.

In the year 1613, Robert Redwood, a good old Puritan, gave his garden house on the city wall for a library; the alterations were finished in 1614, and Richard Williams, the vicar of St. Leonard's, was appointed as the first librarian; the books were free to all citizens. This was, we believe, the first free library ever established in England. Whitson, during his year of office, paid the librarian's salary, but there is no record of his having been a donor of books.

The Bakers' Company this year, deeming the city laws oppressive, endeavoured to free themselves from their liabilities, Whitson made sharp work with the master, whereupon all the bakers struck, and every oven in the city went cold; nothing daunted, the mayor sent messengers through Somerset from Portbury to Wrington, to say that the laws which excluded foreign bread (*i.e.* all bread not baked in the city) were relaxed and in abeyance. In flocked the countrymen, with all the bread they could make, and sold 36 ounces of wheaten loaf bread for 2*d.* and 26 ounces of white loaf for the same price, being 10 ounces and 8 ounces more than the Bristol bakers had been used to give. This brought the refractory tradesmen to their senses and a shower of blessings on the head of the man who had again considered the poor.

The bakers carried the matter to London, where it was not decided until 1619, when, we are told, that "this business, commenced by Mr. Whitson in his mayoralty, caused great controversy in the Michaelmas

Term before the lords of the Privy Council, which business was followed up and prosecuted by Mr. Whitson." As far as can be gathered the bakers had obtained from his majesty one of the patents he was so ready to sell, and the then mayor and Council, led by Mr. Whitson, determinedly and successfully opposed the monopoly.

In 1615, Whitson caused the Piazza or Colonnade at the Tolzey of All Saints to be raised in the roof. No cart having wheels bound with iron was allowed to enter the city. These improvements were followed up in the ensuing year by the heightening and enlarging of the Tolzey Colonnade at Christ church.

The spirit of gallant rivalry which animates our volunteers is not of mushroom growth. In May, 1616, great challenges were made between certain merchants and shopkeepers of Bristol against the same number of Exeter, "for the exercise of shooting with musquets, opensighted and soldierlike, at a butt with bullets." Covenants were drawn and our men went to Exeter, "with 15 musquets chested on horseback, themselves being well suited, and every man's bandolere suitable, and covered with crimson velvet, silver lace and silver fringe, which cost them 50*s*. a piece. Sheriffe Tomlinson rode with them, accompanied with two captaines of our cittie and other worshipful men, to the number of forty horse and upwards, all expert men in military discipline." Exeter won two rounds and our men one, whereby they lost 100 nobles, and this, the old chronicler says, was through the Exeter men (not the shooters) "giving a supper and many healths, and when they brought our men to their lodgings there were many more healths, and burnt sacke was spent all night, so that our men were sicke with drinking and watching." They were not suffered to pay for their entertainment, but they gave away to the poor and the city officials £100, "for every man that rode thither did put £5 into a common purse."

In July the Exeter men returned the visit, and were met by our three captains and above three hundred horse, lodged and bountifully treated at "The Bear." The next day, they refusing the butt in the Marsh, another was erected in St. Augustine's green, with three tents, and one fair one for the mayor and council, as "expectators and judges for the business." The result was a complete success for Bristol; "our men were first, second and third, won the three rounds and £100 in money, besides much bets won on our side, all which was spent upon them, and £100 to double repay their curtesie. Our captaines willed their treasurer to put every penny to account which they had laid out and repaid them again, not suffering them to give aught to any officer or poore in our cittie. So on Friday they all took horse, and our men accompanied them a good part of the way." Whitson was captain (not *ex-officio)* of the trained bands when he died; it is therefore but a fair inference that he took a lively pleasure in soldiering. This year, by virtue of his position as mayor, he was the chief officer.

We have already seen that Whitson took a deep interest in Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, where there were some twenty boys with white flannel letters sewn as badges on their blue gowns; and now his shrewd perspicacity selected one destined to do honour to his choice from the Free Grammar school, called the Bartholomews, to which he was also a benefactor. The lad, a cooper's son, of Baldwin street (a lingering predilection for his old trade may have quickened Whitson's goodwill), William Haywood by name, was a sharp, keen-witted boy, and the worthy alderman, his patron, rested not, until at sixteen years of age, he got him entered as a scholar at St. John's, Oxford. He became at the earliest opportunity a fellow of his college, then domestic chaplain to Charles I., then Doctor of Divinity, vicar of St. Giles and canon of Westminster; he was afterwards sequestered, and his life may be read in Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*. There is great reason to suppose that Whitson's success in discerning so early in life the talents of Haywood determined him to make that provision in his will for "the support of academical students, the same being two poor men's sons of the said city, at the University of Oxford or Cambridge, that had first had their education and bringing up in the Grammar school of the said city, to each of them £10 per annum, and to have continuance from time to time for evermore," which indenture first bears date only five years after Haywood was sent to college, and probably in the very year of his obtaining his fellowship.

Another benefactor to the city was George Harrington, brewer, residing in Corn street. In 1639 he bequeathed the corporation "£540, for them to distribute £26, at 10*s*. weekly, to poor householders in the parishes of Bristol, and to pay the clerk 20*s*. a year for keeping the accounts." He was mayor in 1617, when "he went through the city trying the weights and measures, and renewed all that were faulty. Moreover, he tried the colliers' sacks, cutting to pieces those that held not their measure; and butter being dear, he bought it out of the ships that were outward bound, and sold it in the market at a reasonable price." He married Thomasine, daughter of Simon Herbert, brewer. He was buried in St. Peter's church, in which is his monument, with the effigies of himself and wife kneeling before a lectern. His widow left "1*s*. per week to the poor of St. Mary Redcliff parish for ever." The Earl of Arundel (privy

councillor) came to Bristol this year (1617), but receiving no public entertainment was very wroth; when it was afterwards proffered, he refused it. The secret was that Bristol was Protestant, leavened with Puritanism, and the earl was a Roman Catholic.

During the mayoralty of William Pitt, in 1623, the following Act was revived:—

That the burgesses of this city shall by [buy] boardes or plankes freely and sell them again to their neighbours, but not to strangers, on pain to forfeit for every hundred 6*s.* 8*d.*

Thomas Farmer, who was mayor in 1616–17, gave 50*s.* yearly for ever to the poor of the parish of St. Philip and Jacob. This year occurred a dispute for precedence in the council. Whitson claimed to be the senior alderman, and, consequently, to take precedence of all but the mayor and the recorder; by courtesy, if not by right, in the absence of the mayor the senior alderman would act as his deputy. The mayor is always, of course, the chief magistrate, but his tenure of office is brief; to-day he is the equal of the king's judges and can claim his seat by their side, to-morrow he may fall back into a town councillor, or even a private burgess, whilst the senior alderman's position was a life-long honour, contingent only on his good behaviour. On the 30th day of September, James (he who shot poor Gethin in the wood bush) took precedence of Whitson. A ballad written in the olden style by the late C. J. Harford, says:—

"And Captain James there too was borne,
As histories olde do tell;
An alderman of that cittie,
Of courage bolde and stoute,
Alderman Whitson thrashed did he,
And kicked his worship out."

Mr. Harford's authority is a MS. chronicle of Page, then in the possession of Mr. Morgan, of Ashton. It was an ungracious and an unmanly assault on a man in his sixtieth year. Whitson went into the country for six days, and forbore to say anything as to the matter of precedence at that time; but on his return he brought the matter before the mayor and aldermen in council, and like an honourable man, as James was not present, he withdrew whilst they discussed the question. The mayor, Thomas Farmer, and seven aldermen—Hixe, Vaiver, Kedgwin, Haviland, Butcher, Carey and Kitchin—gave the precedency to Whitson; but two aldermen—Aldworth and Egglesfield—were of a contrary opinion. The majority decided on the ground that Whitson was a justice of the peace and a mayor before James:—

For the better explaining of the case, and to give true light unto the truth, Mr. Whitson did put downe the case in writeing, and sent it unto the principal garter king-at-armes, who lykewise gave it under his handwriteing that the place of precedencie was due to Mr. Whitson.

Maister Seager's words are:—

A maior of a cittie is to have precedency of all other aldermen that have been maiors before him, in regard that hee is the king's lieutennant *pro tempore;* but being out of his maioraltie, hee shall go according to his seignioritie in aldermanship. If hee hath been twice or three times maior, his reputation shall be the more, and take his place above all other aldermen that have bene but once maior, and next unto the maior present. And therefore I conclude that Mr. John Whitson, being seignior alderman and twice maior, shall preceed Mr. Thomas James by prioritie, although Mr. James was the second time maior before Mr. Whitson.

On the 19th August, 1617, is a note:—

It is this day agreed, with the assent of Mr. Thomas James, alderman, that for the avoyding of contention between Mr. John Whitson, alderman, and him, the said Thomas James, touching their precedence, with the mayor and rest of the aldermen, the said Thomas James shall take his place next unto the said Mr. John Whitson, provided always that if Mr. James shall show any cause hereafter that he ought in right to have his place next to the mayor for the time being, then he shall have and enjoy such place as in right shall appear to belong to him.

10. Mr. John Guy deserves honourable mention on account of his enterprising spirit. He twice represented the city in Parliament, in 1620 and 1623.

"In a MS. penes me," says Barrett, "one Mr. Guy, in 1609, took out a number of persons of both sexes, designing to form a settlement all the winter in Newfoundland. He was a member of the common council of Bristol, and mayor in 1618. He procured a charter and license of the king (James) for his intended plantation, having some rich merchants of London, as well as Bristol, joined with him for the better and more effectual prosecuting of the scheme. Many of this city did advance money towards it; and so Mr. Guy, with some other young merchants, being fitted out with more men and all necessaries, took shipping here for Newfoundland, to make a trial of the place by staying there all the winter."

In Stow's *Chronicle*, continued by E. Howes, at 943, we have a very particular relation of this voyage:—

"After the patent was obtained, and several noblemen, gentlemen and citizens being thereby made a body corporate by the name of the treasurer and company of adventurers and planters of the cities of London and Bristol, for the colony and plantation of Newfoundland, in the southern and eastern parts, lying between the degrees 52 and 46, the company sent ships with men, women, and all necessaries thither, and ordained Maister John Guy, a citizen of Bristol, a man very industrious and of good experience, to be their general in this plantation, who planted a colony of men and women in the island of Newfoundland (which was first discovered by Sebastian Cabot, and ever since yearly frequented by the English in fishing time); with them, also, they, for their use to increase there, transported hennes, ducks, pigeons, conies, goats, kine, and other live creatures, all which did very well there. This General Guy stayed there with the colony both winter and summer, whose natures and conditions in general agreed very well with the soil and clyme. In this plantation there were sent none but men of civill lyfe, and of some honest trade or profession, by which course they lived and prospered the better. Since the date of their charter (8 James I., 2nd May, 1610) they have sent yearly supplies thither unto the year 1614, Master John Slaney, Esq., being their first treasurer."

"1611. Mr. John Guy, with a preacher and several men and women, returned to Newfoundland to his son."

Another MS. says (during John Guy's mayoralty):—

"He sett upp the rayles on the Kay, where shipping is built. These *rayles* inclosed a yard at the mouth of the Froom on the east bank. In 1622 Guy was sent for to London, to consult on the decay of 'trade and corn.'"

Sir George Snigge, knt., one of the barons of the Exchequer, a native of Bristol, for many years its recorder, and one of its members in Parliament, died in 1617. His body lay in state in Tailors' hall six weeks; he was buried in the church of St. Stephen. The Dials almshouse, in Old Market street, was built this year.

In 1618 Whitson was one of a committee appointed for the purpose of employing and setting to work poor children of this city; and he made an agreement with Gamage and Son, which was satisfactory to the corporation, for employing those children whose parents were in poverty. In 1620 he was again sent to Parliament, and the moneys collected by the inhabitants of this city to assist the Elector Prince Palatine in the great battle he was fighting against Catholicism in Bohemia, were sent to Whitson and John Guy, Members of Parliament, to be by them paid to the proper authorities.

James was playing fast and loose with both sides, and this ended in what the Puritans called the greatest misfortune the Church of God had received since 1517, —the Elector, the King's son-in-law, the bulwark of the Protestant Church on the Continent, being through default of the king's promised assistance driven from his throne. Volunteers and money were raised by the English, and just when it was too late 4,000 of these were allowed to go on their useless mission.

On February 8th, 1620, Whitson delivered in a bill for the making good and sufficient cardes of wool;[1] and on the adjourned debate in March, he says,—"The Dutch bring over dry fats of old wool-cards, which prejudice the poor and the clothiers." February 17th, in a debate on the recusant Catholics, who returned, it was said, estates of the value of £3,000 per annum at £50, he says:—"Take them in their own craft, let them have all they return, and the King all the rest." On March 1st, on a bill for taking tithes of fish, Whitson could not see why a poor mariner fisherman should pay tithe rather than other mariners, who make better voyages. The next day, in an Act for free trade in Welsh flannels, &c., he pleaded for no restraint for country towns if London was to be free, for he himself had ever had power to carry these commodities. On the 6th, on a bill for the restraint of abuses in the levying debts for common persons in the name and by the prerogative of the king, he objected to the conditions, inasmuch as the farmers, whereof he was one, were tied to take bonds in the king's name. On the 14th, on a motion for an increase of members in the County Palatine, as desired by the prince, he moved that instead of two burgesses, as asked for, there be only one for each town. On the 20th, he said, "there are so many calf-skins in this kingdom that they must be cast away if the monopoly is not relaxed and they be allowed to be exported." In 1621, he said: "Sir Thomas Sherley, M.P., had protected a man, being none of his servants or attendants." Ordered to be examined and punished. Members' servants were privileged from arrest, but "members shall not sell the privilege."

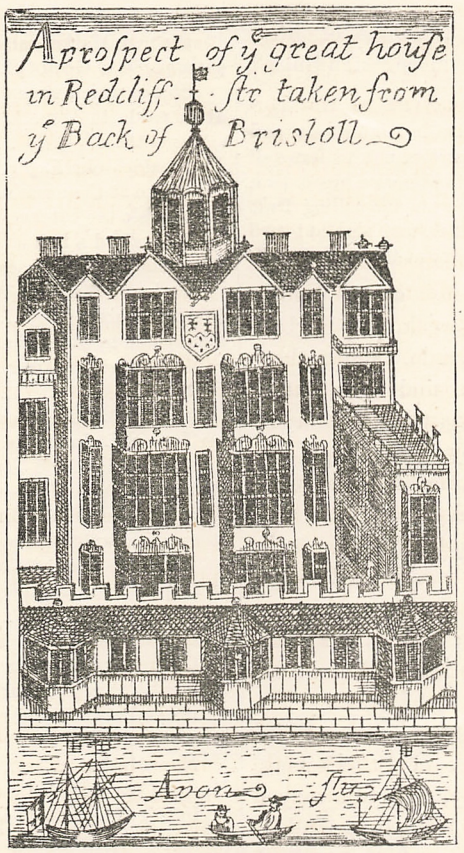
On the 27th April, Whitson complained that every place or way of trade was a monopoly by patent from the king; that it was time to enlarge it,—no reason why free subjects should be so restrained. On the 30th, on an Act to restrain the export of wool, he suggested to except the coarse wools of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland. May 1st, one Floyd, a Roman Catholic barrister, being charged with slandering the Prince Palatine and his lady (the king's daughter), also with being a Popish recusant, and bringing over rosaries in a chest, all the Puritan blood in the House was waxing woefully intolerant, and Whitson advocated the use of the lash.

On the 7th of May, Whitson spoke on the usury bill, contending that it would be ineffective, would ruin most of the gentry of England, bring down the price of land, and that, under its provisions, no man would lend money. On the 9th he spoke on the importation of cattle from Ireland, to which he seems to have been adverse. On the 14th he advocated liberty to export iron ore. The Commons then adjourned until November, and in December they made the now celebrated protestation, wherein they claimed liberty of speech as their ancient and undoubted right, and the king at once dissolved them. Finding no record of Whitson's name during these two months, either on committees or as a speaker, though he was so frequently found at his post in the early part of the session, we incline to think he was busy arranging in Bristol the deed of gift for his various charities, which bears date the following March.

The highest commendation of James is this: "that he was a good classical scholar and a lover of peace." During his reign the kingdom increased in wealth, and made rapid progress in liberal institutions, learning, science, and the arts which adorn social life. He, however, sought to establish his authority by maxims so dangerous, and on assumptions so much at variance

[1] Card-making was a Bristol trade; William Ware, Sheriff in 1587, and William Vawer, Mayor in 1601-2, were card-makers.

with the spirit of a constitutional monarchy, that he was constantly involved in contentions with both Parliament and people, and at his death he left his unfortunate son exposed to the full current of a popular tide that had been for a quarter of a century gathering head against the overstrained prerogatives claimed by the monarchy. James' great aim was a personal government uncontrolled by people, parliament, or counsellors. But this had been met by the impeachment of a host of monopolists, through whom he had sought to raise a revenue. The craven spirit of former Parliaments had to a great extent disappeared, the members were more intelligent, shrewd, and practical, and they ventured to measure the strength of the People's House with the Kingly Will. They prosecuted Sir Francis Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, and fined him £1,000 for corruption in his office, Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir F. Michell (the Sir Giles Overreach and Justice Greedy of Massinger's play) for monopoly, oppression, and injustice, were degraded by them from knighthood, fined and banished the kingdom. This was their practical answer to the King, who had told them, with a sublime impudence, "That their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself," had commanded them not to meddle with matters that concerned his government, or the mysteries of the State, and said "he would not spare any man's insolent behaviour in Parliament."



Rogers' House. From Millerd's Map.

11. Both Houses demanded a Protestant marriage for the heir to the throne, "Bring chairs for the ambassadors!" James roared out with bitter irony when the deputation from the Commons appeared before him. He refused their petition, forbade discussion, and threatened to commit them to the Tower. The House met the Royal command to abstain from discussing the subject by a protestation, in which they claim, "That the liberties, franchises, privileges and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, State, and defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, and the making and maintenance of laws, and redress of grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of Council and debate in Parliament, and that in the handling and proceeding of these businesses every member of the House hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same."

The king's answer was a violent outrage. He sent for the *Journals* of the House, and tore out the pages that contained the protest. But the sentiments embodied therein could not be eliminated from the manly hearts of Englishmen; neither did the king's epigrammatic assertion, "I govern according to the common weal, but not according to the common will," tend to pacify their minds.

A few days afterwards he dissolved the Parliament; but, to his chagrin, found that he stood all but alone. In his mad pursuit after personal government he had taught men to think but lightly of council and crown. The ablest of his ministers had been browbeaten by his favourites and driven from office for corruption. The king's policy of a Spanish marriage for his son, a Catholic household for the infanta, and a Catholic education for their children, roused the national instinct and banded together men of widely divergent views in opposition to the royal will. Then came the rupture with Spain. Prince Charles returned to England in disgust, and the betrothal with the infanta was broken off.

The prince now took the helm. The petty weaknesses of character he had displayed and his humiliating concessions to Spain were obliterated from the public memory by the calling of Parliament, in which a declaration of war was demanded with that country. A subsidy was eagerly voted, persecutions of the Catholics commenced, the lord treasurer, Cranfield, who was the head of the Spanish party, was impeached for corruption and dismissed from office, and Prince Charles married Henrietta, of France, a sister to the king of that country.

James, swept along by the swelling tide, was yet shrewd enough to see that his son and Buckingham were by these concessions making a rod for their own backs; but he seems to have lost all authority—it had been by the people loyally transferred to Prince Charles, whose manners, dignity and reserve contrasted favourably with his.

12. In 1621, when Robert Rogers, ropemaker, was mayor, it was now enacted:—

"That no soapmaker or other person cast or lay, or cause to be cast or laid, any soap-ashes, either in the river or within one hundred foot of full sea, on pain to forfeit for every default duly proved 20*s.*"

High street was at this period a centre of busy interest. In 1583 there were to be no more "standings" set upon it. It was enacted:—

"That there should be but five hucksters in High street, and them to be bound with two sufficient securities not to forestall any friend coming to the market, privily or otherwise, upon pain to forfeit for every default 2*s.*, and any person for selling fruit without license to forfeit for every time 6*s.* 8*d.*, and also but two hucksters for selling oatmeal under the pentice at the Back."

Rogers resided at "the great house at the bridge end." While mayor, "in Whitsun-week, the Earl of Essex, his brother, and Lord Clanricarde, their father-in-law, came to this city from Bath, and were entertained by the mayor. And grete guns were discharged in the Marsh at their coming. They lay at the White Lion, in Brode streete, and after dining at the mayor's they returned to Bath." Rogers married Elian, the daughter and co-heiress of D. Cooper; he died 11th April, 1633, aged eighty years, and was buried in St. Thomas' church. He gave £100 to the corporation to be lent to ten burgesses, interest free; also 1*s.* per week to the poor of Redcliff for ever. The Earl of Pembroke was made Lord High Steward in 1621.

William Pitt, mayor in 1623–4, gave £10 to the Bristol Library and £80 to the poor of St. Thomas, Redcliff and Temple. John Doughty, who was mayor in 1620, became member of Parliament in 1625, and in 1627 was made alderman and captain of the trained bands. In 1623 the ship *Jonathan*, of Bristol, was lost when entering the Straits; she struck on a rock and went to pieces. The men were saved, but the loss was estimated at £12,000.

In 1624 the Corn market was built in the broadest part of Wine street. The roof rested upon sixteen pillars, divided by four arched entrances; in the pediments over these were placed the city arms.

A well was sunk at the end of the building and a pump set up for the use of the inhabitants, at the cost of the corporation. To show the rapid advance in the value of labour and materials within the century, we append for those curious in such matters copies of the bills for the construction of both conveniences.

PARTICULARS OF THE COST OF BUILDING A CORN MARKET IN WINE STREET, AT THE EXPENSE OF THE CHAMBER, IN THE YEAR 1624. £209 9*s.* 8*d.*

1624. PAYMENTS OF THE THIRD QUARTER.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Item paide unto Edward Hereford in parte of his paynes in filling the vates with Rubbel at the New Cornmarkett	2	0	0
Item paide to John Settlee Freemason £3 in parte of his worke at the newe Markett, soe the whole already paide him is £43 the residue being charged the last year to my account	43	0	0
Item paide John Settle £8 more towards his worke at the new Market, and taken Bond to finish it	8	0	0
Item paide to Goodwyfe Nayler for 10 Tonnes of Wall Stones which were used at the saide Newe Markett	0	9	0
Item paide to Wm. Lloyde 2/6 for 3 vates of Stones used there	0	2	7
Item paide John Kenn Freemason in more parte of the worke at the newe markett	2	0	0
Item paide the Pitchers; viz. to John Walter Moore for 8 days and a half a piece for pitching there	0	15	7
Item paide Robert Price Cordwainer in more part of his worke at the New Markett £5 soe the whole paide him hitherto is	25	0	0
Item paide to John the Pitcher and Walter Moore for 4 Days worke a piece at the New Markett place at 11*d.*	0	7	4
Item paide to John Leman £14 2*s.* 0*d.* and is for two Tuns of Led more to cover the Market place soe the whole paide for 8 Tons of Led is	56	14	0
Item paide John Kenne £3 more in parte of payment of the worke at the Newe markett	3	0	0
Item paide unto Thomas Daker Plumber, in parte of his worke done at the Newe markett	5	4	0
Item paide for another Tonne of Led for the New Market	7	1	0
Item paide for the hire of two horses to Ride down to Oldwells poynte about the Quarr Stones for the New Markett: and for our Passage at Rownham and for a man's Paynes that brought us to the Quarr	0	3	0
Item paide to Robert Price in parte of his worke at the New Market	6	0	0
Item paid to Robert Price £9 at three several payments in full of his worke a the New Markett according to agreement for £4 and 5*s.* paide him over and above for his journey to Gloucester to see the Markett place there	9	5	0
Item paide to Thomas Daker Plumber in part of his worke at the New Market	5	0	0
Item paide to John the Pitcher for 5 daies work a piece in Wyne Street about the saide Newe Markett ...	0	9	2
Item paide to the workmen to drinke when they had finished the paveing of the New Markett...	0	0	4
Item paide Thomas Daker Plumber in full of his worke for cartinge of Ledd into sheets and Battlements for Sodder, making of pipes Ledd-heading Nayles &c.	10	16	2
Item paide Thomas Woodward rough mason for paveing of 156 Yards at the New Markett at 2*s.* he finding workmanship and stuff...	15	12	0
Item paide John the Pitcher for work in the New Markett	0	9	6

	£	s.	d.
Item paide John Keane the Freemason £5 whereof three £ is in full of £60 which was agreed with him and John Settle for their worke and stuffe for the Newe Markett and the other 40*s.* is given them over and above by Order of Mr. Mayor and Alderman in respect of their hard bargain therein	5	0	0
Item paide John Diddoll for 3 way of lime us'd about the plompe at the New Markett...	0	1	0
Item Paide to Thomas Woodward £3 more which is allowed him by the Surveyors and Auditors in recompense of his losse in taking the work	3	0	0
Total Cost of the Markett	£209	9	8

Order of Comon Councill 18th Feby. 1622 for the Errection of a Corn Market in Wine St., Comon Council Book No. 2 folio 112. 18 February 1622.

It is ordered and agreed by the whole house in General that there shall be with all convenient speed a Market House (for Corne) Builded a erected at the cost, and Charges of the Chamber, in Wine St. upon the Ridge over against the Meal Market dore of fowerscore fte. in length and twelve fte. in breadth and to be covered over with Lead, and that the Sheriffe of the city for the time being shall yearly for ever hereafter be paid by the Chamberlain two shillings and sixpence for every fte. of ground which shall be taken up for erecting and the building the said house, and that the Chamberlain from henceforth shall take the profit and benefit of St. James' Fair yearly for all standings that shall be erected and built under the said House.

PARTICULARS OF THE COST OF SINKING A WELL, IN WINE ST., AND FOR PUTTING PUMP THEREIN AND AT THE CHAMBERS EXPENSE IN THE YEAR 1624. £27 8*s* 4*d*.

1624. PAYMENTS OF THE THIRD QUARTER.

	£	s.	d.
Item: paide unto Walter Howell Hallier the somme of 50*s.* f is for halling off rubble from the Well in Wyne Streete, untill the 15[1] of December, as ℔ his Note ...	2	10	0
Item more paide unto Edw[d] Hereford Labourer in parte of filling rubble there 3*s.* 10*d.*, soe the whole paid him hitherto is	0	13	4
Item paide unto John Jones in more parte of sinking the Well 5*s.* so the whole paid him hitherto is ..	1	18	0
Item paide Hereford for filling of 4 Doz. of Rubbell more	0	1	4
Item paide John Settle in part of his work there	1	0	0
Item paide John Jones in more parte of sinking the Well	1	0	0
Item paide for filling of 6 Doz. of Rubbell more	0	2	0
Item paide John Jones in more parte of sinking the Well	0	5	0
Item paide and given in earnest to twoe me that undertooke to finish the same Well	0	2	4
Item paide more to the sinkers of the Well in full of theire worke 18/7 and 3/- given to three men that did worke all nighte to drawe the water out of the same well...	1	1	7
Item paide unto divers men that did draw the well drye whereby it might be walled up	1	6	8
Item paide for Tymber used aboute the Well and for digging up the Poaste and carriage to the store house	0	2	4
Item paide unto Thomas Woodward £12 10*s.* 0*d.* more whereof £8 10*s.* 0*d.* in full for walling up the Well in Wyne Street according to his agreement, £2 more thereof is in parte of paveinge aboute the pumpe and the other £2 is allowed him by the Surveyors towards his losse in undertaking the worke at the same rate as by his accompte and petition appeareth	12	10	0
Item paide unto Thomas Belsire and John Walker Masons for 6 days' worke a pice at the newe drawinge of the Well in Wyne Streete is 18*s.* and two Labourers for 6 dayes worke a piece to helpe drawe the Well and putting in of Posts and Beams 12/9 all is	1	10	9
Item paide Wm. Lloyde 6/1 and is for bucketts, roapes and other things us'd about the Well as ℔ his note	0	6	1
Item paide 2/- viz., 1/6 to the workman to drinke for setting up the Pump at the Well and 6*d.* for the saweing of it	0	2	0
Item paide John the Pitcher 7/4 for 4 dayes worke, a piece for himself and Walter Moore	0	7	4
Item paide to the two pitchers 7/11 for 2 dayes worke and a half a piece for their extraordinary paynes to make an end of the Plompe and for a Labourer to help them 2 days and ½	0	7	11
Item paide Berrowe the Turner for the Case to the Plompe &c.	1	8	0
Item paide to Evans the Joyner for carving the head of ye Plompe	0	13	0
Item paide for halling of Paveing stone to the Plompe	0	0	8
Total Cost of Well, Pumpe, &c.	£27	8	4

Barrett, in his account of All Saints church, says:—"In the chancel is a monument, with his statue half-length, of Mr. John Doughty, mayor and alderman and burgess in Parliament, with English verses underneath. He died in 1629, aged 67." This monument has disappeared. Sacrilegious hands were ever and anon laid upon these records of departed worthies.

Some years since, during alterations in All Saints church, to gratify a morbid feeling to behold how the venerated philanthropist, Colston, had borne the still silence of the tomb for nearly a century and a half, a coffin, assumed to be Colston's, was exhumed, and the features of the shrouded form compared with those of the marble monument. The resemblance was pronounced extraordinary, as it would have been had there been any. It was more probably the corpse of John Doughty, who wore gauntlets officially. Colston was not a member of the corporation, and if his "directions for my funeral" were followed, the mortal remains of Colston were lying about ten paces off in his ancestral sepulchre.[1]

In 1629 John Doughty bequeathed to the corporation £100, to be lent, interest free, for five years, to handicraftsmen. During his mayoralty the society of St. Stephens' ringers, whose merry peals and witty feasts continue to this day, was founded.

Henry Gibbes, brewer, resided in St. James' back, at that time a very different neighbourhood to the present, as the remains of mediæval mansions testify. He was a son of W. Gibbes, Bedminster. He married Anne, the sister of Mathew Warren, and was mayor in 1624. His third son, Philip, went to Barbadoes, and was ancestor of Sir Philip Gibbs, bart. During his official year it was ordered that "no burgess of this city shall buy any merchandize for strangers within the liberties of this city on pain to lose 12 pence on every

[1] Tovey's Local Jottings.

pound." His daughter, Elizabeth, married Thomas Lloyd, Mary married Richard Neathaway, Margaret married William Bird, and the fourth daughter married Walter Stevens, the leader of the Iconoclastic mob who, in 1642, destroyed the Virgin Mary chapel on Bristol bridge. Seven persons were hanged in Bristol during this year, viz., two for witchcraft, two for murder, and three for unnatural practices.

In 1625, Brandon hill was purchased by the Corporation, to be holden yearly by the mayor and the two sheriffs for the time being, at the yearly rent of two marks (£1 6*s.* 8*d.*), on the following terms, viz., "To keep it well prepared, maintaining the hedges and bushes, and admitting the drying of clothes by townsmen and townswomen as had anciently been accustomed."

"On the 2nd of April, 1609, Thomas Moze, one of the ordinary yeomen of the king's chamber, and William Edgeley, groom of the same, petitioned his majesty for a sole licence to stamp farthing tokens for the cities of Bristol and Gloucester, which petition was referred by the king to the commissioners appointed by his majesty for suits. The petitioners state that the city had received, many years past, authority from the queen (Elizabeth) to stamp farthing tokens in copper, and that such authority ceased upon his majesty's (James I.) coming to the crown. The petition is printed on p. 3 of the Appendix to T. Snelling's *View of the Copper Coinage*, 1766, from Sir Julius Cæsar's MS., p. 101.

"Whether Moze and Edgeley ever received the licence they asked for does not appear, nor are any Bristol tokens known which can be assigned with certainty to James I.'s reign."[1]

13. The death of James, on March 24th, 1625, placed Charles I. upon the throne at the age of twenty-four. His character was a curious compound: he was weak but obstinate, lavish of promises without thought of fulfilling them, and ever ready to subordinate the highest political considerations to pique or to personal vanity. His early training had been in a school adverse to Constitutional government, and the favourite, Buckingham, had monopolised court influence to the exclusion of more able men, but was utterly incompetent to advise the king how to direct, as Elizabeth had done, the current of popular opinion and feeling. Charles was proclaimed by Sheriff Clements, at the High Cross on April 1st, as King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, amidst the blare of trumpets, the clang of bells and the roar of artillery, whilst the mayor and council, clad in scarlet, stood bareheaded at the Tolzey. The interest of the ceremony was heightened by the presence of Ali Galigha, a Turkish pasha, who, coming as ambassador from the Sultan, had brought with him sundry strange birds and beasts as presents to the king, together with a far more acceptable present to the people, viz., fifty Englishmen, some of whom were natives of Bristol and Somerset, redeemed from slavery. On his route from Plymouth to London, Galigha arrived in Bristol, March 31st, and was royally entertained by the mayor, Henry Gibbes; after dinner he walked around the city and supped with the merchants at the Guildhall. Alive to their own interests, for they had suffered heavily from the depredations of the corsairs in the Mediterranean, the burgesses would not suffer him to be at any cost in the city, and at his departure they presented him with a handsome gelding, richly caparisoned, many of them accompanying him as far as Bath. "And so lovingly they took leave of each other, since which time we hear of no English ship that hath been taken at sea by the Turks, being at the instant writing here of a whole year since."[1]

There is ample evidence that at this time Bristol was well and loyally disposed towards Charles, and its subsequent estrangement and ultimate antagonism was simply a result of the king's crooked policy and tergiversation. Bristol was Protestant, but the king violated his word and made important concessions to the Catholics. The Puritans had declared that every Churchman who favoured Popery was a traitor in the ranks. Charles' answer was to place Laud at the head of all ecclesiastical affairs, and Doctor Montagu was set to preach the divine right of the king and the doctrine of the Real Presence. The Commons met this by committing Montagu to the Tower. Meanwhile war with Spain had not been declared, and the cause of Charles' quarrel with that nation had, it was discovered, been anything but sympathetic with the people's loudly expressed abhorrence of Popery. The king went on manning and collecting a great fleet, yet he refused to say against whom it was meant to be employed. But the people held the purse-strings. The last subsidy had been spent, in what manner was best known to the courtiers; another was needed, but the Commons in granting it, against all precedent, restricted to one year certain Customs' duties which had usually been granted to the sovereign for life. This was taken as an insult, and the king refused to accept the grant, burdened with such a restriction. Another demand for a subsidy was made by the king, but it was denied without even a debate.

Charles now showed his hand by taking Montagu from the Tower and making him one of his royal chaplains, and by levying the disputed customs upon his

[1] Henfrey, 361.

[1] Old MS.

own authority. The house met at Oxford; but having determined that its first step should be to enquire into grievances, it was dissolved.

Whitson, who was now for the fourth time member for Bristol, spoke on the first day the house met, on the subject of the Commons proclaiming a fast among themselves and all receiving the Communion. "He was accordant, for that there had been no such cause for a fast in the last Parliament as now in respect of the plague *and other occasions*." He was requested by the corporation to wait upon the lords of the council, to obtain their consent that persons from London should not be allowed to come to Bristol fair, lest they brought the plague with them, which consent he obtained, and by "the blessing of God, though it came even to Lawford's gate, it entered not the city."

14. "In the year 1625 the captains, trained men and young men of Bristol petitioned the council of the realm for authority to set up an artillery yard within their city, where they may learn and practice the use of arms." [1] The site granted was not as yet city property, being the courtyard of the castle. The tourists from Norwich who were in Bristol in 1635 say:—"To grace and add to her beauty Bristol maintains three foot companies, besides a voluntary company of gentle, proper, martial, disciplined men, who have their arms lodged in a handsome artillery house newly built up in the Castle yard, where once in a year they invite and entertain both earls and lords and a great many knights and gentlemen of rank and quality at their military feast, and this yard affords them a spacious and large place to drill and exercise in. The castle is of great extent, and hath formerly been a most fair and strong hold, but now it is almost quite demolished." [2]

John, son of John Barker, mayor in 1606, was elevated to the mayoralty in 1625, when it was enacted:—

"That it shall be lawfull for the owners or masters of shipps to take shipwrights or ship-carpenters in the graving of shipps, in whose work soever they bee."

This mayor "gave an annuity to the churchwardens of Temple parish of £4 6*s*. 8*d*. per annum for ever out of a house in Temple street, for thirteen sermons in the year, viz., one for every first Sunday in the month." John Barker was M.P. in 1623 and 1627; he died in 1636.

Charles' next policy was to divert attention from home legislation by a foreign war, and 10,000 men were sent to invade Spain. A man-of-war of thirty guns was built at Gib Taylor, and named *The Charles* when launched. Then reports were rife of danger from a foreign invasion; there were great musters of men, and the seaports were watched day and night. In Bristol, by command of the Privy Council, corporals, with their squadrons of trained bands, forty or fifty in number, furnished with halberts and muskets charged with bullets, watched at the several gates whilst gentlemen walked the rounds, keeping their watch for sixteen nights, beginning on July 22nd, until St. James' fair was ended and strangers had gone home. Whitson was deputed to petition the Lord Lieutenant to appoint a muster-master to view the men-at-arms in the city during the winter. "Yet," says our chronicler, "few men knew the cause, and many were of opinion that no real cause existed, but that the king's ministers raised a false alarm that they might have a better pretence of levying money." The attempt was a failure, and the king was constrained by his growing necessities to call another Parliament, from which he excluded the leading spirits of the previous house by pricking them as sheriffs of their counties. There was, however, no lack of leaders of the Constitutional party; Eliot, Hampden, Pym, and other kindred spirits found seats, and when the king sought to stamp out opposition by sending Eliot and Digges to the Tower he precipitated the contest. The Commons declined to proceed to business until their members were restored; and after a struggle of ten days Eliot was released, the Parliament was dissolved, and the king proceeded to raise subsidies under the exploded form of "benevolences." By writ the king demanded a loan from private persons, chiefly from those who had presumed to think that grants of money and redress of grievances ought to go together. If this loan were refused by any person of station or local authority, he was struck out of the commission.

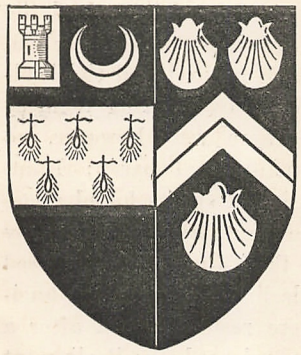
Whitson was a sufferer; being aged, he went not again to Parliament, but gradually gave up his public life. The last parliamentary act of his recorded is that he served on the committee for examining into the abuses which had crept into the Charter House school, "and so to rectify that which was past as to provide for the future"—a truly congenial work for the grand old man. But though free from parliamentary harness, he was not idle, or a laggard in the business of the city. On the 7th of November, 1626, he sat with Alderman Guy (the Newfoundland coloniser), by virtue of a decree of the High Court of Chancery, to decide a controversy of long standing between William Trestram and Christopher Callowhill. They found that Callowhill owed £48, but, in consideration of his "weak estate," they only adjudged him to pay £20; upon which the said Callowhill flew at Whitson, and with a knife stabbed him in the face, thinking to kill him. The knife pene-

[1] Dom. Cal., Oct. 22nd, 1625.

[2] Brayley's Graphic Illustrator, 375.

trated through his cheek, nose and lip, into the mouth, but the assassin failed in his intention. At the following council meeting Guy moved:—"That on account of the heinousness of the offence, Callowhill have shackles put on his legs." Whitson, in thankfulness for his escape, left £3 per annum to St. Nicholas church and 20*s.* per annum for two sermons to be preached there for ever.

Two years after this, in 1628, he attended the council chamber for the last time; and in 1629 he was thrown from his horse whilst he was captain of the city trained band. This accident ending in his death, the soldiers attended his interment and performed the usual honours over his grave, according to military custom. He was buried in St. Nicholas church on the 9th of March, in the same grave where his two wives and three daughters had been laid, and his widow, Rachel (who was alive in 1634), is also buried with them, in the tomb which is just before the monument in the crypt of the church.



John Whitson's Arms.

This monument is an arched canopy, under which lies the effigy of Whitson, in all the stiff formality of the 17th century, with the cut in his face perpetuated. The inscription (now erased) was as follows:—

1741.

"In memory of that great benefactor to ye City,
John Whitson, Merch Twice Mayor and Aldn
& four times Member in Parliament for ye City,
Who died in the 72d year of his Age A.D. 1629.
A worthy Pattern to all that come after him."

There was also erected, mainly through the exertions of Alderman Daniel, under the tower of St. Nicholas, an elegant and costly tomb, in Perpendicular English, the design of Mr. T. Clark, the architect of the present Bristol cross. Beneath a rich canopy Whitson lies in his robes of office, his book in one hand and his alderman's gloves in the other. On the left panel the inscription originally on the tomb in the crypt has been reproduced, and that on the right hand contains a similar one in Latin. He was the author of a pious meditation entitled *The Aged Christian's Farewell to the World.*

When Whitson's residence, then known as "The Queen Bess," was demolished, in 1853, two chimney-pieces, one a small carved one from his library, the other a large one from his great room, were removed to the Red Maids' school, where they still remain.

The one now in the dining-hall of the school is very large, and profusely ornamented with carved work, having in the centre the royal arms of the time of Elizabeth. Eden says there were on it the following inscriptions in Latin (we presume they must have been in an outer border or scroll; they are not now extant):—

"Qui Leo de Juda est, et flos de Jesse Leones."
"Protegat et Flores, Elizabetha, Tuos."

On the left side is—

"Non est mortale quod opto."

On the right—

"Est mihi grata salus."
"Est mihi dulce mori."

The Red Maids have also his picture, said to be the original likeness; a good, thoughtful head and face it is. It bears the following line in the upper left-hand corner:—

"Nunquam desperabo de miseri cordia tua, Domine."

15. Christopher Whitson, merchant, was mayor in the year 1626; of him the annalists report, "This mayor was not reverenced, neither was he exceeding liberal." One of the ordinances of the Council was, that all strangers' goods shall be put in the Back hall to be sold, and any burgess that returned them as his own was to be discommoned.

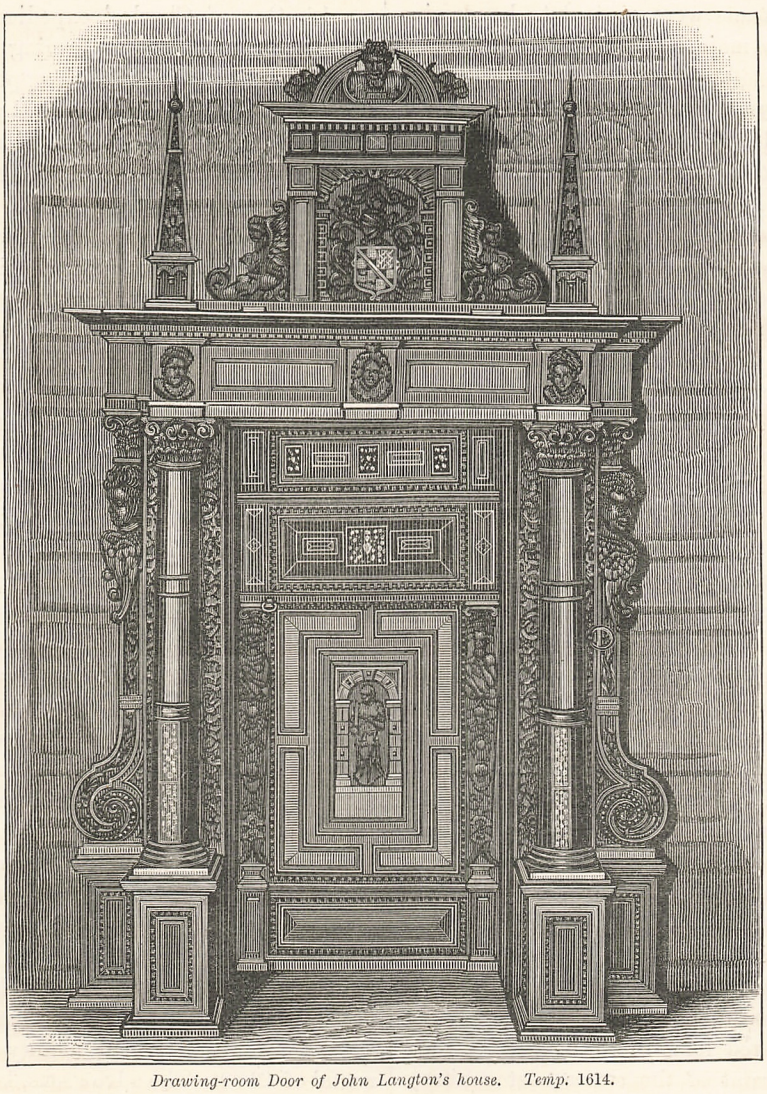
On August 18th, 1626, Charles granted for money a charter of confirmation for Bristol. Prayers were ordered to be offered up in the churches, as the summer was a very wet one; a fast day was appointed for the 2nd of August, "and that same day it pleased Almighty God to send us fair weather, which lasted a considerable time, and we had a plentiful harvest."

John Gunning, merchant, became mayor in 1627. "This mayor gave 10*s.* per week to good uses while he lived, as did Alderman Kitchen at his death." The two beautiful Misses Gunning, famous for their marriages, were descended from his uncle, Richard, who settled in Ireland. "The corporation purchased of Sir Charles Redcliff Gerrard, knt., for four hundred and fifty pounds, the advowsons of James, St. Peter, Christ, St. Ewen, St. Michael and St. Philip's churches."[1]

The system of forced loans, arbitrary taxation and extortion by the king was alienating all classes of his people from the throne. The "refusers," as those were termed who declined to comply with the royal demand, were imprisoned by the score, and popular discontent grew ripe. John Langton, son of William Langton, of Cumberworth, sheriff in 1614, a merchant and member of the Soapmakers' Company, was mayor in 1628. His beautifully decorated drawing-room still exists in the manufactory of Messrs. Franklyn, Morgan and Davey.

[1] Evans, 175.

The door of this room is a beautiful specimen of early 17th century art; beneath a gracefully carved figure of justice, on a shield are the initials J. L., with the date 1628; the pillars are exquisitely chaste, and are inlaid with mother of pearl and ivory. The mantelpiece is, we think, the finest specimen of the many that are to be found in the city, and the ceiling is richly ornamented. In the adjoining room there is a shield containing the merchant's arms, and on another there is the date, 1623, J. L. The noble staircase, with its ornamented balustrades and heraldic lions, is one of the finest examples of that style extant. (Business requirements prevent this room being indiscriminately shown.) Langton died in 1636, and was buried in St. Nicholas church. He left 40*s.* per year, to be paid quarterly, to four poor householders of St. Nicholas parish, and 12*s.* a year for a sermon to be preached at Horfield on the first Sunday in Lent for ever.



Drawing-room Door of John Langton's house. Temp. 1614.

The tide of popular resistance to unconstitutional taxation was steadily rising all over the land, and Charles was at his wits end for money. Another foreign expedition, under the command of Buckingham, professedly in aid of the Huguenots, in France, had failed. Overwhelmed with debt, the king was obliged reluctantly to call a third Parliament, to which John Doughty and John Barker were sent as members for Bristol. The Court candidates were everywhere rejected and the men of the people filled the House. Charles demanded that they should take his word for the redress of grievances; but the house insisted that the ancient laws should be enforced which protected the subject from arbitrary taxation, forced loans, obligatory benevolences, punishment by imprisonment, outlawry or confiscation of goods (except by legal judgment), the billeting of soldiers upon private families, and the enactment of martial law in time of peace. They called the king's attention to the breaches of these laws by the late king, and also by himself since the dissolution of the last Parliament, and drew up the famous "Petition of Right."

The contest between the king and the sturdy Commons, who refused to grant supplies until their grievances were redressed, is matter of general history. It ended in the dissolution of the House by the king who "hated the impertinence of Parliaments." Men were forbidden even to speak of another, and for eleven years the kingdom had no other government than the will of the monarch, who, claiming absolute power to be his by Divine right, inadequately replenished his exchequer by open violation of the constitution in imposing and levying fresh taxes on the sole authority of the crown, and by forcing all men, who had estates worth £40 per annum, to become knights, by which means alone, Baker states, he raised a sum of £100,000. The contest was protracted to this length by the support given to the king by the Roman Catholics and the English hierarchy under Laud, who preached the doctrine of passive obedience, and turned religion into a deadly weapon of attack upon the liberties of the nation. During the

struggle there came 1,500 soldiers into Bristol, who were very unruly; but when news came that the Duke of Buckingham had fallen by the knife of an assassin "these soldiers were like lambs, walking the streets like ghosts not knowing what to do, and soon after they were all sent off to Ireland."[1]

Bristol, the second city in the kingdom, was deeply interested in the above contest; and whilst a large minority of its inhabitants were content to be passive in the king's hands, the majority were undoubtedly constitutionalists.

Humphrey Hook, merchant, who had been sheriff in 1614, was mayor in 1628–9. He has been mistakenly identified with the more prominent man of the same name, who was his son, and was mayor in 1643. Hook was a member of the Soapmakers' Company, and, in 1630, he joined with other merchants in fitting out an adventure for the discovery of the north-west passage to India. During his mayoralty it was enacted, "That it shall be lawful for Tuckers, being freemen of this city, to roll, boil and smoke the cloths they make themselves." Also, "That it shall be lawful for whittawers and pointmakers to buy sheep's fells and lamb's fells, neat, to be shorn or pulled, and that none shall ingress into their hands any of the fells to sell them again, untarred or unwrought, contrary to the true meaning of the statute." A narrow spirit of monopoly still jealously guarded every trade, and the very men who were ready to build a church for the glory of God, or to endow an almshouse for the poor, considered it to be as sacred a duty for them to exclude all men not born or apprenticed within the walls of the city from the benefits arising from its commerce. The sum of "£5 13*s.* 4*d.* is charged this year for gunpowder expended at the funeral of Mr. Alderman Whitson, paid to John Corsley."

Whatever may have been the sanitary condition of Bristol as compared with other cities in the way of gouts and drains, it is evident that the cleansing of the streets must have been very inefficient, for the salary of the "common raker," or town scavenger, was up to this period only £30 per annum. No wonder the plague often visited and lingered long in towns overcrowded with inhabitants, ignorant of the commonest sanitary laws. The salary of this official was this year augmented to the sum of £70, for which he was to provide a sufficiency of carts, horses and servants, and to cleanse more streets than he formerly did and in a proper manner. A portion of the salary was paid by the Corporation, and the following parishes were thus assessed:—St. Nicholas, £6; St. Stephen, £4; St. Werburgh, £4; Christ church, £4; All Saints, £3 10*s.*; St. Leonard, £2; St. Ewen, £1 10*s.*; St. John, £3 10*s.*; St. Mary-le-port, £2 10*s.*; St. Peter, £3 10*s.*; St. James, £3; St. Michael, £1 10*s.*; St. Thomas, for a part of the bridge, £1 10*s.*: St. Mary Redcliff, Thomas, Temple, St. Augustine, and St. Philip are not named in the assessment. It could not have been because they needed no cleansing, but probably because they employed their parish poor to do the work.

[1] Old MS.

16. One of Charles' expedients for raising money was the granting and confirming charters. The Bristol magnates were alive to their opportunity, and on April 13th they obtained a charter by which the castle of Bristol was finally withdrawn from the county of Gloucestershire and was annexed to the city and county of Bristol. This was done at the special request, it is said, of queen Henrietta. For five hundred years and upwards this property had been, with but few intermissions, a dower for the queen; it now passed into the hands of the city authorities, who took possession of it on Wednesday, August 12th, and incorporated it with the city. The original intention seems to have been merely to bring it within the jurisdiction of Bristol, "to controul its occupation by thieves, malefactors or other disorderly livers, including persons proper and fit for service in war, who have fled there when there has been occasion for their service," and also in order to escape capture by the city authorities. But having thus changed the jurisdiction, the king, by a second charter, on October 26th, in consideration of the sum of £959 and a ground rent of £40 per annum, granted the castle to the mayor, burgesses, &c., with all its rights, members and appurtenances, including a mansion house, then in the occupation of Francis Brewster, yeoman; a close, lying outside the ditch, called the King's orchard, containing two acres; a piece of ground called the Inner green; a woodyard, three gardens and forty-three tenements, with appurtenances, held by persons named in the charter; the whole of which, with the walls, towers, fosses, banks and ditches enclosing the castle, had, by letters patent, dated August 23rd, 1626, been leased to the said Francis Brewster for the term of eighty years, at the annual rental of £100. The advowsons, knight's fees and mines were excepted from this purchase. In September, 1634, the city purchased Brewster's interest in the estate for an additional sum of £520. Thus the castle precincts became indissolubly a part of the city and county of Bristol. John Tomlinson was the mayor who, in 1629-30, completed the purchase from the crown. He was a merchant, with a residence in All Saints' parish, and had been sheriff in 1615; he belonged to the parliamentarian party in the city, and lived long enough to

witness their success; he died in 1647. Bristol, however, was as yet outwardly loyal; for when the news of the birth of prince Charles, on the 29th of May, reached the city, "it was accepted with great joy, and expressed with thanksgiving and prayer in all the churches for his prosperity. The bells rang all that day, and in every street were such bonfires that the like in Bristol was never seen."[1]

17. In the year 1631 wheat was 8*s*. per bushel, and would have been much dearer but for the importation of large cargoes. Some of our *Calendars* state that it took £500 to purchase commodities this year, which in 1530 could have been bought for £100, so enormous had been the rise in price of all articles of consumption. This is, we think, however, an exaggerated statement, a fairer average of the increase in value would be from £250 to £300. "This year the armour house in the castle was built, also the tower in the churchyard of St. Ewens, by the Tolzey, which building cost £196."[2]

Certain ancient privileges, as to cutting wood and making enclosures in the Forest of Dean, had been withdrawn by the crown from the tenants. This had excited an angry feeling that almost amounted to insurrection amongst the foresters. A messenger being sent down from the King's Privy Council to enforce the royal will an *émeute* took place, and one Vertie, the ringleader, was arrested, and by Bonerag, the king's officer, was committed to prison in Bristol. This being contrary to the municipal law, Vertie was encouraged to arrest Bonerag in an action for false imprisonment, in which Vertie claimed £500 damages. Henry Hobson, innkeeper, was then mayor, and Thomas Jackson, merchant, was the acting sheriff. The Common Council, quailing at the prospect of a conflict with royalty, released Bonerag, after one day's incarceration, "with good entreaty to pacify him; they were much grieved that their officers should so err in disobeying the king's authority and abusing his servant. But he, riding to London within a few days after, caused our sheriff and many other officers to be sent for to the Star Chamber, where it cost them dear before they were all discharged."

Henry Yate, a soap-boiler, was sheriff in 1616, mayor in 1631, alderman in 1634. He survived ten sons, and died without male issue in November, 1636.

By his will, dated 1634, he directed his body to be buried between his father's and mother's sepulchre at the upper end of the chancel of Christ church, "inclosed in a chest or coffin, placed deep in the earth, so that his bones be not disturbed, and a faire free stone to bee laid over him. Forty poore men of the Church to proceed him to the grave, to each of whom he gave a frieze gown and a hat." He gave a chief rent of £4 per annum, 20*s*. for a sermon, and £3 for the poor, also 20*s*. per annum "towards the maintenance of an expert and skilfull musician, to laud and praise God upon the organ in Christ church before and after sermons there preached, and after the first and second Lessons at Divine Service, morning and evening upon the Sabbath days, to move and stir up the people's affections more cheerfully with David to laud and magnify God's most Holy Name, as it hath formerly been in the most flourishing and peaceable estate of the Church."

Mine host of the "Gylders'" inn—Henry Hobson—was prosperous and respected, and considered a meet person for municipal honours; accordingly we find him sheriff in 1616, and in 1632 elevated to the civic chair, alderman in 1635. He died the same year, and was buried in All Saints church. His son, William, married the daughter of William Colston.

During the raging of the plague in 1605, on July 19th, it was "Ordered that the dwelling-house of Henry Hobson, victualler, being in High street, shall be kept fast until the 4th of August for the avoidance of the infection." August 4th. The Chamberlain ordered to pay "the sum of £3 10*s*. towards watching the house during the infection, the residue to be defrayed by Hobson, and the watchmen to be discharged." We have seen (but have been unable to obtain a copy for this work) a rude drawing with the title, *Ye Gullors Inn, Hygh street, Bristoll.* It is without a date, but from certain figures in the drawing it may be inferred it was taken when "mine host" was Mayor. Two men intended to represent Mayor's sergeants, with heads uncovered, are profoundly bowing to a corpulent personage, leaning against the porch, intended for no less a personage than Henry Hobson, Mayor of Bristol. The porch is supported by carved wooden pillars. Over the porch is a sign wholly illegible; the house is of two stories, with projecting transomed and mullioned windows. On either side of the porch, separated from the street by wooden palings, is a narrow strip of garden, and before the house are two stunted poplars, with birds as large as babies on the branches.[1]

In 1472 the "Gylders'" inn was bequeathed to St. Stephen's church, but it appears to have been for a considerable period the residence of the Hobson family.

18. To check the growth, if possible, of discontent, in 1632, Charles enjoined by proclamation all landholders to reside upon their estates, and he contracted with Flanders for a supply of troops and ammunition for service in England. Meanwhile the recently founded colonies of North America were sought as havens of refuge by many of those who felt that liberty was endangered in England, and, in 1633, Connecticut was added to the number. At this period the royal navy consisted of fifty ships, with an aggregate of 23,695 tons, carrying 1,430 guns and 9,470 men.

Never was Charles more ill-advised than when Noy twisted precedents for the raising of a navy by seaport towns for the nation's use in times of war, into a royal prerogative to raise a revenue for a king in a time of peace, by means of which he might rule with absolute sway. John Hampden, who, in 1626, had openly refused to contribute to a forced loan on the ground of its

[1] Seyer, II., 276. [2] Old Cal.

[1] Tovey's Local Jottings.

illegality, now came again to the front as the champion of English liberty. "If the king," he reasoned, "can, without the consent of his Parliament or people, raise money to equip a navy, he can do so to levy an army; this once raised, on pretence of danger of an invasion, he could carry it abroad, the better nominally to effect his object. This power would make the monarch absolute at home and formidable on the Continent; the attempt to levy such an impost is illegal, and contrary to the constitution of the kingdom." He refused to pay, and appealed for protection to the law.

The first writ for the collection of "ship money" was issued on the 20th of October, 1634, to the city of London; and a similar writ appears, soon after, to have been sent to Bristol, ordering the contribution of £6,500 to be raised for the year 1635.[1]

The pretence made was that Holland had joined France in an alliance that was likely to be detrimental to British interests. Adams, our local chronicler, who was a Royalist, says:—"Towards the maintenance and setting forth of this great fleet our city gave £2,163 13*s.* 4*d.*" This was but one-third; the actual levy was as above. Rushworth, under the year 1636, gives the distribution of ships to the several ports of England and Wales, with their tonnage, number of men and charge, together with the sum set on corporate towns in each county:—

Bristol... one ship of 100 tons... 40 men... £1,000 charge.

By way of contrast, and in order to show how an insignificant seaport town has, by wise and judicious municipal regulations, risen to the proud position of the greatest seaport in the world, despite its lack of natural advantages, we turn over one leaf of the chronicle and read the following entry:—

Liverpool..... no ship..... £25 charge.

Ere we close these pages we shall endeavour to show how it has come to pass that Bristol, from being the second maritime city in the kingdom, within little more than one hundred miles of the metropolis, having one of the safest roadsteads in the world at her doors, with space therein for the navies of all nations to ride securely, and an open seaway far less dangerous than the approach to Liverpool, has sunk from her proud preëminence and had to yield the palm to her heavily-weighted rival, whose distance from London and shoals at the mouth of the Mersey, combined with the dangers of the longer passage through St. George's channel, placed her at a great disadvantage in comparison with Bristol. Be it remembered that the cotton manufacture of Manchester and Lancashire was not then in existence. That mighty commerce which has clothed the whole world and gathered such a dense population into the Midland counties would, under happier auspices, have grown up amid the valleys of Gloucestershire and Somerset, and have spread over the wolds of the Cotes and the upland downs of Wiltshire. Bristol, had she then been more liberal in her charges, would have been the great gateway through which the immense cotton traffic passed, and the woollen manufacturers would not have been driven, by heavy import and export duties which barred their markets, to seek a more profitable home and to cultivate a less reputable trade amidst the rugged dells of Yorkshire.

[1] Cal. State Papers, 297.

Returning, however, to the question of "ship money," we find that, in 1637, whilst Hampden's trial was pending, and the country was in such a ferment that all strangers were ordered by the king to leave London, Bristol was particularly annoyed by fresh attempts at extortion. An endeavour to invalidate the municipal authority, as exercised under existing charters, to prove the acts of the corporation to have been illegal, and so to mulct the city in heavy damages, was, it is evident, the object of "a special commission to enquire what monies have been illegally collected at Bristol." It is dated at Westminster, November 30th, 1637, and is directed to the Marquis of Hamilton. It begins by acknowledging the *illegality of the collections by and for his father* (King James); the harshness and injustice of the method of levying; distraint of ships; orders inspection and copies to be taken of all cases, and enquiry into all frauds and oppressions, under penalties, &c. Such was the promise of redress.

Adams [a loyalist], in his *Calendar*, shows how this commission was carried out. He says "such oppressions were a prelude to the civil war, and were in fact one great cause of it.

"Our marchants of Bristoll were much troubled this year (1637-8) and the year before by pursuivants, and many were served to appear in London, where by oaths they were severally examined and constrained to swear what commodities they had sent to sea and what commodities they had received home from foreign countries in many years before in sundry ships, according to notes of information, which the commissioners had procured and collected of their entries in the Custom-house books; and likewise what they did know of others, their friends and partners, that had not made true entries, whereby some were constrained, for discharge of their consciences, to accuse one another. These examinations and answers were recorded, and many of our marchants after their coming home were served up again and new examined. From September to the month of December, 1637, our city was never free from commissions, commissioners, and pursuivants of sundry sorts, which lay in several parts of our city, to make enquiry not only against marchants, but against other tradesmen, who were examined and sent up to London, and great impositions laid on them to the grief of many; insomuch that all shopkeepers stood in great fear of them, especially sopemakers,

who were constrained to pay £4 custom for every ton of sope they made, and every man rated what quantity he should yearly make; and account of every man's doings was weekly taken by some appointed for oversight thereof. Some were known to make more than they were allowed or paid for; whereupon about thirty of them were served up to London, where against their wills they were retained long with great expences, imprisoned and fined in above £20,000, and were bound to more inconveniences before they could be discharged.

* * * * * * *

"These men likewise made enquiry of all ministers, clerks, constables, churchwardens, and other officers and antient men, examining them what they knew more than such notes and names of houses and religious places, which they brought with them; so they were brought unto sundry places, from whence they collected great sums of money for matters not enquired of in many years before.

"Those foresaid commissioners for marchants were so extreme that they examined clerks belonging to the marchants to hear what they could inform; of whom one clerk they here imprisoned for not giving them satisfaction; and then carried him to London and imprisoned him again. Another clerk being from home, they came about midnight into his house and bedchamber to take him away; where not finding him, they searched his house for books.

"All these severe extremities, being more than their commission could maintain, our marchants taking into consideration, four aldermen and other marchants of good estimation rode voluntarily to London in the cittie's behalf, accompanied with attendants to wait on them, and some others likewise that were served up with them. These gentlemen upon their knees made petition to our king's majesty to take consideration of their miseries: whereupon his most excellent majestie graciously embraced them, being sorry that by wrong information he had granted such commissions, which then he could not recall. He gave them liberty to prefer a bill against them in the starchamber, and to retain any counsellors whom they pleased to plead for them before the lords of his most honourable privy council, which was a most gratious favour, for before, those commissioners, being their adversaries, were as lords and judges over them; as if all law and justice lay in their own hands. These gentlemen stayed in London about eight weeks at no small expences for trial, whereof as yet they could come to no end. But his majesty graciously wished them to follow their suit, and when it came to the highest his grace would mediate between them. It cannot be matter of surprize to find that after such provocations a considerable part, perhaps a majority, of the inhabitants of this city joined in the opposition which was made to the king and his ministers."[1]

A more unjust commission, in which the prosecutor became judge in his own cause, could scarcely be devised. For twelve days the trial of Hampden progressed, and "ship money" was on every tongue. At last all the judges but two decided in favour of the king, on the broad principle "that no statute prohibiting arbitrary taxation could be pleaded against the king's will." One of them, Judge Berkeley, said, "I never heard that law is king, but it is common and most true that the king is law." Finch, the chief justice, summed up to this effect:—"That no Act of Parliament could take away the king's royal power to defend his kingdom, or bind the king not to command his subjects, their persons, goods, and, I say, their money too, for no Acts of Parliament made any difference." Hampden was cast, he had lost the trial, but the cause for which he had striven was won. He had roused all England, shown the real character of the royal claims, and that this decision placed every man's property and life at the mercy of the king's will. Calvinistic Scotland, to her honour, led the van in rejecting both the old tax and the new Prayer-book; her people by tens of thousands renewed their covenant with God, to which they had solemnly sworn in the hour of danger to Protestantism, from Spain and the great Armada. They demanded the withdrawal of Laud's *Book of Canons* and the *Book of Common Prayer*, a free Parliament and a free General Assembly. Charles threatened war; "I will rather die than yield to these impertinent and damnable demands." But from every quarter came men ready to battle for the truth, especially veterans who had been fighting for Protestantism on the Continent, under the great Gustavus of Sweden. A voluntary war-tax was levied in every shire of Scotland. Charles temporised, and sought to borrow money from Spain and troops from Flanders; then he yielded and weakly withdrew his concessions. He gathered an unwilling army at York, his fleet entered the Forth, and he crossed the Tweed and met the Scotch under Leslie, at the hill of Dunse Law. Two hundred men from Bristol had been pressed into the king's service, but they refused, at the passage of the Tyne, to fight the Scots, whom they esteemed as friends; others followed their example, and the Covenanters won without a battle.

The king then despatched Strafford to Ireland to raise men and money, making another but an ineffectual appeal to the Commons for a supply. The house was resolute: redress of grievances must precede any grant; and although the king offered to relinquish his claim of "ship money," they would not yield, and after a brief session of three weeks they were dissolved. Humphrey Hook and Richard Long, the members for Bristol, were both of them Royalists.

When the Scotch forced the passage of the Tyne and occupied Newcastle, Charles summoned the Lords, who had been more tractable than the Commons, to meet him; they did so on September 24th, but called at once for a new Parliament. Charles was in despair: before him was the Scotch army, behind him England tremulous with revolt; the London 'prentices had mobbed Laud and broken up the High Commission at St. Paul's, whilst the king's raw levies had murdered their officers when suspected to be Roman Catholic, destroyed the altars in the churches and deserted to their homes. In his extremity Charles again yielded and summoned a

[1] Seyer, II., 292–4.

Parliament, that which, under the name of the "Long Parliament," became famous for its deeds and the lengthened period of its existence. To this house Bristol sent two sturdy Constitutionalists to represent it, viz., Robert Aldworth and Luke Hodges.

19. Reverting to the year 1633, we find that Matthew Warren, merchant, then filled the office of mayor. His father, after whom he was named, gave by will, dated 1634, £20 to the poor of Temple parish. During his mayoralty the High Cross was taken down, enlarged and raised a story higher for the reception of four new statues; the eight were as follows (the four new ones are in italics):—Facing Broad street, *Charles I.* and John; facing Wine street, *Henry VI.* and Henry III.; facing High street, *James I.* and Edward IV.; facing Corn street, *Elizabeth* and Edward III. It was surrounded by iron palisades, and the cost of the alteration was £207; whether this sum included the four new statues is not known. In 1634, "the old crane" on the Back was re-built, at a cost of £100; St. Peter's pump was re-built; the well, sunk in 1474, by William Spencer, mayor, was originally surmounted by a cross of pierced stonework. Warren was, January 14th, 1647, on a committee which presented to Parliament a petition relating to certain grievances that affected the city. In 1652 he petitioned to be released from his duties as a councillor, pleading "sickness, which unfitted him for public service." He was probably of Royalist proclivities, which rendered him obnoxious to the powers that then ruled the city, inasmuch as we find that his petition was agreed to upon his paying to the chamber £100. He died in 1654, and was buried in the church of St. Thomas.

The next mayor was Andrew Charleton, merchant, who had been apprenticed to Alderman John Barker. He resided in All Saints parish, and was sheriff in 1620, mayor in 1634, alderman in 1636, and master of the Merchant Venturers in 1639. He was appointed one of the colonels of the auxiliaries. We shall find his autograph, with Robert Aldworth's and others, attached to a letter to the Parliament, 29th April, 1643. He died during the year, and was buried in St. Werburgh's church. His daughter Joyce married John Somerset, gentleman.

On the 22nd of January, 1635, it began to snow in Bristol, and continued to do so with but little intermission during the remainder of the month. Great numbers of people died and much cattle. It hindered the barques coming to the fair, and the wood bushes and trows could not come down the Severn for a month because of the floating ice. After Candlemas day the people were commanded to clear the snow from the streets before their houses. It was "frozen so hard and thick that it put the city to great charges, and people were forced to break and dig it up with pick-axes, bars of iron and hatchets."[1]

Before the institution of mail coaches, messengers were employed for the conveyance of letters. In the king's book of payments is an entry, dated in the 11th year of Henry VIII., of 13*s.* 4*d.* paid to Richard Dynes, for riding from Greenwich with a letter to Mr. Baynton, Redland, near Bristol, for a greyhound for the king.[2] The rude method generally followed, before 1635, of letters being carried by foot messengers, who went some sixteen or eighteen miles a day (so that it was full two months before any answer could be received from Scotland or Ireland), was in that year superseded by a regular packet post, which went forward day and night without delay, insomuch that letters from London even then could be received at Bristol in 24 hours, the cost being fourpence a letter.[3] The postmasters on all the roads in England were to have in their stables one or two horses to carry the messengers with their portmanteaus. If the carrier had "occasion but for one horse, then to leave him where he shall take a fresh horse, paying 2½*d.* per mile; if two horses, then to take a guide and pay 5*d.* per mile." In the civil wars there were exceptions to this regular mode of conveyance, and the office of letter-carrier might be one incurring special danger. One Catherine de Luke, a widow, in a petition, in 1660, to Charles II., qualifies a request for the grant of certain lands at Yarmouth, by pleading that she had "served the late king in carying letters, when none else durst hazard it; was sent to Bridewell, whipped every other day, burnt with lighted matches, and cruelly tormented, but would not betray her trust." She mentions also that she "discovered the plot at Bristol, and her husband was so wounded in the service that he died, her son was sold by the enemy, and she obliged to live sixteen years in banishment."[4] In a further petition she complains that she had not only been "stripped and whipt," but that besides other sufferings her husband had been four times plundered and £1,000 taken from them.[5] Another complaint, December 10th, 1660, was against one Tegg, an anabaptist, former postmaster of Bristol, who broke open letters directed to the king's friends, and more recently got Langham, an honest man, put out, and his own ostler installed in the office.[6]

Richard Holworthy, merchant, became mayor in 1635. He married Mary, the daughter of Robert Haviland, of whose will he was executor. In 1621, while sheriff, he was chosen a member of the Soapmakers' Company, and alderman in 1637. During his life he gave 20*s.* per annum to the poor prisoners in Newgate. He died in 1643, leaving a son, Thomas, also a merchant.

Yet once again was the city visited by the deadly pestilence. Business was at a standstill; the hum of traffic and the stir of active life yielded to the toll of the passing bell, the rumble of the dead cart, and the croaking cry, "Bring out your dead." Tyndall's park was appointed as a fit place for examining persons in-

[1] Adams' Calendar. [2] Lewin's Her Majesty's Mails, 341.
[3] Brewer's State Papers, III., 1538.
[4] Cal. State Papers, Chas. I., Anno 1635.
[5] Mrs. Green's State Papers, I., 292.
[6] *Ibid*, 409. Taylor's Book about Bristol, 285.

fected with the plague and for airing their household goods; and hovels were there built for the infected. The nest of houses just below the Royal fort acquired, from the above fact, the name of Stinkard's close, now modernised into Tankard's close. All persons coming into the city from infected districts were obliged "to air themselves thirty days," and two burgesses kept watch and ward day and night at each of the city gates. The autumnal showers and the winter frosts sweetened the city and purified the air, and busy life again crowded the narrow streets, to the inconvenience of their inhabitants, insomuch that it was deemed necessary, on the 5th of January, 1636, to pass the following by-law:—

"It is this day ordered, that for the prevention of the danger which may happen from the riding of brewers in the streets and the careless driving of their horses with drays at their heels, that if any brewer or brewer's servant or apprentice shall be at any time taken driving or riding any horse or mare with a dray at the heels, whether laden or unladen in any of the streets of Bristol or liberties thereof shall forfeit for every time so offending three shillings and four pence, and in default of payment thereof, the person offending to be set four hours in the stocks, the money received to be employed to such good and charitable uses as the mayor and aldermen shall appoint."

For some years a king's ship, *The Lion*, or one of *The Lion's* whelps, as her tenders were called, had been stationed in the Bristol channel to guard the commerce from corsairs, but we learn by a letter from Plymouth, dated July 23rd, 1636, that "there are five Turks in the Severn, where they take weekly a large number of English and Irish ships." "Bristol this year paid £25,000 for customs."[1]

Richard Long was one of those honourable merchants whose enterprise and reputation enhanced the commercial dignity of the city. He was the son of Thomas Long, merchant, of Axminster, was apprenticed in the year 1580 to W. Merrick, merchant, and was admitted to the freedom of the city in 1608; we find him soon distinguished as a member of the Corporate body, being sheriff in 1621. In 1629, the vestry of St. Werburgh's voted him thanks for "beautifying" the church. The following year he belonged to a company for "discovering the North-west passage into the South seas." Elevated to the civic throne in 1636, he took his seat as an alderman the following year, and, in 1640, was chosen one of the "parliament men" for this city. He was also chosen in 1642 and two following years as an assistant to the Merchant Venturers, and to "settle such things as should be necessary for its welfare." A fervid royalist, he was dismissed from the Corporation by order of the Lords and Commons, December 12th, 1645, "for being disaffected to the Parliament, and forward and active in promoting the designs of the enemy." At that period the residences of our opulent merchants and tradesmen were in the heart of the city. Alderman Long resided in Corn street, and occasionally at West Bringsea, in the county of Somerset. His death occurred at the former residence in 1647–8. He left a widow and five children, and was buried in St. Stephen's church on the 11th February. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. John Till-Addams, from Psalm xc. 10. For the sermon and to purchase a "mourning gown" he left £10. By his will, dated 16th June, 1646, he bequeathed £100 to raise £5 per annum for the poor of St. Stephen and St. Werburgh parishes in bread. Also lands at Siston for clothing ten poor men in the Merchants' almshouse every three years, "ten sea-water green coloured cloth coats, which should reach down to the gartering place, ten caps to be made of the same cloth, ten pair of knit stockings, and as many pair of shoes. His truly loving wife, Mary, he appointed his executrix." This distinctive dress is no longer worn by the almsmen.

[1] Old MS.

In the early part of this year all kinds of corn were very scarce in England, wheat was sold for 8*s*. per bushel, and it was thought likely to reach in price even to 20*s*. France, however, was blessed with abundant crops, of which the Bristol merchants took advantage, and imported so much grain of all kinds between March and August that it fell to 5*s*. and less per bushel. Then followed a most plentiful harvest, with good seasonable weather; but the people of the land were so much affected with "a fainty sickness and weakness" that they had scarce strength for its ingathering; "whole families were so weak that they were not able to milk their own kine, but gave it to those that would fetch it." "The 28th July this year a ship was launched at the end of the quay which capsized and eleven boys were drowned, and she was called thence the *Drown Boy*."

During sickly seasons, such as we have been compelled so frequently to notice, Bristol must have been as dismal as it was unhealthy. What the customary time was for the sexton to toll the passing and the burial bells we know not, but that they were inordinately long is evident from the following ordinance, which limits the knell to eleven hours for each person, passed by the Corporation on the 9th day of August, 1639. With deaths in every parish daily, this incessant dismal knell from the twenty churches of Bristol and Bedminster must have been the reverse of a sedative to the sick and an awful horror to the healthy:—

"It is this day ordered and enacted that noe parish clerk within this city shall hereafter ring for any person's knell longer than four hours in the parish where the person dieth, and on the

burial day five hours before the person is interred and two hours after, and not longer at that one church only, unless the corpse be buried in any other parish than where he dieth, and in that case one hour before and another after, and noe more."

George Knight, draper (son of Francis Knight, mayor in 1613), was chosen sheriff in 1625, chief magistrate in 1639. February 18th, 1655, being then eighty-five years of age, ostensibly on account of his infirmities, he retired from the Corporation, in reality being dismissed by command of General Desborough, political considerations thereunto moving. He died 13th December, 1659, aged eighty-nine years, and was buried in Temple church beside his wife, Ann, who died 19th August, 1645. He left two sons, Francis and John, and bequeathed £36 to the parish of Temple, 10*s.* of the profits thereof for preaching a sermon annually in the parish church, 2*s.* 6*d.* to the clerk and sexton, and the residue to be bestowed in bread to be distributed weekly upon the Sabbath-day for ever.

The practice of utilising amusements, such as fancy fairs, bazaars, &c., and applying the money to religious uses, is not a modern invention. Bishop Skinner "threatened to interdict a faire kept in the parish of St. James, in Bristol, if they would not set up a pair of decayed organs in that church."[1]

John Taylor, merchant, became mayor in 1640; he was son of John Taylor, of the city of Lichfield, gentleman, was apprenticed in the year 1603 to John Rowbrough, merchant, and in 1609 he was admitted to the freedom of Bristol as a merchant. He married the daughter of Alderman Henry Yate, a soap manufacturer. In 1624 he was admitted into the Corporation, and the following year was sheriff. In 1628 and 1634 he was churchwarden of St. John's. While sheriff he was chosen by the corporation "one of the captains of the trained bands of soldiers within this city in the place of Captain Wm. Younge, who is willing to resign the same." Young was one of the aldermen. Taylor was made an alderman in 1639, *vice* Alderman Harrington, and took St. Michael's ward. July 10th, in the following year, John Locke being chosen an alderman, Taylor exchanged the ward of St. Michael for that of Trinity, and on September 15th, "upon the motion of Mr. John Taylor, mayor elect, and one of the captains of the trained bands, the House doth take his resignation. Whereupon Mr. John Langton, late sheriff, is fully chosen to be captain in the place of Mr. Taylor, and he is desired to make choice of his colours. October 9th, Mr. Richard Aldworth and Mr. Giles Elbridge resigned their appointments as captains of the trained bands, and on the recommendation of the mayor, Mr. Thomas Hook and Mr. Wm. Cann were appointed to the vacancies." At this period the mayor's salary was increased from £52 to £104 per annum, and when the same person had twice filled the office it was augmented to £208. The resignation of the above gentlemen was significant, to a very large extent, of the change that had taken place in the views and feelings of the populace. "8th April, 1642.—Upon a general fame and brute given out that there would be a rising by Temple, Redcliff, and St. Thomas on Tuesday next, and that they had gotten divers clubbs very lately, the sheriffs with their men and the constables of Temple are now sent down to the parishes to take in the clubbs and weapons of the people that are suspitious to be accessories and principalls in the commotion."

In 1643, on the approach of the royal army, Taylor was implicated in the attempt of Yeomans and Boucher to render the city to Prince Rupert. Afterwards, when the king had possession and during the occupation of Bristol by Prince Rupert, Taylor was sent to be one of the king's Parliament, better known as the "Oxford Parliament," in contradistinction to the "Long Parliament" then in session at Westminster. He was there seventy-eight days, for which service he was paid 6*s.* 8*d.* per day, making £26, and also £58 for house rent. On his return he was made colonel of the auxiliary forces, which were being raised in the city and neighbourhood to act upon the king's behalf. These troops were to number one thousand and to be furnished with arms and ammunition. Taylor lent the Corporation £100 at £6 per cent. for this purpose. "When Bristol was in daily expectation of being besieged by the Parliamentarians, under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax and his lieutenant-general, Cromwell, March 5th, 1645, a committee was appointed to consider the safety of the citty, with the assistance of the two colonels, Alderman Taylor and Mr. Thomas Colston, and to proceed with the business, the mayor (Alexander James) and Mr. Wallice to join with them, and also to consider of a remonstrance to be presented to the prince and his council of such grievances as shall be thought meet." The prince, afterwards Charles II., was at this time residing at the Great House, St. Augustine's Back.

"September 3rd.—It was also agreed that such soldiers, as well trained bands as auxiliaries, whose continual duty in these hard times, and especially during the siege, may suffer want and have great need to be supplied, shall have relief from the citty in some moderate way; and it is ordered that when Col. Taylor and Col. Colston shall have brought in their lists of the most needfull in that way, that the mayor and aldermen shall make allotment for the proper time to every soldier,

[1] Prynne's Antiq.

and shall order the issuing of it and whence it shall arrive."

September 9th, Col. Taylor attended the Common Council for the purpose of filling up several vacancies. It was his last attendance. The following day he fell fighting at the head of his men, and on the 13th was buried in the crypt of St. John's church. The house in which he resided was in Broad street, opposite the offices of the *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*. It was sold by John Taylor, probably a son of the colonel, on the 16th April, in the sixteenth year of the reign of Charles II., to Robert Aldworth, Esq., for £315 14*s.* 8*d.*, subject to a fee farm rent to the chamber. It is described in the deeds as "a capital messuage or tenement, behind which a large garden, with a stable in Tower lane." It eventually became the property of Thomas Edwards Freeman, Esq., and on account of its ruinous condition was taken down about the year 1777. Col. Taylor was interested in three ships, *The Bonaventure*, *The Faithful Lady* and *The Great St. David's*.



Colonel Fiennes. From an old Print.

20. In the year 1641, the pendulum of public opinion in Bristol, which had oscillated so long between the king on the one hand and the constitution upon the other, began sensibly to preponderate towards the latter. Charles had wearied out the loyalty of the mass of the people, although a powerful and wealthy minority still clung to the royal traditions in which they had been bred. Considerable allowance should be made for those who vacillated between the extreme parties. It was no light matter for men to abandon the opinions in which they had been educated, to forfeit the esteem of relatives and friends, to incur the designation of "apostates" and the penalty of treason if unsuccessful. It needs a strong faith to risk the forfeiture of goods, the disruption of family ties and the possible loss of one's life, for the assertion of a principle, which is known to be held as wicked and criminal, by men whom we respect, and whose opinions and judgment are in other matters felt to be at least equal to one's own. That some men should, under these circumstances, trim their sails to catch a favourable gale, and strive ever to be upon the winning side, was to be expected, nor to the student of human nature is it at all surprising. Such an one was John Locke, who was mayor of Bristol in 1641, when Parliament was strengthening its position by arming men and fortifying towns in different parts of the kingdom. He was the first mayor in the kingdom who openly appealed to arms in this terrible internecine struggle. In conjunction with Richard Balman, one of the sheriffs, he had, in February, 1641–2, signed "a warrant for the conveyance of four cannon to Marlborough to assist in fortifying that place against the king." The royalist party in Bristol opposed the removal, dismounted the cannon from the carriages and took possession of them. Sir Baynham Throgmorton, who was in the city as the bearer of a message from Charles to the mayor, remonstrated with and upbraided Locke with treachery, and in the king's name commanded him not to allow the guns to leave the city. The mayor, however, was equal to the occasion; he called out the trained bands, dispersed the Royalists, rescued the cannon and sent them off.

Locke, who was cousin to the celebrated John Locke (a Wrington man), had been apprenticed, in 1626, to

Alderman Ellis, then sheriff, and was made an alderman in 1640; he was a man of substance, for we find him, in 1643, advancing £600 to Lord Stamford, for which he was paid by the city £15. This was when Fiennes held the city for the Parliament; but when Prince Rupert had taken Bristol, and it was agreed to present the king with £10,000, as a present of love and affection, Locke became loyal, subscribed £50, and served upon the Royalist committee that was appointed to treat with the inhabitants as to the best way of raising the money. Again, when, in 1645, Fairfax and Cromwell were approaching the city and preparing to attack it, each alderman, accompanied by the clergyman and parochial authorities of his ward, canvassed the same, in order to raise money to defray the expenses of the defence, Alderman Locke worked zealously to this end, and contributed "one horse completely furnished." Their efforts were vain, the city was captured, and the alderman trimmed to sail with the popular party, taking his seat as usual in the council, where he was once more avowedly Parliamentarian. For a while tolerated, his instability had made him an object of suspicion to the ruling powers, and in 1655, he, George Knight and Gabriel Sherman were requested to resign. Major-General Desborough wrote thus to the mayor then in office, on February 13th, respecting the three above-named persons: "If they will not tacitly resign, but stand upon their justification, I must take that course as will not stand with their credit; for according to his highness's declaration, there are no persons that are scandalous in their lives, or enemies to the government of the commonwealth, that will be suffered in places of magistracy or trust." To which the three made answer: "Gentlemen,—For as much as through age, and weakness of body and other infirmities, we are now unable to give that attention to our several respective places, as aldermen and members of the Common Council, for the good of the Corporation, as we ought to perform: we do now desire to make it our joint and several request that we may be discharged from our said places, and do hereby severally and actually resign the same. Witness our hands and seals this 18th February, 1655.

"George Knight.
"John Locke.
"Gabriel Sherman.

"To the Right Worshipful the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the city of Bristol."

Knight could, indeed, plead age and infirmity; he was eighty-five years old. Locke, however, was only sixty-six, and Sherman forty-six years of age. Whether Locke's private life was as disreputable as his public career had been flagitious is not known. One expression in Desborough's letter implies as much on one or more of the parties named therein; at all events after the restoration, the chamber were strongly disinclined to receive him back in their midst. On June 19th, a mandamus was read in the House, restoring to their dignity as aldermen, John Locke and Gabriel Sherman, who, with George Knight, deceased, had been removed by Major-General Desborough. The council, which was then royalist, answered, "They never were removed, but resigned," and did not obey the writ. Another was procured by the claimants, and was presented on September 10th by the mayor; this commanded the House to admit the ex-aldermen to resume their dignity and office under a penalty of £40. The answer to this was postponed, upon the plea that the recorder, who was the senior alderman and the legal adviser of the Corporation, was not present. Persistency, however, prevailed, and on the 8th of November, Locke took his seat as alderman. He died in 1666, and was buried in St. John's crypt by the side of his wife, whose decease had preceded his by eleven years.

The constitutional party in the city had, in 1642, become the strongest, and a man of pronounced opinions, active and energetic in the cause of the people, was chosen to fill the civic chair; this was Richard Aldworth. He must not be confounded with Robert Aldworth, who lived in the great house by St. Peter's, nor with Robert Aldworth, the town clerk, to neither of whom does he appear to have been related. Richard was a mercer, in High street, in partnership with John Young; they had a joint capital of £3,000 embarked in their business, a large sum for those days. When John Gunning was mayor, in 1627, Aldworth, being a man likeminded and an opponent of the encroachments of royalty, was chosen sheriff. In 1629, Aldworth was captain of the trained bands, which office, as we have seen, he resigned in 1640, when Colonel John Taylor, a devoted loyalist, was elected mayor. Now the democratic tide prevailed: Aldworth was made chief magistrate, and Hugh Brown and John Jackson, men of kindred proclivities, supported him as sheriffs. Men were still scrupulous about asserting their rights and taking action openly against the king, and if Charles had been surrounded by prudent counsellors and had consented to sacrifice some portion of his claim and to admit a limit to his prerogative all might yet have been saved. That the people were willing to uphold their king in a just cause is evident, for when, in October, 1640–1, a rebellion broke out in Ireland, attended with circumstances of great ferocity, two hundred men were sent from Bristol, in February, 1641–2, to garrison

Dungannon fort against the rebels, and soon afterwards three hundred more were sent by way of Minehead. It is only just to state here that Ireland had been most unfairly treated by the English kings, they had been deprived not only of their religious freedom but also of their rights of property and of trade. The injustice meted out to that unfortunate country may be exemplified by a reference to the coinage: "Henry VIII. coined sixpences for Ireland that were only current for fourpence in England. Mary issued base shillings and groats for Ireland; and when Elizabeth restored the purity of the English coinage, she still further debased that of Ireland. When James I. made the experiment of an issue of copper farthings they were made of two sizes, in order that if they failed in England they might be sent to Ireland as *pence* and *halfpence*."[1] This rebellion was after the Long Parliament had sat some months, during which period the king's chief advisers, Laud and Strafford, had been impeached, and the latter had been tried, found guilty, abandoned by his master, and executed as a traitor in May, 1641. The Parliament had been active in other directions, they had cancelled the judgment of the Exchequer against Hampden, had abolished the hated Star Chamber, ship money, tonnage, poundage and all other arbitrary imposts. Charles had declared the Parliament permanent, not to be dissolved without its own consent, but at the same time he was covertly seeking aid from France. The Irish massacres enabled him to raise an army. Parliament, when 50,000 English had been slaughtered in a few days, could not stand idly by, they voted £200,000, 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse for service in Ireland. But they soon saw, or fancied they saw, in this Irish revolt, a vast scheme to enable the king to overawe themselves.

Charles had made terms with the Scots, who had withdrawn their army from England; the Royalists rallied around the king, and, although in a minority, made themselves a power in the House. Then the Constitutionalists, led by Pym, passed the "Solemn remonstrance amidst great opposition and protracted clamour, upon which occasion lights were, for the first time, brought into use in the House of Commons. The Parliament in this paper narrated the work it had done, the difficulties it had surmounted, the dangers which still threatened the people and declared that it had no wish to abolish episcopacy, but only to reduce the power of the bishops. It repudiated the taunt of having revolutionary aims, and demanded the observance of existing laws against the Papists, the due administration of justice, and the employment of ministers who possessed the confidence of Parliament." Charles listened to it sullenly and withdrew the guard of soldiers from the house; but London sided with the Commons almost to a man, and the people crowded to Westminster to form a voluntary guard.

The strife also between the two parties in the church now culminated. Seven hundred clergymen petitioned for the removal of the bishops as spiritual peers from the House of Lords, and a bill to that effect passed the Commons almost unanimously. The Lords hesitated, but a maddened rabble stopped the carriages of the prelates, and the peers protested that it was not a free Parliament. The answer to this protest was sharp and decisive: eleven of the prelates who signed it were committed to the Tower as prisoners. The terms "Cavalier" and "Roundhead" now became words of reproach, and bloody brawls were of constant occurrence. Charles still refused the house its accustomed guard of soldiers, promising "on the honour of a king to defend them as he would his own children;" but his answer had scarcely been read when a herald-at-arms demanded the surrender by the Commons of their leaders Hampden, Pym, Hollis, Strode and Haselrig, who were accused of high treason. This was setting all constitutional law aside, as the charge proceeded personally from the king, and would have deprived the accused of their legal right to a trial by their peers, and brought them before a tribunal which had no jurisdiction over them. The Commons promised to consider the demand, and again requested a guard. "I will reply to-morrow," said the king. Gathering around him three hundred gentlemen, the next day he embraced his queen, and promising her he would return master of his kingdom, went down to the house, took the speaker's chair and demanded the five members. The birds had flown. The house sat in silent dignity, and Charles in angry mood withdrew, having taken nothing by his motion. Cries of "Privilege" rang around him as he returned through the streets, the writs issued for the arrest of the accused members were disregarded by the sheriffs, and the proclamation, which designated them as traitors, was answered by the trained bands and watermen of London, who, forming a sworn guard to the Parliament, escorted the "five" to the house.

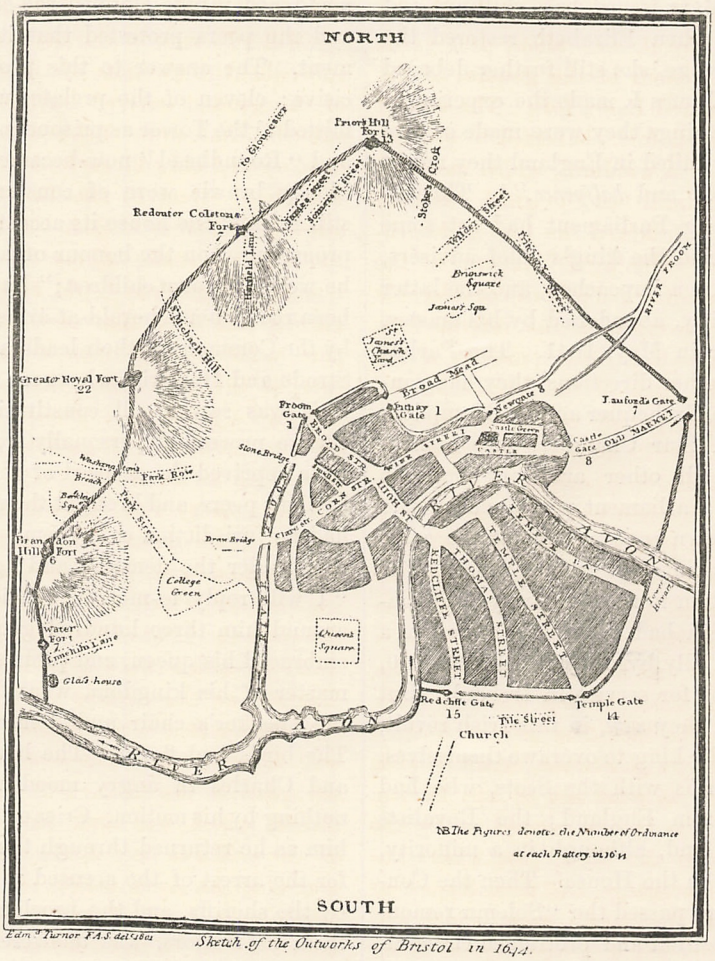
Charles withdrew from Whitehall, where he was no longer safe; he had drawn the sword, and now, throwing away the scabbard, he despatched Newcastle to raise forces in the north, and his queen, from Dover, with the crown jewels, to raise the munitions of war. The Lords reluctantly joined the Commons, who threatened that if they did not "they would alone save the kingdom." Both parties now broke through constitutional precedent. The king had no right to raise troops save to repress rebellion or meet a foreign invasion. He had, however,

[1] Humphrey's Coin Collector's Manual, 511.

assumed the right, and was busy levying forces. The Parliament followed suit by passing a Militia bill, and giving the command to trustworthy officers. Then the waverers in the house were compelled to decide for King or Commons, and the Royalists withdrew themselves from both houses, being in number rather less than one hundred; these joined the king at York. Short of arms, the king marched to Hull, the great magazine of the north, and was refused admittance by Sir John Hotham, the governor. Parliament justified the refusal, and then, on August 22nd, Charles hastened to Nottingham castle and raised his standard for a final appeal to arms. "For," said he, in answer to the last proposals of Parliament, with a dignity worthy of a better cause, "if I granted your demands I should be no more than the mere phantom of a king."

21. In July, 1642, the Marquis of Hertford arrived in Somerset, where he raised troops on the king's behalf; and, in September, Richard Aldworth, mayor of Bristol, immediately set about increasing the defences of the city. The old walls were repaired, the gates were strengthened, chains of iron were suspended within them, the portcullises were cleansed from rust so as to fall easily, and great strong rails, full of iron spikes, were kept in readiness to hinder the entrance of cavalry; the many forts upon the walls were found to be very strong, as well as the great tower of the castle, and were mounted with cannon, whilst the battlements were made good wherever necessary; in short, the city itself was well defended, whilst the castle in the opinion of the most competent engineers and military men on both sides, was capable of holding out for many weeks, even if the city itself were taken.[1]

[1] For further particulars, see Seyer, II., 301.



Edm.d Turner F.A.S. delin.

Sketch of the Outworks of Bristol in 1644.

The line is the same constructed for the siege of 1643.

22. In addition to its ancient defences, an outer line of fortification was by Fiennes drawn around the city on the west, north and east sides, in order to prevent its bombardment. Our readers will specially note this portion of the defences, as it was the only one that had been entered when Fiennes surrendered the city to Prince Rupert. The line began at the top of the steps which lead up from Woodwell crescent, where are the remains of the water fort which commanded the river, from which it is distant less than 100 yards. Here seven cannon were intended to be mounted. From this fort a double ditch, with ramparts, was carried to the top of the hill in a straight line; at about one-third of the distance this was strengthened by a semicircular bastion. From this point a loop ditch and rampart was thrown out towards Clifton hill for about 100 yards, when it re-curved, and was carried also up the hill in a direction nearly parallel to the first, or inner line, but slightly inclining towards it. The conical mound which crowned the hill-top, which was 45 feet in diameter and 25 feet in height from the surrounding ground, had a platform added to it which projected like a spur westward; this platform was 45 yards long by 30 yards wide, and was surrounded by a ditch 15 feet deep in places, which was faced by an inner wall 3 feet in thickness. Here there were six cannon. The distance from the water fort was 320 yards. The ditches of the line were intended to be from 10 to 15 feet deep, to which the ramparts of earth would have added perhaps 5 other feet. This part of the line was unquestionably strong, although it was not finished at the time of the first siege. From the cone of the hill the graff was carried down across Bullock's park (Berkeley square) to a spot where it crossed the site of the present road in

front of the Blind Asylum, from whence it ran up the opposite hill (Tyndall's park) to the Windmill fort. The rocky nature of the ground had here in places hindered the citizens from making the ditch of sufficient depth (millstone grit is hard to work), and in several places the defence was left unfinished, a neglect which cost the Parliamentarians dear. There were several angular redoubts on the site of Berkeley square, and behind the spot on which now stands the Blind Asylum; between the two forts stood another small fort on or near the New Theatre Royal, *i.e.*, about 100 yards within the line—this, in honour of the general of the people's army, was designated Essex fort. The second hill was crowned by a small fort, converted to warlike purposes out of the base of a windmill, which mounted five guns. From the Windmill fort the graff was bent round to the east, when it followed the line of Southwell street as far as the "Montague" tavern, at the back of which there was another redoubt of considerable strength; small angular sconces on the intermediate line strengthened this, as well as other portions of the defence. The lane at the back of the houses on the northern side of Kingsdown parade points out the continuation of the vallation, and its angles were the points of the sconces which enfiladed this portion up to Prior's hill (Fremantle square); this last was intended to be a large and strong work, but it was unfinished, and only three guns were mounted therein. It stood outside the graff, which here bent round to the south-east, and was carried down the hill by Hillgrove street. (A few years since, when Jamaica street was being made, the writer measured a section of the ditch, 10 feet wide, and saw a skeleton disinterred.) The line then crossed Stoke's croft, which was guarded by a gatehouse, unarmed with guns apparently, at least we read not of any having been mounted there; it was thence carried on by the Pest house in the fields to the Weir, just where the Frome is crossed by the footbridge, and from thence by the line of New street to Lawford's gate, which had seven guns mounted, from which it was carried down Whipping Cat hill a short distance, when it bent round to the south-west until it joined the Avon. This graff, or line of defence, consisted of a ditch about three yards wide and five feet deep where possible, but owing to the rocky nature of the ground it was very much shallower in many places, and in some places consisted of a mere scratch in the surface; the earth thrown up formed a rampart on the inner side of the fosse, and was, on the average, about three feet in height; this ramp ran through the above-named batteries, between each two of which there was one or more ravelins, or sconces, thrust out at an angle to enfilade the line. The forts were palisaded. The brief time had not been sufficient to make the work thorough in any part (the Brandon hill portion appears to have been the best), neither had the citizens up to the time of the first siege levelled the hedges and stone enclosures on the outer side. This was the outer defence. Beyond it, on the west, at the Hotwells and the foot of Clifton hill, were a few huts, chiefly of fishermen; Clifton was itself a small village of twenty or thirty houses, two of which, of considerable size, stood on the brow of the hill that faced Brandon.

Millerd's view of the city, drawn about twenty years subsequent to the date of these events, gives us a view of the ground covered by houses and gardens in the suburbs that were enclosed by the lines. From the deanery and old college buildings the houses ran along Trenchard street to the Red lodge, and *viâ* Maudlin street to St. James' church. From the Barton they turned south to the castle; along the Weir there were a few houses and gardens. Old Market street was a lane, so narrow and deep that one ancient MS. says "in one part a lad sprang upon a passing wain of hay and jumped thence to the other side." Here, as far as Lawford's gate, were groups of houses, that thinned off into cottages with gardens as the distance from the protecting walls of the castle increased. These were outside the city wall, but within the lines.

The inner defence, the gates and towers of which were armed with guns, consisted of the walls of the ancient city, which we have already described. Across the river the bend of the Avon had been connected by a wall, on which were armed batteries, viz., at Tower Harratz, on the eastern bend, and Temple gate, these two were armed with fourteen guns, and Redcliff gate with fifteen guns. The western bend was protected by the guns on the Grove and Back, and also by Redcliff church, which was made into a strong fort. This line of the wall was very strong, the ditch having been the course of the Avon during the time that the bridge was being built, hence it was broad, deep, and of very unsound bottom, in fact a defence of itself almost sufficient, but backed as it was with a lofty and very strong wall, with batteries, it offered an insurmountable obstacle to an assailing force.

23. The citizens were still pushing on the work, when news came of the battle of Edgehill, October 23rd, 1642, in which fight the king had been victorious. Denzil Hollis was appointed by Parliament to the command of the Bristol militia, and he subscribed £1,000 towards its maintenance.

The king knew the importance which attached to the possession of Bristol; in 1642 he had early sent a letter to the mayor, Locke, in which he exhorted "the

city to obedience," and complained of "certain upstarts in religion," of some who "were rebelliously malevolent to his person," and he commanded the citizens not to join the forces then being raised against him, not to admit any soldiers either on his side or on that of the Parliament, but to keep and defend the city for his majesty's use.[1]

When, therefore, in August, 1642, the Marquis of Hertford and Lord Paulet sent Sir Ferdinando Gorges, of Wraxall, with Mr. Thomas Smyth, of Ashton, "to get leave to bring certain troops of horse into the city for the king," the mayor (Locke) refused, pleading the king's orders. Hertford then retreated to Sherborne. Soon after Aldworth's accession to the civic chair, Sir Alexander Popham sent 500 horse to Bedminster, intending them to be the nucleus of a regiment of 1,000 which he hoped to raise in Bristol for the Parliament. But the Mayor and Common Council refused him admittance into the city greatly to his chagrin; and showed that they were in earnest by setting "the trained bands to watch and ward as well without the gate as within, to keep out all strange forces by night and by day, 100 at least armed with pikes and musquets and ball." In November, Colonel Thomas Essex, who held Gloucester for the Parliament, at the suggestion and upon the invitation, it is said, of some of the men of Bristol, left that city with two regiments in order to secure Bristol for the Parliament. He arrived before the walls on the 2nd of December, 1642. The citizens were divided in opinion, the pronounced Royalists formed a powerful and rich minority, the Constitutionalists outnumbered them, but there was a residuum, numerous enough to turn the scale, who were doubtful and wavering. The council wished to keep Bristol a free city, by still obeying the king's orders. Therefore the gates were doubly warded, large stores of ammunition were provided, and 300 new muskets were furnished as additional arms for the trained bands and volunteers. The loyal party readily helped in the defence, two guns were planted at the High Cross to sweep the streets, if the soldiers forced the gates, and two were mounted at the Frome gate, at which Colonel Essex was expected to make a forcible attempt; there the Royalist party stood to their arms awaiting the assault. Meanwhile the mayor and council met at the Tolzey. The majority of the house seem to have been, like the mayor, attached to the party of the Parliament. News came in that Essex had passed Thornbury, and the house could arrive at no decision; when, lo! another army, whose only weapons were their tongues and their tears, gathered and marched on the Tolzey. They were led by the mayoress, and Lady Rogers and Mrs. Holworthy, ex-mayoresses, and Mrs. Vickris, an ex-sheriff's wife; they carried the Tolzey incontinently, and conquered the council. Whilst this was passing, Essex's van had reached Frome gate, and exchanged shots with its defenders; probably this was only a feint, as the colonel himself, with his main body, came by the way of the New gate, where they were at once admitted through the contrivance of the women; and Colonel Essex immediately took upon himself the governorship of the city and castle, without any written commission, but by the appointment of the Earl of Essex, commander-in-chief of the Parliament forces, and the approval of Parliament. The same day, December 4th, Colonel Popham was admitted with his regiment from Bedminster, and on the 30th he left with 1,000 men for Exeter.

Colonel Essex disarmed the trained bands and the citizens whom he suspected of disaffection to the Parliament, and on the 23rd of January he shot one of his own troopers for mutinously demanding with others his pay.[1]

24. On January 7th a petition, emanating from the inhabitants of the city of Bristol, praying for peace, was presented by four aldermen of the city to the king at Oxford. The text of the petition and the king's answer may be seen in Seyer, II., 315–19. It decries the cruel war and prays for tranquility; joins heartily with London in invoking the king's assistance in restoring the same; complains that the foreign trade of Bristol is being ruined; that the ships lie rotting in the harbour, without mariners, freight, or trade; that home dissensions have injured the credit of their merchants abroad, to the decay of the customs and his majesty's revenue; that no man enjoys life, wife, children, or estate, and that the misery consequent on the strife is unutterable, fathers and sons fighting on opposite sides; and the city of Bristol being at great expense, obliged to maintain such a costly garrison as not even in the wars of the Barons or any other civil war had happened. They pray his majesty no longer to be divorced from his parliament; to forsake the councils of notorious malignants, who for selfish and sinister ends seek the ruin of the Commonwealth; to check the assumption of the prelacy, which is forcing new canons and doctrines on the people; and to devise some speedy way for a reconciliation with the parliament, &c. To which the king replies, through Lord Falkland, that he is pleased with this early demonstration of their duty, and accepts in good part their hearty advices; that he compassionates the afflictions of his people; that he is ignorant of any innovations of the Church of England, and will check the pride of

[1] Mercurius rusticus.

[1] For further particulars, see Seyer, II., 320.

prelacy; that he covets nothing so much as a reconciliation with parliament; that he will do his utmost to preserve the liberties of his people, and will have a provident and pious eye upon the city of Bristol, &c.

25. Colonel Essex was of a gay disposition, he liked feasting, good company, and sporting, and was not in accord with the Puritan party in the city, who viewed with suspicion his intimacy with known Royalists like Yeomans, and were jealous of his correspondence with Prince Rupert. These causes being brought under the notice of the Earl of Essex, he considered that Bristol was not safe in Colonel Essex's hands, and consequently he gave orders to Colonel Fiennes, the second son of Lord Say, to remove Colonel Essex from the command, on the ground of the distrust of him in the city owing to his great friendliness with those of Royalist proclivities. On the 27th of February, Essex was accordingly politely waited upon whilst feasting at the house of Colonel Hill, at Redland, and was escorted by a strong party of horse towards Berkeley castle.

Fiennes being now governor, established himself in Broad street, and placed his younger brother, John, in command of the Castle. At first he was subordinate to Sir William Waller; but he had sufficient influence to procure a second commission, which rendered him independent of that general. He associated with himself as a committee the mayor, Richard Aldworth, Joseph Jackson and Hugh Brown, the sheriffs, Richard Holworthy, Luke Hodges and Henry Gibbs. These levied a tax of £55 15*s.* a week on landed and personal property, the first payment to be on March 1st, 1642–3, which parliament confirmed. Finding this insufficient, together with the twentieth part of the sequestrations of delinquents' estates, they proposed to add portions of the three adjoining counties and to raise the proportion of Bristol from £55 to £400 per week, in order to finish the fortifications and maintain three regiments, two troops of horse, one of dragoons, and three regiments of trained bands. But this plan fell through for want of money. Fiennes complained that he had lost £5,000 of his own money, and that out of the sequestrations he could not raise altogether £300, the creditors seizing on the property, or the estates being concealed. The Protestants of Ireland being in great distress, large voluntary contributions were made by the Constitutionalists of the city and the adjoining counties, which, being laid out in food, were despatched to Ireland in the ship *Mermaid* on the 14th April, 1643, and the remainder in the ship *Sampson* on the 27th of the same month.

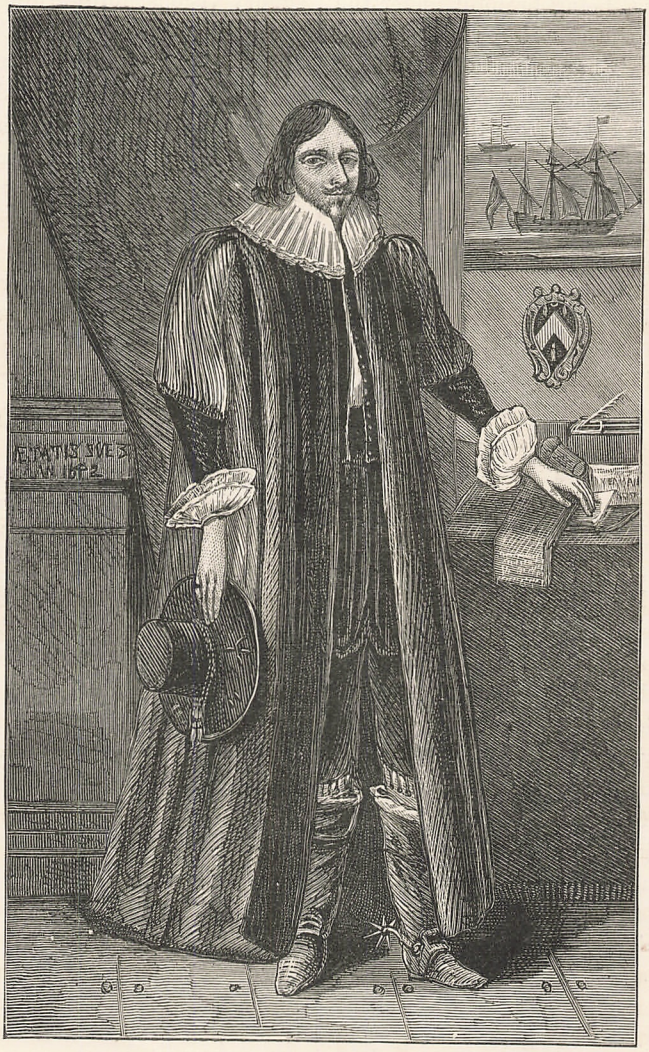
The schism between the two parties in the church was rife in Bristol. They must be classed as high church and low church, for separatists or dissenters were then unknown in Bristol. The Royalists consisted of Roman Catholics and the High Church party. The Puritans or Low Churchmen (who to a great extent became either Independents, Presbyterians, or Quakers in the course of a few years) were to a man on the side of the Parliament.

26. A curious MS. is quoted *in extenso* by Seyer II., 338—41, as being illustrative of the manners, and spirit of the age. It purports to be a relation of sundry visions, forewarnings, and prophetical relations accorded to Mrs. Grace Carey, the widow of Walter Carey, of Bristol. She, having in vain sought at great travel and expense an audience of His Majesty, was induced to commit her experience to writing, December, 1644. Not to weary our readers with her rhapsodies, we come to the chief point: "Whilst at church on the Lord's day, she saw the perfect shape of a king's head and face, without a body, which looked very pale and wan; which head had a crown, and the crown was all bloody in a circle round about," &c. She subsequently was presented to the king at Richmond, and gave him her "writing," which he returned to her unread, he being about to take horse, saying, "She meant well, and was a good woman." She followed him to York and Newcastle, where she fell on her knees before him in the presence chamber, but he utterly refused to hear her. She came back to Bristol, resting satisfied with her conscientious attempt to discharge her duty. Seyer says in a note: "The MS. is dated 1644, four years before the king's death, and has internal evidence of being written at that time." He adds his own belief of the truth of the story. "*Credat Judæus.*"

The Royalist party in the city were now overborne by the men in authority, whose hyper-Calvinistic doctrines were assumed by numbers who had no portion of the divine life of the man whose name has become a synonym for the views of God's sovereignty which he held. Calvin had a great soul but a hard heart. His followers in Bristol and elsewhere during this age, appear to have inherited all the latter with added sterility, but to have compressed their modicum of the higher nature into the smallest possible compass, forcing it between grooves that converged into egotistic fanaticism. It cannot be concealed that these men violated the spirit of true religion, and by their narrow views, iconoclastic excesses, and bitter bigotry, brought disgrace upon their cause. Religious freedom ran riot; possessed with a thorough hatred of forms and ceremonies, the men who claimed it for themselves desecrated the churches, demolished the organs, broke the stained glass windows, overturned the altars, defaced the monuments, and battered the statues. Clerical

habits, lectionaries and prayer books they destroyed and burned, and insulted, imprisoned, and plundered those who adhered to the tenets of Laud or of Rome, whom they classed together as Papists. Williamson, of All Saints, Standfast, of Christchurch, Towgood, of St. Nicholas, and others of the clergy were ejected from their livings by Fiennes, who replaced them by Toombes, Craddock, Bacon, Walter, Simmonds, and Hazard. These, however, were conscientious men, and of some education, compared with their successors, of whose vagaries it may be truly said, "the worst of madmen is a saint run mad."

27. One cannot wonder, therefore, that an attempt should be made to throw off this burden by the loyal adherents of the king. These were in number about 2,000 of all grades. The principal leaders were Robert Yeomans, merchant, who had been sheriff in 1641—2, and George Boucher, merchant. Shortly before Colonel Essex had arrived in Bristol, Yeomans had obtained a commission to raise a regiment in the city for the service of the king. On the removal of Essex, many of whose officers and soldiers were greatly displeased, Yeomans advanced £40 to four of these officers, Captain Hilsdon and Lieutenants Marshall, Moore, and Cheyney, with which they were to win over as many of their men as possible for his majesty. Communications were opened with the king and Prince Rupert at Oxford, and his majesty despatched Dr. Marks and Captain Cockram to treat with the conspirators. Charles approved of their design and promised them he would make Bristol a famous city when it came into his hands. Prince Rupert was directed to move upon Bristol, and upon the night of Tuesday, March 7th, 1642-3, to have a sufficient force on Durdham down ready at a given signal—the ringing of the bells of St. John's and St. Nicholas—to march down to Frome gate and enter the city.



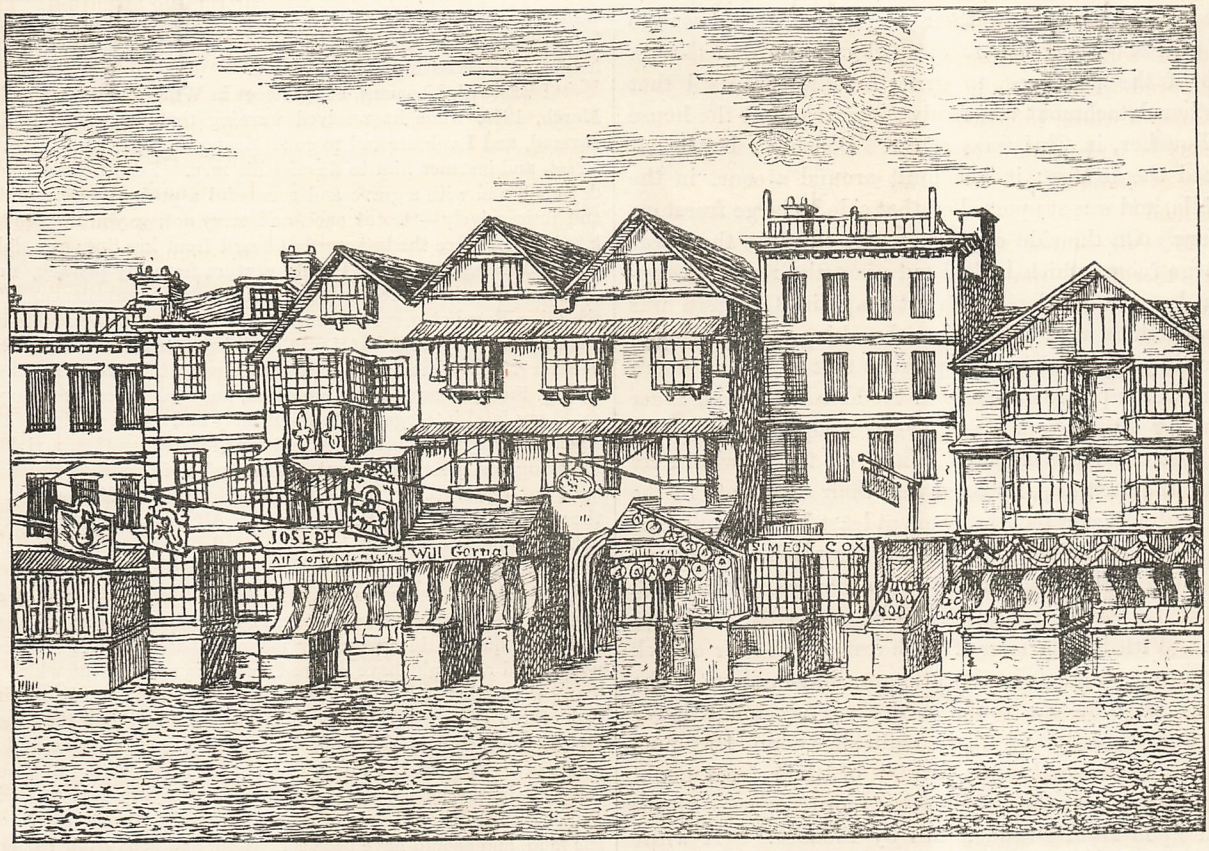
Robert Yeomans.

Yeomans' house was in Wine street (the site of No. 6); it had a back door into a lane, which was dark and convenient for assembling and arming a party without attracting attention. The guard-house (the gateway of which is shown at 264) was on the opposite side of Wine street, and Captain Hilsdon and Lieutenant Moore, were on the appointed night, in command of the main guard, the intention being for Yeomans to surprise the guard-house and detain the men.

Boucher's house was in Christmas street, abutting on the river Frome; both his and Yeomans' house were stored with firearms and ammunition, which were to be eked out with clubs and swords. At Boucher's there were, in addition, chains and locks for securing St. John's gateway, so that the conspirators might not be taken in the rear by the horse soldiers. Another party was to assemble at the house of Thomas Milward, outside the walls, on St. Michael's hill, and another at the house of Robert Luckett. The Royalists were, by Rupert's direction, to distinguish themselves by wearing a piece of white tape upon their breasts, and another upon the hinder part of their hats. The watchword was "Charles." The plan was for Yeomans and his colleagues to quietly secure the guard, seize upon the ordnance, and if need be sweep the streets with a central fire from the High Cross. A proclamation was ready, commanding "All

inhabitants of the Bridge, High street, and Corn street kepe within your dores upon paines of your lives. All other inhabitants of this city that stand for the king, the Protestant religion and the liberty of the city, let them forthwith appear at the High Crosse, with such armour as they have for the defence of their wives and children, and follow their leaders for the same defence." Boucher and his men, who had forced open the door of St. John's child, save those in the houses that had the king's mark upon their doors, and that Captain Boone, with the sailors, had orders to fire the city in divers places, and the mayor was to be killed in order to secure the keys and the treasure."

The Prince on Monday had marched from Basingstoke to Sodbury, Keynsham bridge having been broken down by the Bristol Council of War. On Tuesday his



Wine Street, with the entrance to the Guard-house: 17th century. From an old Print.

crypt, to be used as a prison, were to aid in seizing on the Frome gate. Milward's party outside were to rush down Steep street and Christmas steps to their help, and Luckett's party was detailed for the seizure of the Pithay gate. As soon as the Frome gate was in their hands the bells of St. John's were to ring for the sailors, St. Nicholas for the butchers, and Milward, by ringing St. Michael's as the signal of success, was to summon Rupert to descend and secure the prize.

The accounts differ as to the after-play in the event of their success. The Royalists' statement is "that all was to be done if possible without bloodshed." Their adversaries averred that Prince Rupert had given orders "that no quarter was to be shown to man, woman or army lay at Westbury, Horfield and Durdham down, and that night he had a party ready at the Gallows on St. Michael's hill, just outside the lines, awaiting the signal. Had he then made a brisk attempt the Constitutionalists admit that he might have carried the city, there being in it but two regiments of foot, and less than a regiment of horse, the townsmen overdone with the duty of watching, many of the soldiers disaffected, and a large and powerful array of Royalists waiting to further his efforts. But

> "The best laid schemes o' mice an' men,
> Gang aft a-gley."

Some talking females, who were active on the Parliament's side, had, Barrett says, the night before dis-

covered the plot, and revealed it. Prynne says it was Clement Walker, who was made acquainted with it by one Dobbins, who told of the frequent assemblage of disaffected persons at "The Rose" tavern (in Temple street, lately pulled down). At ten o'clock at night Major Langrish, with a party of horse, and Capt. Buck marched upon Yeomans' house, at the entrance of which and in the lane they found a party armed. Upon his threat to batter the house with cannon, twenty-four men yielded and laid down their arms; these were sent to the castle. Many others escaped over the house-tops. One of the prisoners, to curry favour, confessed that another detachment was ready for mischief at the house of Boucher, in Christmas street. Boucher's house adjoined the bridge; it was built around a court in the middle, and was supported on that side by large freestone pillars. On the side opposite to the entrance there was a large room, which looked out upon the river. Langrish hurried to the spot, but Captain Goodiere was already there with his soldiers, breaking open the door; here they captured but six persons that night, although there were upwards of sixty in the house; the remainder escaping by a back door, or by dropping from the windows into the Frome. Many of these, who were taken the next day, affirmed that their adherents in the city and adjacent parishes were at least 2,000 in number. When the prisoners were secured Langrish was ordered to take a party of horse and "dragooners" and attack Prince Rupert, near Mr. Hill's house on St. Michael's hill. With twenty men of each arm he, at four o'clock in the morning, made the attempt, and fired upon the enemy as they sat round a fire. They immediately retreated and joined their main body on Durdham down. These, making a display of their force about seven o'clock on the Wednesday morning, were thrice fired upon from Brandon hill by Fiennes. "A white horse was killed by the shot, and then the whole body wheeled about and marched off. Scouting parties were immediately sent out, one of which, consisting of four troopers, encountered seven of the enemy, who at the first discharge of pistols fled, two of them abandoning horses, pistols and rich coats, swam the river; two others escaped on foot through the woods, and two appear to have been slain, inasmuch as a trumpeter was sent into the city the next day to demand the bodies of — Weston and another whose name he declined to give."

The following narrative is generally supposed to have been written by Colonel Taylor; it shows how narrowly he escaped with his life, and is an evidence of the strong confidence which the Royalists had in the ultimate success of the king's cause. It was written when Prince Rupert held Bristol, in 1643-4.

"A WONDERFULL ESCAPE FROM THE ENEMY.

"Seeing that the Royal Armes are victorious on all sides, on the East, and on the West; on the North, and on the South; and that his Majesty (God bless his Most Gracious Majesty King Charles 1st) has noughtt to do, but to march triumphantly to the Throne of his Ancestors, to array himself in the purple robe of Authority, and to adorn his Serene Brows with the Golden Crown of Dominion! No longer let by tremulous forebodings, I am constrained to indite this narrative of my escape from the loathsome dungeons of the Castle, and an ignominious death, like the doom of those Holy Martyrs, Sheriff Yeomans and Good Master Boucher, who are gone to their Blessed Reward, honoured, respected, and beloved! To the end that God's merciful Providence may be holden in Everlasting Remembrance.

"I was with Yeomans, at his house in Wine street, on the 6th March, 1643, when he received warning that our plot was discovered, and I volunteered to go to Master Boucher, in Christmas street, and instruct him to dismiss his men. Yeomans was much dejected, and with a grave and sorrowful aspect, said mournfully and impressively—'Go at once, and tarry not, or you may be too late.' They were the last words I heard from his lips; nor did I behold him again; before I could venture from my privacy, Yeomans and Boucher were hanged, and gone down into silence. For the other Royalists were torments and chains, darkness and misery. I am not a young man, but it would not have been safe for Clement Walker to have crossed my path as I went to Master Boucher. Giving the pass-word I was admitted, and had scarcely communicated my fatal intelligence, to the dismay and consternation of the assembled Royalists, before we had time for deliberation, a violent knocking was heard at the outer door, and an imperative order to 'put out lights' (*i.e.* 'hang out lights'), which we did, but not in the manner indicated by the command. All was confusion. Every noble feeling and patriotick sentiment fled before the instinct of self-preservation. The window, the only chance of escape, was blocked with the conspirators, who let each other's egress by all striving to get out simultaneously, and became jambed; whereas, had they quitted in an orderly manner there would have been no let, and all could have escaped from the room in the which so many were taken. I could hear them drop, drop into the shining bed of the river; fortunately the tide was low, but they were almost smothered in the mud. I could see nothing save ruddy glares of light from the cabins of phantom ships in the distance, reflected in the sluggish water. Commending my soul to God's Providence, I dropped from the window, and fell with my face in the mud, and should have been suffocated, had not Edward Dacre, plumber, 11 St. Michael's hill, who followed, assisted me to rise, for the which he is remembered in my daily prayers, and I have recommended him as a good and skillfull workman, who does his utmost to give satisfaction at moderate charges. But our situation was critical. Repeated shots were fired from the window without effect, save to awaken the barking of dogs." [The rest of the MS. is imperfect.]—*Tovey's Local Jottings.*

Hitherto neither of the two great parties into which the kingdom had become divided had taken the life of any adversary, save in fair fight; hence the Royalists, in concocting this conspiracy, seem to have had no idea that they were incurring the penalty due to treason. There can be little doubt, we think, that the law was strained to meet a case which had never been contemplated, and fidelity to their king was, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, cruelly treated as "treason to the nation." The prisoners were chained by the

neck and feet in a dungeon in the castle, and allowed neither fire, lights, nor visits from their friends or families. Fiennes received the thanks of both houses, and was appointed president of a commission, with special orders to proceed with all celerity and severity against his prisoners. After frequent examinations at the house of Robert Rogers, barrister, at the Bridge end, they were found guilty—Yeomans on May 8th, and Boucher on May 22nd; William Yeomans and Edward Dacres, who had escaped, were likewise tried and found guilty, and the four were condemned to be hanged.[1] The king attempted to save his faithful servants, and the Earl of Forth, lord-lieutenant of his forces, was instructed to write to Fiennes, threatening to retaliate and hang the prisoners then in his hands if Yeomans and Boucher suffered the extreme penalty. But, unfortunately for them, Fiennes held in custody Sir Walter Pye, Sir William Crofts, Colonel Connesby, and many other Royalists, men of noble and gentle blood, whilst the king's prisoners were chiefly of low degree, so that the threat availed not. Charles then tried to induce the mayor and the magistrates to raise the city trained bands and rescue them; this effort also failed. But, to their credit be it spoken, Aldworth, the mayor, and the aldermen interceded and begged their fellow-townsmen's lives, but in vain. Fiennes himself hesitated to carry out the sentence until he had acquainted the two houses and the general with its purport. Then, by command of the Earl of Essex and by a vote of the Commons, who considered that a stern example was needed, he proceeded to carry it into effect. Fearful of rescue, the city gates were shut, and the troops lined the streets when the mournful procession issued from the castle.

The gallows was raised at the western end of the Market-house, in Wine street (where the pump now stands), opposite to Yeomans' house. Here the two leaders suffered. Yeomans, weakened by his imprisonment, fainted away as he was brought out. They desired that their friends, the Revs. Standfast and Towgood, might be with them to the last; but even this consolation was denied them, Craddock and Fowler, two of their foes, being appointed to attend them to the gallows. Captain Langrish, whose name will again appear in unenviable notoriety in these pages, displayed the innate cowardice of his nature by taunting the sufferers and disturbing them in their last devotions. Whilst Captain Clifton smote sorely the hand of Yeomans' brother-in-law, Master John Haggat, because he stayed the oscillation of the body of the victim as he was swung off the ladder. Yeomans left a widow near her confinement and eight little children; Boucher left a widow and seven children. The loyal martyrs were buried, Yeomans at Christ church and Boucher at St. Werburgh's. Yeomans left a lengthy confession, which Seyer supposes to have been garbled to suit a purpose by Clement Walker; but we should rather term it an honourable justification of his proceedings.[1]

We mentioned in its place that, in May, Charles had sent a proclamation to the mayor in favour of the condemned prisoners. Previous to this he had sent others, one in March, which especially commanded "all seamen, mariners and officers of his navy not to serve under the Earl of Warwick." This was proclaimed on the Friday; but on the Saturday, in full market, Fiennes came in his coach to the High Cross, attended by a troop of horse, where he declared the said proclamation to be a scandalous and libellous paper, which deserved to be burned by the common hangman. He then caused the sergeant who had proclaimed it to burn the document, holding pistols to his breast and threatening to shoot him dead if he did not hold it up so that all the people might see it burn.

28. Rupert, on the failure of the plot, retreated *vid* Cirencester, and rejoined the king at Oxford, from whence men were despatched to augment the Royalist force in Cornwall, which forthwith marched eastward into Somerset, capturing Taunton, Bridgwater and Dunster castle. Sir William Waller was sent by the Parliament to check their advance; he made Bath his head-quarters, and drew his supplies from thence and from Bristol. Colonel Popham joined him from this city on July 3rd, and on the 5th he marched out of the city of Bath and joined battle on the north-west spur of Lansdown, within sight of the city of Bristol, where the flash and the boom of the guns were both seen and heard distinctly. Here the gallant Sir Bevil Grenville fell (a handsome monument records the spot). The fight ceased at eleven in the evening, and the battle was drawn, both armies retreating. Waller, who was in reality victorious, although he knew it not, sought shelter within the walls of Bath. As soon as he discovered his error he followed the king's army to Devizes, where he besieged them; but their horse broke through his lines, and joining a force under Wilmot, which had been sent to their relief, turned back upon Waller and cut his army to pieces on Roundway down. Waller fled to Bristol with but a handful of men, bringing with him the first tidings of his defeat. It was now "ruin upon ruin, rout on rout;" disaster followed disaster. Hampden fell at Chalgrove, Essex fell back upon Uxbridge; the west was up for the king, and Fiennes, rightly

[1] For further particulars, see Seyer, II., 375–377.

[1] For a list of the men concerned in this attempt, see the end of this Chapter.

judging the coming event, called home from Bath the remainder of his men, who had been lent to Waller, busied himself in finishing the lines to the north of Bristol and in making preparations to withstand a siege. By sound of trumpet he ordered all citizens to lay in three months' stock of provisions, and, storing well the castle, made known his determination to hold it to extremity. The Constitutionalists of the city and the adjacent country sent in thither their valuables, money and plate, and contributed liberally towards the expense of fortifying it. Fiennes gave orders to demolish the churches of St. Peter and St. Philip, which were dangerously near to the castle, but the rapid approach of Prince Rupert prevented the execution of his command; and although the citizens laboured night and day, the rocky nature of the hills, as we have stated, prevented also the completion of the outer defences, especially between Brandon and the Windmill forts.

On the 22nd of July the Royalists, in small parties, were scouting on the south and east of the city. Next day they increased in number and encamped, the general-in-chief (the Marquis of Hertford) and Prince Maurice on the Somerset side, with the Cornish army, and Prince Rupert, with that from Oxford, on the Gloucestershire side. The force altogether consisted of fourteen regiments of foot, two wings of horse, the prince's life-guards and nine troops of dragoons, altogether between 14,000 and 20,000 men. The besieged had sent away Waller with 500 horse as an incumbrance, and with him many of the gentry had sought refuge in London. Fiennes had about 2,000 foot, 300 horse and 200 volunteers, townsmen who helped to man the works, 100 of whom were stationed along the line from the Windmill to Prior's hill fort. The officers boasted that they could, if need arose, arm 6,000 or 8,000 more able-bodied men in the city.

On the 24th an attack was made by the Cornish men on the south-west side. Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford's men rushed on and gained the foot of the wall that enclosed Temple and Redcliff, but were beaten back with loss. The same day the prince, with the help of some loyal sailors, seized the shipping in Kingroad. On the 25th a violent attack was made upon the line on Kingsdown. Fiennes had been strongly advised to occupy the higher ground outside this line, and to erect a fort on the present site of Highbury Congregational church, which advice he neglected, contenting himself with a small sconce on the hill at the back of the "Montague" tavern. Rupert, wiser than Fiennes, who was a good lawyer perchance, but a poor soldier, saw his opportunity and planted a strong battery in the neglected spot, under cover of the fire from which his men, "with fire pickes, grenadoes and scaling ladders," attempted the line, but were repulsed with great loss. A council of war was held on this day, the plan of attack was decided upon, and every preparation made for storming on the following morning.

On Wednesday, the 26th of July, the storming of the city began in six different places. The watchword was "Oxford," the colours green. The orders were to fill in the ditch as soon as and wherever it was carried, so that the horse might enter; also to seize upon and to maintain the church of St. Mary Redcliff. The Cornish regiments, "ambitious to win the works first," made a start too early (half-past two in the morning), under Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford. They were divided into tertias: the first, under Colonel Buck, consisted of his regiment, Hertford's and Maurice's; the second, under Sir Nicholas Slanning, comprised, besides his own troops, Lord Mohun's and Trevanion's men; Bassett commanded the third body, having with him Godolphin's and the late Sir Bevil Grenville's regiments.

Slanning, with five field officers and 500 men, was ordered to attack Temple gate, Buck was to fall upon the Tower Harratz, Bassett to carry Redcliff church and gate, whilst Maurice, with the reserve, occupied Pile hill. The troops marched courageously to the attack, pushing before them carts wherewith to fill the back Avon, which here formed the fosse. Through haste, or mistake, they had left their faggots and scaling ladders behind, but Slanning's men actually got over the ditch, and some of them mounted the wall; Buck also reached the top of the wall, when, wounded by a halbert, he fell back, and perished in the moat. Slanning and Trevanion, neither of them eight-and-twenty years of age, were both mortally wounded at the same moment, and the attack was repulsed with great loss both of officers and men.

On the north of the city Colonel Bellasis, with his tertia, assaulted Jones' fort (the outwork which afterwards was called Colston's fort), at the corner of Alfred place and Southwell street. His forlorn hope of thirty musketeers was led by six men having pikes wrapped round with saturated tow and wildfire, and six others with hand grenades; these, headed by a lieutenant, reached the ditch of the battery, but were driven out, and fell down the line on their right towards Windmill fort (afterwards known as the Royal fort), where they sheltered behind a stone wall, waiting they said for faggots to fill the ditch and for scaling ladders. Ubiquitous Rupert strove in vain to drive up the laggards; his horse was shot in the eye, but, coolly dismounting, he cheered the men on foot until another charger was

brought; but his efforts were vain, his men refusing to renew the assault.

Lord Grandison, "a young man of incorruptible virtue and justice, of unimpeachable piety and courage," had charge of the attack on Prior's hill fort. Here Blake was in command, he who afterwards, as admiral, conquered Van Tromp and swept the Spanish Main. Grandison's orders were to storm the fort, sweep the line on the hill-top, taking Jones' battery in flank, after which he and Bellasis were to carry the Windmill fort. Grandison despatched two forlorn hopes of twenty pikemen and five musketeers, each under a lieutenant, to cut the line on both sides of Prior's hill fort, whilst he with Colonel Lunsford, backed them with 300 men; both lieutenants failed, and therefore had to retreat. Grandison, however, who had got near enough to discover that the ditch did not run close up to the glacis, and that it was not palisaded, encouraged his men to follow him up the hill. Cheerfully they rushed the steep and leaped the moat, but having no scaling ladders, had to huddle helplessly under the walls. Blake, one of whose guns had been dismounted by the Royalist cannon, could not touch them with the other two. Changing his defence, he rained down cold shot and stones upon his assailants, whilst from the lines that ran up the site of Hillgrove street and along the Parade the Commonwealth soldiers took them in flank with a hot fire of musketry; down the hill the Royalists ran, but being reinforced by Sir Ralph Dutton's pikemen, they tried another charge. Sir Ralph, pike in hand, leaped into the ditch, trying to force the line; his efforts were vain, his men fell back, but Grandison and he refusing to fly, their men rallied, and for a moment became masters of that portion of the line. Lunsford, prowling about in the dark, found a ladder in the fields against a haystack; with a loud "hurrah!" they bore it to the fort and tried to mount. Alas for them, it only reached to the palisades! Disheartened, they wavered; at this critical moment a detachment of Bristol men arrived to aid the defenders; these charged into and cleared the ditch; Grandison fell, wounded mortally in the right leg; the command then devolved upon Colonel Owen, he also was shot down; and the Royalists fled, carrying off their stricken commanders, but leaving the pleasant hill-side strewn with their dying and dead comrades. Whilst moodily sheltering in the valley and smarting under their failure, a messenger reached them with the news that Washington had succeeded in forcing the line on the west and needed help. With the cry, "They run! they run!" this tertia now, in all haste, marched by Cotham brow to join Bellasis, with whom, sweeping round under Tyndall's hill, they entered the breach in Bullock's park between five and six o'clock in the morning.

The fifth attack was made by 250 men on the spur thrown up at Stoke's Croft gate. Here they got "at pistol and push of pike through the bars with the defenders; they flung nine grenades into the work, blew off some bars of the gate with a petard, but at the end of an hour and a half had to retire just as the day dawned."

Smitten with panic and deeming the assault had failed in all quarters, the troops on the south side sullenly withdrew. Some of the cavalry had reached Whitchurch in their hasty retreat, when to their amazement they were recalled by the information that the sixth attack (meant for a feint to distract the besieged) had proved unexpectedly successful, that the dragoons had forced the lines, and that Fiennes had demanded a parley.

Colonel Washington, with about 300 dragoons (which were then mounted infantry, armed half of them with pikes, half with muskets), had been ordered to threaten the north-west portion of the defences; more especially was he directed to guard two solitary houses in Berkeley place, Clifton hill, filled with stores, and prevent their being burned by a sally from Brandon hill or the Windmill forts. Twenty men from Brandon hill did attempt this during the night, but failed.

Unprovided with infantry, it seems unlikely that any serious assault on that portion of the line could have been intended. But the quick eye of a true soldier had detected the weak place. The valley across which the ditch ran from Brandon hill to the Windmill fort was so deep that the guns of the forts on either side could not be depressed sufficiently to bear on the hollow; whilst the graff, because of the rocky nature of the ground, was shallow, and in several parts was not finished; more especially was this the case close to a barn just outside the lines, which ought to have been demolished. This spot was opposite the present chapel of the Blind Asylum. Washington was probably aware also that the Essex redoubt within the line (somewhere about the site of the New Theatre Royal, Park row) was unarmed. This portion of the defences had been entrusted to Major Langrish, a personal friend of the governor, but one who, it was averred, had previously been convicted of cowardice and accused of incapacity.

Only the day before the assault, as Fiennes and he were riding past the place, a private pointed out the weak spot to them and advised that a hundred soldiers should be posted there to defend it. "What doth he prate? the saucy knave," said the self-sufficient Governor, whose pride revolted at the idea of taking advice from a common soldier. His incapacity is evident. A single



Church and Griffin Lanes from Park Row.

gun in this little redoubt would have swept the hollow, and saved Bristol.

Noting well the assailable spot, Washington stole quietly down when the appointed hour drew nigh, and as the clock struck three, his men lit up the wildfire on their pikes and, with a shout, 150 dragoons dashed at the gap. Received with a hot fire, the pikemen staggered, but their musketeers were firm, and the officers, seizing the blazing pikes, followed by the hand-grenade men, rushed in, a dozen musketeers poured in a volley, joined their comrades, and, using the butt-end of their pieces as clubs, cleared the way. Colonel Littleton leaped the rampart and rode up and down with a fire-pike. Neither horse nor man could stand this,—"the wildfire did it." Once within the lines, the Royalists began to level the half-finished vallum; hands, halberts, and partisans were busily at work to make a way for their horse to enter. Now was the time for Langrish with his troop of cavalry to charge. Instead of doing so, however, the craven fled down Park row into the city. Lieutenant Rousewell with three men defended the breach, until wounded to the death he had to retire, reviling Langrish as a coward for running away, and vowing that if he had twenty musketeers he would trap those that were in and repulse the rest.

Washington, having spent his ammunition, seized on the Essex redoubt and the few houses near it, and prudently waited there for reinforcements. Park row was then a narrow road, leading as now to Clifton, gardens divided by stone fences ran from it, both up the hill towards the Windmill fort and down to Bullock's park. The colonel had no space in which to deploy his troop, and he had no fancy to be caught, cooped up between stone walls, in a dark lane, liable to a deadly ambush if he should attempt to advance. How slowly the minutes passed we can scarcely imagine; he had broken the shell, yet was himself little better than a prisoner. About six o'clock, however, Bellasis and Wentworth joined him with a part of their forces; then Wentworth, turning to the right down Culver street, seized on the churches of St. Mark, St. Augustine, and the Cathedral, and was within easy musket shot of the city wall on the quay. Washington seized on the Great House, and placing therein a party under his lieutenant, he, with the remainder of his men, lay perdu in Pipe lane and Trenchard street, ready, by a flank movement, to cover an attack on the Frome gate, and, if needful, to fire the shipping on the quay. Colonel Lunsford had joined Bellasis, and with horse and foot they charged down by Host street, Steep street, and Christmas steps, jostling and crowding in those narrow thoroughfares. The gallant Puritan, Captain Nevill, from Windmill fort with twenty horse dashed out upon the invading foe from Church lane, cutting the Royalist line in twain, and driving the one portion with accelerated force down Griffin lane, whilst their rear guard were thrust back towards the Essex redoubt, crying loudly, many of them, for quarter, and swearing that they were entrapped. "Had he but twenty more men," he testified afterwards, "he could have beaten them out of the lines."

Meanwhile the townsfolk in Griffin lane and Steep street kept up a hot fire, and the guns on the quay played upon the openings in the streets. That the fire was returned we have evidence in bullets found embedded in the city wall on the Broad quay when, in 1880,

the lower portion was uncovered for building. Bellasis was wounded by his own sword, which was struck back upon his head by a bullet. Lunsford fell shot through the heart on a narrow street with steps, behind the "Ship" inn, [now destroyed], thenceforth to be known as "Lunsford's stairs."

There were three Lunsfords in the Royalist army, all of them colonels, dashing soldiers, who were ever foremost in the fight. They were consequently confounded with each other, and the public, hearing of their acts of daring in widely different parts of the kingdom, on one and the same day, supposed these to be the actions of one man, who had become ubiquitous by favour of the devil, to whom he had sold his soul. So terrified were they at the name, that mothers used it as a bugbear with which to quiet unruly children. In song and broadsheet literature, he was described as a cannibal, whose favourite food was the flesh of little children; drawings were made of him as an ogre in the act of cutting an infant into steaks. Butler, in *Hudibras*, referring to this rumour, says—

"The preachers
Made children for their lives to run for't,
As bad as bloody bones, or Lunsfort."

And a contemporary lampoon, alluding to the death of the colonel at Bristol siege, says—

"The post who came from Coventry,
Riding on a red rocket;
Did tidings tell, how Lunsford fell,
A child's hand in his pocket."

This victim of the war was, however, neither the "truculent one-eyed man," Thomas, who, by his conduct, had affixed on the family name its vile notoriety, nor Thomas' twin brother Herbert; but he who fell dead on the steps was Henry, their younger and better brother, whom Clarendon describes as an officer of extraordinary sobriety, industry, and courage.[1]

[1] The following letter will prove that the elder brother was in Bristol eight months after Henry was slain. It is an application for troops—Herbert's regiment, if possible—in order to surprise and attack Massey, who commanded a small brigade in the West during the organisation of the model army. The request probably was complied with, as Massey was shortly afterwards defeated at Ledbury:—

"Sir,—Being unwilling to trust my business to you without a cipher, I have imparted it to Arthur Trevor. I humbly desire your Highness to take it into so timely a care, that it may afford prevenc'on, and (if my brother's regim^{t} cannot be spared) that it may please yor Hig^{sse} to order 300 foot out of theise parts theither: to raise any in that countrey will be dangerous, for I apprehend it so more than Massey^{s}. I have not bin yet ten dayes in possession, have 200 men daily at worke, and lay in provision as it can be upon any tearmes obtained; but for the rest I beseech yor Hig^{sse} orders, and will ever make it my care to appeare to be,

"Sr, y^{r} Hig^{sse} most faithfull and obed^{t} servant,

"Bristoll, 9th Mar., 1644. "Thomas Lunsford.

"To his Hig^{sse} Prince Rupert."

The Royalists' loss here was heavy, from the windows in Steep street especially had the fire been deadly upon the pent up mass below, so that the soldiers forced the doors, and slew all whom they found within. The garrison, however, bravely kept the walls and gates of the city; they drew cannon out into the Marsh, planted one at the head of the quay, three at Gib Taylor, and one on the top of Alderman Hook's house on the quay, they also stationed musketeers in the houses on the quay, and succeeded in driving the enemy from the Great House, College green and the College wall. So matters stood at nine o'clock in the morning, by which hour there were about 1,600 men within the lines between Brandon hill and Windmill forts and the city. Not one of all the forts on the line had been captured, neither had the line itself been forced save in the one place; the walls of the city had not been breached, not a gun dismounted (save in Prior's hill, which was an out fort, and not a portion of the city walls). The enemy had lost by their own estimate more than 500 men, Fiennes himself says 1,000; whilst the garrison had lost only six or seven men (*i.e.*, within the walls). But stone walls are a poor defence for brave men, when commanded by a poltroon, against others equally brave.

"The assault cost near 500 lives. About 1,000 soldiers joined the royal army, 1,700 barrels of powder, with match and bullets, 60 brass cannon, all the arms of the soldiery, 18 merchant ships, four belonging to the Earl of Warwick; these paid a composition of £1,400—Bristol taking, Exeter shaking, Gloucester quaking. The report is Bristol is to pay £50,000 composition and to clothe 1,500 soldiers—men £3, officers £6 a suit—which amounts to £140,000. There was found in the castle £100,000, as is reported."[1]

29. Fiennes was a large-mouthed braggart, who, when danger was distant, "spoke plain cannon, fire and smoke, and bounce," a "milk-livered man."

"Bold at the council board,
But cautious in the field, he shunned the sword."

The only thing that can be said in his favour was that which he himself pleaded at his trial, "that he was no soldier." Unnerved and incompetent himself, his chief counsellors were men of like kidney (such as Langrish). When urged to reinforce the breach and told how few were they who had at first entered, and who were entirely unsupported for hours, Fiennes, instead of playing the man, sent orders for his men all along the line upon pain of death to retire within the city walls. He enforced this order in person ere daybreak by riding up to Kingsdown from Newgate under cover, and making the men retire; this they did with murmurs and

[1] Royalist Letter to the Governor of Oxford.

execrations, and disgusted with their commander, it is said, "few of them joined their companions, but went off to bed or to the ale houses." Although the governor had boasted that if the outer line were forced he would defend the walls, and if they were stormed would dispute every inch of ground in the streets until he was forced back into the castle, where he would make its flag his winding sheet, and there would lay his bones, the first whistle of the bullets made him sing another song. He prudently kept houses and walls between himself and his foe, early spoke in private to his friends about conditions of surrender, inquired as to the best plan of retreat, and, in fact, had, amidst all his tall talk, kept every prisoner of standing in order to make conditions if driven to surrender. By nine o'clock his fear had so far mastered him, that (although, as we have already stated, the city was unscathed), he sent a drum to the Royalists for a parley, to which they seem to have paid no attention, but drove him in. Two or three hours after he had refused pressing requests to make an attack, and when the Royalists had quadrupled their forces within the lines, he, when it was too late, consented to a sally. Accusations of avarice and confiscation of property to his own use are laid to his charge, but these are vague, and we deem them to be groundless.

We cull the following curious evidence borne against the governor when on trial by two Bristol women, one of whom has acquired notoriety as the first prominent dissenter in Bristol:—

"TESTIMONY OF DOROTHY HAZARD.

". . . I did send into the castle of Bristol during the siege thereof above three months' provision for one family there, and a great part of our estate, hoping the same would be there preserved, and the castle defended to the utmost, according to the divers promises by the governor to defend the same; and that when the newes came into the sayd city on the Wednesday morning that some of the enemies had entered within the line this *deponent and divers other women and maydes*, with the help of some men, did with woolsacks and earth stop up Froome gate, to keep out the enemy from entering into the city, being the only passage by which the enemy must enter; and when we had so done they, the said women, went to the gunners [this deponent being one of them], and told them if they would stand out and fight they would stand by them, and told them they should not want for provision. But the governor treated with the enemy and yielded up the castle, whereby all her goods in the said castle were lost and seized on by the enemy."

"JONE BATTEN.

". . . There were about 200 women of the said citie who went to the colonel begging that by no means the city and castle might be rendered to the enemy, offering themselves to work in the fortifications in the very face of the enemy, and to go themselves and their children into the mouth of the cannon to dead and keep off the shot from the souldiers if they were afeared."[1]

[1] Fiennes' trial before a Council of War.

Equity demands that we allow Fiennes to make his own defence, which was that the bombardment with small and great shot for four days, the sharp assaults on Monday and Wednesday, the unfinished state of the outer line, the insufficiency in number of his troops, and the wish of the mayor and citizens to surrender, together with the advice of the council of war, influenced him in his decision to yield the city. The articles of surrender were recovered by Mr. Sholto Vere Hare, and were by him presented to the city; they hang in the Council-house. They provide that the officers retain their arms, horses and baggage; the foot soldiers leave their arms; the troopers retain their horses and swords; a convoy to be given them as far as Warminster; carriages provided for the baggage and the sick; a truce of three days to be observed; all prisoners delivered up; gentlemen to be allowed to return to their homes; the charters and liberties of the city to be preserved; the ancient government and officers to remain unaltered; the mayor to quarter the soldiers, and goods deposited for safety in the castle to be delivered up to owners; all cannon, ammunition, arms, colours, with the beforenamed excepted, to be surrendered. These terms were not kept: pillage ruled the day, and the robberies and outrages irretrievably damaged the royal cause. The governor neglected to publish the articles of surrender, nor did he send notice to Husbands in Brandon-hill fort, or to Blake in Prior's hill fort, that he had capitulated, thus putting them in danger of their lives. The fiery Rupert threatened to hang Blake, because in his ignorance of the surrender he fired on the troops.

After a trial of nine days Fiennes was found guilty of cowardice, and was condemned to be beheaded; but his family interest in both houses was so great that the Earl of Essex remitted his sentence.

We have seen in the Rev. G. W. Braikenridge's admirable collection of Bristol papers a drawing of a medal that was issued on the capture of the city. It bears, on the *obverse*, the king's head to the right, with the legend MAGNA BRIT . . .; on the *reverse*, a view of the city, with CIVITAS BRISTOLL REDUCTA, 1643.

The earliest book known to have been certainly printed in Bristol is a copy of *The Solemn League and Covenant*, 1643, for Richard Harsell. On the capture of the city Charles made use of its press, as pamphlets are extant, by appointed printers to the king.

On July 28th, being the day after he had entered the city, Rupert despatched an express to the king announcing his success, and requesting the governorship of the city for himself, to which request the king thoughtlessly consented. But the victors had already begun to quarrel over their spoil. The Marquis of

Hertford, Rupert's superior in command and the lord-lieutenant of Bristol, who was chagrined at not being consulted by the fiery prince as to the articles of surrender, had promised the governorship to Sir Ralph Hopton. To reconcile the conflicting parties, Charles came to Bristol on August 3rd, accompanied by his sons, Charles, Prince of Wales, and James, Duke of York, Sir Edward Hyde, and others of his ministers. The king and his suite lodged at the houses of Mr. Colston, in Small street, and of Alderman Creswick, which was next door. The princes found accommodation at Alderman Holworthy's, on the opposite side of the way.

"While the king was here he received a petition from the clothiers of Gloucestershire, which was presented to him on Monday, August 7th, by Sir Baynham Throckmorton, high-sheriff of that county, who resided at Stapleton, or at least had a house there. The petition and answer were printed at Oxford, 1643, in a pamphlet of four pages. They represent that Prince Rupert had 'commanded them to keep theire poore people at worke for the space of one month,' which they say they are ready to do to the utmost of their power; but they complain that they are in a most distressed situation, some having lost their whole estates, and many having the residue of their property in the hands of merchants in London, from whence they cannot procure it, that their credit is lost with their goods, and that their cloth being made they have no place of safety to keep it and no means of vending it. The king answers that he has given express answer to all his officers and souldiers to protect the persons and estates of the petitioners, and he permits such of them as are well-affected to him and may be trusted to repair to London to fetch their money from thence, and he will adopt the best means to enable them to sell off their cloth and to treat with the merchants of Bristol and other ports within his power for the exportation of it. Very wretched must have been the situation of England at that time, when the communication between its commercial towns was thus interrupted by the civil war.



Sir Ralph Hopton. From an old print.

"During his abode here the king confirmed Prince Rupert in the government of the city; but it was settled that he should appoint Sir Ralph Hopton his lieutenant-governor, partly to recover his health from the effects of the unfortunate explosion at Lansdown, and partly because it was well known that the prince's talents would be more useful in the field than in the administration of a government. How long the king continued here our Calendars do not express, but certainly not many days, for on the 10th August he was at the head of the army in sight of Gloucester.

"When great affairs have proved unsuccessful, nothing is more easy than to enumerate the causes which have contributed to their ruin. Perhaps, among the many errors committed by the royalists in this unfortunate war, it is to be lamented that after the taking of this city the king did not make it his residence, partially at least, as well as Oxford, instead of paying it a transient visit. It abounded with men, trade and money; it commanded by land and sea a vast extent of country, advantages which Oxford did not possess; it might have been easily rendered secure against the military efforts of that age; and whereas the whole support of the rebellion lay in London, Bristol would at that period have been a formidable opponent to that factious city, which had not then reached that overwhelming superiority to which it has been gradually attaining for these last hundred years, and Bristol probably would not have been unwilling to have called forth its ancient rivalry into action. Lord Clarendon speaks of this plan. He says that if the Marquis of Hertford, when hostilities were about to commence, had fixed himself in Bristol instead of Wells, it would probably have been attended with success; and in another place he speaks of removing the court to Bristol or Exeter as a plan which had been mentioned, and he has a favourable opinion of it, though he enumerates some difficulties which would have occurred. And it may be seen in the examination of John Boucher above mentioned that it was commonly said at Oxford that if

the king should get possession of Bristol he would make it a famous city, which seems to refer to some prospect of this kind. But the king's deficiency in military habits and talents, except that of personal courage, was one main cause of his final ruin.

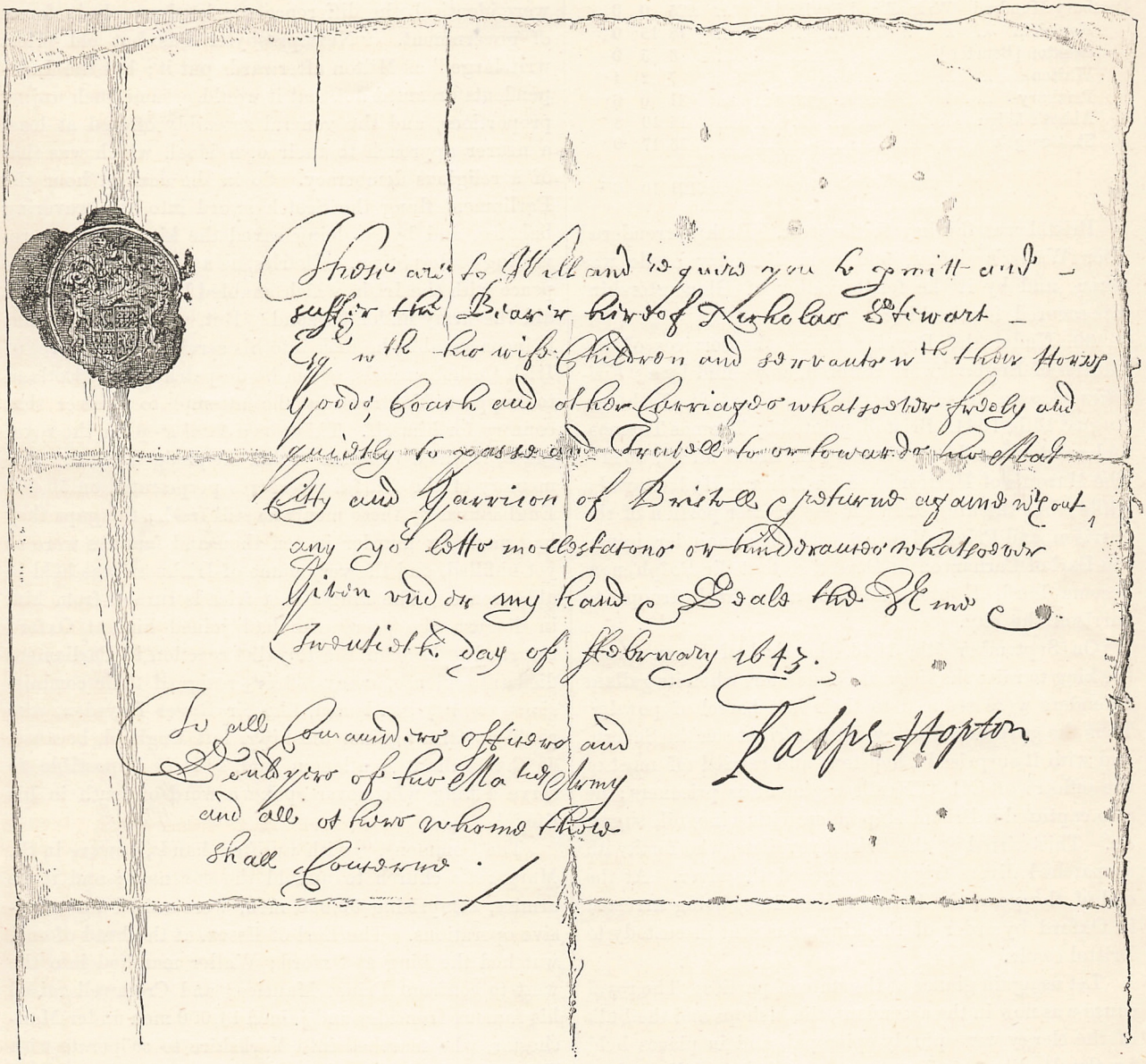
"We may be assured that a military establishment was settled here immediately after the taking of the city, although we have no account of it until December 4th, 1644. On that day Edmund Turnor, Esq., of Stoke-Rochford, in Lincolnshire, was appointed treasurer and paymaster of the garrison, but his office was to commence November 1st, 1644. His arms are ermine, on a cross quartered, pierced argent, four mill-rinds sable, impaling or, on a cross azure five pheons of the first, which are carved in wood in the hall of Corpus Christi college, Oxon, toward the improvement of which room he contributed £40, having been formerly a member of that society. If a judgment may be formed from the perusal of a memorandum-book belonging to him, he was a person of very great piety and worth. On 10th February, 1644–5, he was appointed captain of a troop of cuirassiers, to bring in contributions to the garrison of Bristol. At the battle of Worcester he was taken prisoner, and was knighted soon after the Restoration. He died in 1707, aged 88, and was buried at Stoke-Rochford, in Lincolnshire, the place of his residence. From his papers his descendant of the same name compiled an account of the military establishment of Bristol, as settled by the king after its capture, which he read to the Society of Antiquaries June 11 and 18, 1801. The appointment was by letter: 'Charles, by the grace of God, king, &c., to our trustie and well-beloved servant, Edmond Turnor, Esq., thesaurer of our garrisons at Bristoll, Bathe, the towne and castle of Berkeley, Nunney castle, Farley castle and Portshall pointe, &c.' The substance of the letter is, that 'whereas he has thought fit to settle garrisons at the above-mentioned places, with regular weekly pay, as expressed in the schedule annexed, and has ordered £200 per week to be paid out of the customs for their maintenance, he therefore appoints Edmond Turnor to be thesaurer of the said garrisons from the 1st November last past, and allows him 13*s.* 4*d.* a day for himself; 5*s.* a day for each of two deputies; 2*s.* 6*d.* a day for each of two clerks; for eight collectors of contributions, to each 4*s.* a day; to three keepers of the stores or magazines for provisions and victualls, to each 3*s.* 4*d.* a day; and allowance for books, bagge, paper, inke, pens, and all such other necessaries as the service shall require.' The expenses are as follow:—

"Three regiments of foote, 1,200 in each regiment, officers and all, each regiment to bee paid accordinge to theise ensuinge particulars:—Per week. To a Colonnell, £5.—to a Lieut.-colonnell, £4 3*s.* 4*d.*—to a Sarjeant-major, £3 16*s.* 8*d.*—to a Captaine, £2 10*s.*—to a Lieut., £1 8*s.*—to an Ensigne, 18*s.*—to a Gentleman of Armes, 8*s.*—to a Corporal, 5*s.*—to a Drumme-major, 8*s.*—to a Drummer, 5*s.*—to a Quarter-master, £10.—to a Chaplaine, £1.—to a Provost-marshall, £1.—to a Chirurgeon, £2.—to a Carriage-master, 18*s.*—to a common souldier, 3*s.* 6*d.*—After which rate three regiments of foote theire pay amounteth weekely to £833 17*s.*

"A regiment of seaven troops of horse, consistinge of 60 horse to each troope, officers and all, and his Highnes troope of Horse, consisting of 200 beside officers to bee paid according to theise ensuinge particulars:—To a Colonell, £7.—to a Lieut.-colonell, £6.—to a Serjeant-major, £5 10*s.*—to a Captaine, £5.—to a Lieut., £3.—to a Coronet, £2 5*s.*—to a Quarter-master, £1 10*s.*—to a Corporal, £1 1*s.*—to a Trumpeter, 17*s.* 6*d.*—to a Chirurgeon, 17*s.* 6*d.*—to a Chaplaine, £1 8*s.*—to a Trooper, 10*s.*—After which rate one regiment of horse their pay amounteth weekly to £352 2*s.* His Highnes troope of horse their pay weekely, £120 17*s.*

"The chief Officers of the several garrisons to be paid weekly as followeth, viz.:—The Governor; the Treasurer to supply his charges.—the Lieut.-governour, £21.—the Deputy-governor, £10.—the Major, £5.—the Commissary-general or Muster-master, £3 10*s.*—the Quarter-master-generall, £2 6*s.* 8*d.*—the Engineir, £2 6*s.* 8*d.*—the Petardier, or Engineir for fireworks, £5.—the Provost-marshall, £2 6*s.* 8*d.*—the Keeper of the Stores, £1.—the Proviant-master, £1.—the Governour of Bathe, £7.—the Governour of Berkeley, £7.—the Governour of Portshall Pointe, £5.—the Governour of Nunney Castle, £5.—the Governour of Farley Castle, £5.—the Treasurer, £4 13*s.* 4*d.*—to him for eight Collectors, £11 4*s.*—to him for two Deputyes, £3 10*s.*—to him for two Clarks, £1 15*s.*—to him for three Keepers of the Magazine of Victualls, £3 10*s.*—To the Gunners and other inferiour officers, as followeth, viz.:—

		£	*s.*	*d.*
Master-gunner		2	6	8
Water fort. Ordinance 7.	John Greenfield, Master-gunner	0	17	6
	Richard Abbot, Mate	0	14	0
	to three Gunners, each 10*s.*	1	10	0
Brandon hill fort. Ordinance 6.	Francis Pitt, Master-gunner	0	17	6
	Henry Gosse, Mate	0	14	0
	to two Gunnners, each 10*s.*	1	0	0
Greate-Forte. Ordinance 22.	John Skinner, Master-gunner	0	17	6
	John Sherland, Mate	0	14	0
	to six Gunners, each 10*s.*	3	0	0
	Commissary of victualls	1	10	0
Redoubt. Ordinance 7.	Walter Daniell, Master-gunner	0	17	6
	John Gilburte, Mate	0	14	0
	to two Gunners, each 10*s.*	1	0	0
Prior hill. Ordinance 13.	Joseph Tucker, Master-gunner	0	17	6
	William Howlett, Mate	0	14	0
	to three Gunners, each 10*s.*	1	10	0
Lawford's gate. Ordinance 7.	John Simonds, Master-gunner	0	17	6
	John Jones, Mate	0	14	0
	to sixe Gunners, each 10*s.*	3	0	0
Temple. Ordinance 14.	James Fuller, Master-gunner	0	17	6
	John Scott, Mate	0	14	0
	to ffve Gunners, each 10*s.*	2	10	0
Redcliffe. Ordinance 15.	John Sterry, Master-gunner	0	17	6
	Richard Hamans, Mate	0	14	0
	to four Gunners, each 10*s.*	2	0	0
Castle and Newgate. Ordinance 16.	John Robert, Master-gunner	0	17	6
	John Warden, Mate	0	14	0
	to eleaven Gunners, each 10*s.*	5	10	0
	Commissary of victuals	1	10	0



Fac-simile of a letter from Sir Ralph Hopton.

		£	s.	d.
Froome gate and Pithay gate. Ordinance 2.	William Purser	0	14	0
	William Crookebank	0	14	0
For makinge of armes and ammunition		350	0	0
For ffinishinge the workes		219	0	0
Which is to be raised upon the assignations following, viz. :—				
Out of the Hundreds of Somerset hereunto annexed, rated weekly att may yield		850	0	0
Out of the Hundreds of Wiltes hereunto annexed, rated weekly att may yield...		500	0	0
Out of the Hundred of Gloucester, being the whole division of Berkeley, rated weekly att , but may yield		300	0	0
Out of Bristol hereunto annexed, rated weekly att ...		150	0	0
Out of the Customes		200	0	0

The only particulars which the author of this communication [Edmund Turnor, Esq.] is possessed of are as follows :—

Hundred of Radcliffe cum Bedminster payeth 200 per month.

	£	s.	d.
Long Ashton	£40	0	0
Bedminster	40	0	0
Barron [Barrow]...	20	0	0
Batcombe [Butcombe] and Regilberry	20	0	0
Backwell	33	6	8
Chelby [Chelvy]...	6	13	4
Winford	40	0	0
	£200	0	0

Portbury Hundred—Wraxall and Foyland	£25	0	0
Naylsie...	18	15	0
Broxton [Bourton]	6	5	0
Walton...	7	2	4
Portbury	31	0	6
Abbot's Leigh	16	10	8
St. George's	16	17	0
	£121	10	6 [1]

Bristol was the key to the west. Bath surrendered after Waller's defeat, and soon Berkeley castle was taken, and by it the fertile valley of Gloucestershire was secured for the king.

30. Under the Royalist *régime* the services of the Church of England were restored, as we find by a "*Visitation Sermon* preached at the church of St. Nicholas, August 16th, 1644. Bristoll, printed by Thomas Thomas, and are to be sold at his shop in Broad street, 1644." The Marquis of Hertford and Sir Edward Hyde stayed a while; but the king drew off the greater portion of the garrison, and Prince Maurice, with the remainder, joined the Earl of Carnarvon in Dorset, so that Sir Ralph, now become Lord, Hopton, had to raise fresh troops to garrison the city.

On September 5th, 1643, the Earl of Essex forced the king to raise the siege of Gloucester, when its gallant defenders were reduced to their last barrel of powder. Then the governor, Massey, built a frigate on the Severn, and with it surprised Chepstow, and carried off most of the officers of Col. O'Neal's regiment as prisoners; he also captured a Bristol ship laden with wine, oil, sugar, &c. This stirred up the Bristol royalists, who forthwith despatched divers frigates to guard the river. At the end of the year, the Duke of Hamilton, being arrested in Oxford by order of the king, was sent in custody to Bristol castle.

Let us again glance at the state of parties. The royal cause was now in the ascendant, the bishops and the bulk of the clergy were purely episcopal, and in places held by the Parliamentarians were expelled as delinquents. Those of them who adopted the Puritan views had become practically Independents, a denomination which, if not born of this strife, was nurtured by it into a vigorous manhood; these men gradually became Separatists, and formed the backbone of the commonwealth. The other great section of the people's party were the Presbyterians. Scotland held aloof, biding her time; the adoption of "The Solemn League and Covenant" was the price she asked for her aid. In other words, that England should adopt the Presbyterian form of church government. Pym and the leading Roundheads were still nominally Episcopalians, the doctrines held by both the churches were identical, the difference consisted merely in forms of government. "New presbyter was but old priest writ large," as Milton afterwards put it; but the Independents dreamed not that it would assume such unjust proportions, and the general assembly offered at least a nearer approach to their own ideal, which was that of a religious democracy. So in the darkest hour the Parliament flung the Scotch sword into the wavering balance, and by so doing saved the kingdom from reverting to despotism. Charles, as a counter move, made peace with the Irish, which enabled him to recall to his aid the army under Ormond. But, with a fatuity that is inconceivable, he took into his service a large force of Irish Catholic rebels, whom he despatched into Scotland to support Montrose in the attempt to recover that country for himself. This was a fatal step for the royal cause, it was a violation of his oft-pledged word. The memory of the fearful massacres perpetrated on 50,000 Englishmen by these men was still fresh; the gaps they had made by murder in ten thousand families were as yet unfilled, and the very name of Irishman was held in abhorrence. The king's best friends turned from him in disgust, the peers who had joined him at Oxford returned to London, the Royalist reaction in Parliament died into silence, many officers resigned their commissions, country gentlemen, like Sir Roger Twysden, who could not arm against the king, left England, because, as that gallant gentleman said, "It is impossible to serve a king who never spoke a word of truth in his life." [1]

The Commons, "with uplifted hands," swore in St. Margaret's church to uphold the covenant; and three armies, comprising 50,000 men, were raised for offensive operations. The Earl of Essex, at the head of one, watched the king at Oxford; Waller marched into the west to confront Prince Maurice; and Cromwell raised his famous Ironsides and joined 14,000 men under Manchester, who marched into Yorkshire to coöperate with Fairfax and the Scotch. Rupert, who had gathered men on the Welsh border, raised the sieges of Newark and Latham house, crossed rapidly the Lancashire hills to aid Newcastle in York. Waller, from the west, fell back to help Essex in his blockade of the king at Oxford.

Then Rupert, "the daring," measured weapons with the Ironsides on Marston moor, where "God made them as stubble to our swords" wrote Cromwell that same evening. The king's cause in the north was irretrievably ruined by this defeat; Newcastle fled over sea, and the fiery Rupert rode southward, with but a handful of men, to join the king. This was a terrible blow which nulli-

[1] Seyer, II., 420-425.

[1] Kemble's History of Governments.

fied all the triumphs that elsewhere had attended the Royalist arms. Charles, who had eluded Essex, had, two days before Marston moor, beaten Waller and driven him back to London; then shutting in Essex, who had most unwisely marched into the hostile west, between Prince Maurice and himself, he had forced his infantry to surrender, Essex himself barely escaping by sea. To counterbalance this defeat, Montrose, on the selfsame day, had achieved a great victory at Tippermuir, after which he sacked Aberdeen, occupied Perth, and threatened Edinburgh. On the receipt of the fatal news from the north, Charles felt that all his conquests were vain, and to avoid being shut up in the west he turned and made a bold stroke for London with his own victorious forces; the conquerors of Marston moor awaited him at Newbury, with them was the army of Essex that had surrendered, but who now, brought afresh into the field, wiped out their disgrace by re-capturing the cannon they had previously lost. The fiery charges of the cavaliers failed to break the solid squadrons of the Parliament; and but that Manchester, like Essex, shrank from a crowning victory, the fate of England would have been decided by Cromwell that 27th day of October, 1644. Charles withdrew to Oxford, and he who was destined to become England's greatest although uncrowned king, became henceforth the cynosure of every eye and the hope of the Puritan party.



Prince Maurice. From an old print.

In March, 1644-5, Charles, Prince of Wales, aged fifteen years, came to reside in Bristol with his council, which consisted of six persons, the future Lord Clarendon being one of them. A counter-plot by the Roundheads to deliver the city to Waller failed, but the conspirators escaped. And now the Puritans had a sore time of it at the hands of the Cavaliers. The house of Mrs. Hazard, a grocer's shop in High street, was repeatedly assaulted, because "she was the first woman in Bristol that practised that truth of the Lord which was then hated and odious, viz., Separation." Those who held the same views met for worship in each others houses, but the novelty had no charms for the masses; it was such an unheard of thing "a church with a chimney in it!" So the windows were smashed and the worshippers mobbed.

31. "The Bristol coins of Charles I. are very numerous, although they were all minted in the period between July 27th, 1643, and September 10th, 1645. During this time the city was in the hands of the royalists, and the following coins were probably struck by them in the castle. All have on the *reverse* the declaration which Charles made at the commencement of the war, viz., that he would preserve 'the Protestant religion, the laws and liberties of his subjects, and the privileges of Parliament.' It is in an abbreviated Latin form, RELIG. PROT. LEG. ANG. LIBER. PAR., and occurs together with this motto, from the 68th Psalm, EXVRGAT DEVS DISSIPENTVR INIMICI ['Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered'].

"The dates on the Bristol coins of Charles I. are 1643, 1644, 1645, and they are distinguished by the mint mark of BR, for Bristol, in monogram.

"The gold pieces are sovereigns and half-sovereigns, weighing 140½ grains and 70¼ grains respectively. The gold is 22 carats fine, the same as the present standard. The sovereign bears,

obverse, half-length portrait of the king, looking to the left, crowned, and in armour. He holds a sword in his right hand and an olive branch in his left. The numerals xx. [for 20*s.* the value] behind the head. Beaded inner circle around all, and the legend CAROLVS. D : G : MAG : BR : FR : ET : HI : REX. Mint-mark, BR in monogram. *Reverse*, the declaration REL : PRO. LEG : AN. LIB. PA : on a scroll across the centre of the coin. Three plumes above, and the date, 1645, below the scroll. Mint mark, BR in monogram before REL. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend round the margin, EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI.

"The half-sovereign is similar in type to the sovereign, but has mint-mark, a plume on the *obverse*, and X. [for 10*s.*] behind the head, and reads B : F : ET. HIB : REX. The *reverse* is also of the same type, but reads ANG : in the declaration, and has the BR monogram immediately after INIMICI. Three plumes and date, 1645, as before.

"The silver coins are halfcrowns, shillings and sixpences, with the dates 1643 and 1644, halfcrowns and shillings only of 1645, groats of 1644, and a half-groat without date.

"Of the halfcrowns there are several varieties, differing much in the details. They bear, *obverse*, a figure of the king on horseback to the left, crowned, with a sword in his right hand. A plume behind the king, in the field. All within a beaded inner circle. Some have the BR monogram under the horse. Legend, CAROLVS . D . G. MAG. BR. FR. ET. H. [HI., HIB., or HIBER.] REX. Mint-mark, a plume, or a circle between four pellets, or none at all. *Reverse*, the declaration in two straight lines across the field, variously abbreviated, thus—RELIG: [or REL:] PRO. [or PROT:] LE: AN: LI: PA: Above the declaration are three plumes, and below it is the date, 1643, 1644, or 1645. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend around, EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI. Mint-mark, BR in monogram, or sometimes no mint-mark. The BR monogram is also placed under the date on some varieties. [Engraved by *Snelling*, plate xii., Nos. 3, 4; *Ruding*, plate xxiv., No. 2; *Hawkins*, figs. 485, 490.]

"The shillings have, *obverse*, profile bust of the king, crowned, to the left. The numerals xii. [for 12*d.* the value] behind the head, and sometimes a plume before the face. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend, CAROLVS. D. G. MAG. BR. FR. ET: H. [or HI.] REX. Mint-mark, a plume, a circle between four dots, or with no mint-mark. *Reverse*, the declaration in three lines, RELIG: [RELI: or REL:] PRO: [or PROT:] LEG: ANG: LIB. PAR: Three plumes above the declaration, and the date, 1643, 1644, or 1645, below it. The monogram BR under the date on some shillings. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend, EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI. Mint-mark, BR in monogram, or with no mint-mark. [Engraved by *Snelling*, plate xi., Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29; *Ruding*, plate xxiv., No. 3, supplement plate v., Nos. 15, 16; *Hawkins*, fig. 519].

"The sixpences have, *obverse*, king's bust, as on the shillings. On some sixpences the bust is smaller than on others. The numerals vi. [for 6*d.*] behind the head, and a plume before the face on some pieces. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend, CAROLVS . D . G . MAG : B : F : ET . H : REX. No mint-mark. *Reverse*, the declaration in three lines—RELIG : [or RELI:] PRO : LEG : ANG : LIB : PAR : Three plumes above, and the date, 1643 or 1644, below. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend, CHRISTO . AVSPICE . REGNO, OR EXVRGAT . DEVS . DISSIPENTVR . INIMICI. Mint-mark, BR in monogram. [Engraved by *Snelling*, plate xi., Nos. 20, 21; *Ruding*, supplement, plate v., No. 14; *Hawkins*, fig. 531].

The groats have, *obverse*, bust as on the shillings, with or without a plume before the face. The numerals IIII. [for 4*d.*] behind the head. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : B : F : [or BR :] F : [or FR :] ET : HI : [or HIB .] REX. No mint-mark. *Reverse*, the declaration in three lines—REL : PRO : [or PROT :] LEG : ANG : LIB : PAR : Three plumes above, and the date, 1644, below. Some groats have BR in monogram under the date. All within a beaded inner circle. Legend around, EXVRGAT. DEVS . DISSIPENTVR . INIMICI. Mint-mark, BR in monogram, or no mint-mark. [Engraved by *Snelling*, plate xi., Nos. 11, 12; *Ruding*, plate, xxiv., No. 9; *Hawkins*, fig. 535].

"The half-groats bear, *obverse*, bust as on the shillings. The numerals II. [for 2*d.*] behind the head, but no plume before the face. Beaded inner circles on both sides. *Obverse* legend, CAROLVS : D : G : M : B : F : ET H : REX. *Reverse*, the declaration—RE : PR : LE : AN : LI : PA : in three lines. Under the last line is BR in monogram. Legend around, EXVRG . DEVS . DISSIP . INIMICI. No mint-mark on either side. [Engraved by *Snelling*, plate xi., No. 3; *Ruding*, supplement, plate v., No. 11].

"Besides the legal money just described, it appears that a large number of counterfeit tokens were made at Bristol during the occupation of the city by Royalist troops. According to the *Diary* newspaper, published 13th September, 1644, it was declared in the House of Commons, on the 6th of the same month, 'that his Majestie payed his army for the most part with farthing tokens which were minted at Bristol; and, being cunningly and secretly conveyed by sea to London, they oftentimes received silver for them.'

"The only legal farthing tokens of that period were made under the authority of a royal patent to Lord Maltravers and Sir Francis Crane, and issued from the Farthing Office in Lothbury, London. In 1643, however, the issue of these royal farthing tokens was put an end to by the Parliament.

"The pieces here stated to have been counterfeited at Bristol were no doubt the farthing tokens struck in copper and brass, of very small size, being the third variety, made subsequent to 1635, or between 1635 43. See Snelling's *Copper Coinage*, p. 5, illustration E."[1]

We have nearly 100 of these coins, which have been dredged up out of the harbour; they are of two sizes, one about the diameter of a threepenny piece, the other rather less. They bear on the *obverse* a rose crowned, on the *reverse*, a crown with two sceptres SALTIER, either underneath the crown or below it on the exergue. These worthless coins were abolished by Cromwell, and a fresh coinage of Bristol farthings was substituted, these bear the initial "R" under the date.

The Hooper's, or Cooper's, trade in Bristol was select, no other place save London made such casks. Munson, of Lyme, paid £6 4*s.* 6*d.* for twelve casks from Bristol.

In April, 1644, Prince Rupert removed Sir Francis Hawley from his office as Governor of Bristol (Castle). The youthful Prince Charles, who held his father's commission as General of the four associated western

[1] Henfrey, 362-3.

counties, and had been promised by the authorities £100 per week for his support, and a body of horse and foot guards, found a great deficiency in both men and money. The prince went, therefore, to Bridgwater, where the commissioners of the said counties met him; he stayed there a week, returning to Bristol on April 23rd, 1645. With the summer heat the deadly pestilence made its accustomed appearance, to avoid the danger from which, as well as from the threatened approach of the people's army, the prince withdrew to Bath on June 1st, and slept at Wells on the 2nd, passing from thence through Bridgwater to Barnstaple. After he had left the city there arrived a messenger from the king, advising him to reside at Mr. Smyth's, at Long Ashton. Prince Charles left 500 of his guards in the castle, to strengthen the garrison of the city, which had been denuded of men for service before Taunton. Upon the surrender of the city to Rupert it was determined in order to propitiate the king, to present his majesty with the sum of £10,000, in addition to the £1,400 paid to the prince, to prevent its being sacked. Toward this sum Richard Aldworth, the mayor, contributed £300, John Gunning gave £150, Hugh Brown £150, William Cann £60, Joseph Jackson £100, Myles Jackson £20, John Locke £50. We suspect that "this token of the love and affection of the citizens" was akin to the benevolences which Charles in the earlier part of his reign, and his predecessors on the throne, had exacted from the people. The names of leading Royalists as contributors are conspicuous by their absence. When men of devoted loyalty, such as the two Colstons, Humphrey Hook, Creswick, Fitz-Herbert, &c., &c., have no place in the list, and when a thorough Republican such as Myles Jackson, who seems to have been (perhaps wilfully) short of cash, is set down in addition to his £20 as giving 198½ oz. of silver plate, it looks very much like "spoiling the Egyptians;" in fact, the Royalists were making the leading Puritans pay smartly for their past misdeeds. It will be remembered that of the four men who had to pay the heaviest sums as a proof of their "love and affection to the king," three of them, viz. Aldworth, Jackson and Hugh Brown, were in office as mayor and sheriffs when Yeomans and Boucher were executed.

While Richard Aldworth was mayor the following items appear in the audits:—

	£	s.	d.
Paid the king's trumpeters, as a fee due to them, being the prince represents the king	3	0	0
Paid Captain Thomas Derham, being wounded and sick	0	8	3
Paid Richard Aldworth, mayor, what he paid the king, Prince Rupert, and Prince Maurice, officers, and for money paid maimed soldiers in August last, and straw for them	122	8	4
Paid Prince Rupert's trumpeters	£2	0	0
Paid Mr. Mayor for what he gave to a footman for the porterage of a letter which he took to London ..	0	1	0

Humphrey Hook was mayor in 1643. He was also one of the members of the Parliament of 1640 for the city. Hook married Florence, daughter of Sir Hugh Smyth, of Ashton. He was a Royalist, and his family were conspicuous for their loyalty. In 1644 he was paid a considerable sum of money for arms, &c., with which he had supplied auxiliary troops for the king. He also advanced a sum of money to the corporation for the support of the king's cause in Bristol. On the 26th October, 1645, he was removed by Parliament from his seat for "promoting the views of the enemy."

The total indebtedness of the king to Hook was £2,000, for which he was promised the bonds of twenty-two knights and esquires, but only ten of them, viz., Sirs J. Stawell, E. Berkeley, E. Rodney, T. Bridges, and Messrs. W. Walronde, E. Kirton, — Speke, Warre and Wyndham signed it. When the king's cause was lost in the west, the sequestrators who had been appointed April 1st, 1643, by Parliament, to seize upon the property of all "delinquents and malignants"—*i.e.*, all who had openly espoused the king's cause—raised large sums in Bristol and Somerset. One of these sequestrators, named Curll, tells us that in 1649 he discovered this loan of Hook's, and he received orders from Captain Latimer Sampson to demand the money from the bondsmen. Accordingly he summoned several of them; but he found that the Bristol alderman had been too sharp for him, he having outlawed them for the amount. Curll adds that he received orders to stay all proceedings in this case. A letter from Cromwell to Mr. Speaker Lenthall, dated June 20th, 1650, explains this. After stating that at the siege of Bristol, in the year 1645, for something considerable done by Humphrey Hook, alderman of that place, in order to its reduction—which for many reasons is desired to be concealed—General Fairfax and himself had given Hook an engagement that he should be secured by the authority of the Parliament in the enjoyment of his life, liberty and estate, it proceeds:—"I understand that lately an order is issued out to sequester him, whereby he is called to composition; I thought it meet, therefore, to give the Hon. Parliament this account, that he may be preserved from anything of that nature, for the performance of which in order to the good of the Commonwealth we stand engaged in our faith and honour."

In what way Hook played the traitor is not known to us, but that he was in great danger of confiscation is evident from a deed which we have inspected, in which

for the sum of five shillings he conveys his mansion and its appurtenances in the Marsh to Sir Robert Cann, of Kingsweston, his very good friend. After the Restoration he was, in 1660–1, re-elected. "Also this year Hum. Hooke, Esq., and John Knight were elected burgesses for the city to serve in Parliament, but Mr. Hooke did desire that the Lord Ossory should be in his stead; who was returned and sat in the House of Commons until he was taken into his majesty's Privy Council, and then Sir Humphrey Hooke was in his former place, of being Parliament man."[1] He was this year knighted for his courtesy. Amongst his descendants we number Abraham Hook, merchant, sheriff in 1706, and Andrew Hook, who commenced, in 1748, a history of Bristol, entitled *Bristolia*. He was on the commission of the peace for Gloucestershire, and is most probably identical with the Andrew Hook, M.D., who is mentioned by Gough as "having the management of the printing office in Bristol." Sir Humphrey built Ashley court, on Ashley down, for a residence; he had another mansion in Corn street, and a country residence at Kingsweston. Dying on the 16th of October, 1677, he was buried in St. Stephen's, where there is a memorial tablet to his memory. He left to the corporation £680, to give 8*s.* per week to the parish of St. Stephen to be distributed in bread and coal, the residue to Queen Elizabeth's Hospital for ever. The manor house, formerly the hospital of St. Laurence, on Lawrence hill, together with 250 acres of land, was the property of Robert Hook, of Bristol, who was father to the mayor. During his mayoralty, Captain Samuel Pitts, of the *Kirtlington* galley, on his passage from Jamaica to Bristol, bravely defended his ship against a Spanish rover of superior force, whom he finally made to sheer off and retire. In consideration of his conspicuous gallantry the society of Merchant Venturers, of the city of Bristol, presented to him a richly chased silver monteith and collar, which weighs 266 ozs. 11 dwts., bearing an inscription to the above effect. This handsome piece of plate, which is a silver bowl with a rim of open filagree work, upon which the topers could hang their second glasses to cool after rinsing them in water, is now in the possession of the corporation, and is amongst the items of the city plate at the Mansion house. It was purchased at a sale by auction, for the sum of £148 16*s.* on December 31st, 1821, for the city.

[1] MS. Calendar.

Between December 17th, 1642, and February 20th, 1643, Colonel Essex was paid by the city in cash for the present occasion of the king and kingdom, £3,400; Fiennes, from March 2nd to May 2nd, on the same pretence, £2,000; Waller had in April £2,000, and from July 7th, 1644, to April 30th, 1645, the king and Prince Rupert had about £3,400, all independent of the cost of fortifying the city, victualling the fort of Dungannon, paying the crew of the *Lion* frigate, a gift of £5 in charity to the Bishop of Waterford in July, 1643; a butt of sack to Lord Hopton, and sugar, £22; provisions sent to Colonel Washington at Clifton, July 27th, 1643, £9 4*s.* 6*d.* In April, 1644, the queen, who slept at the Great House, St. Augustine's back, was presented with £500 in three leather bags, this sum being collected amongst the inhabitants, the corporation giving £100. In January, 1642, ten barrels of gunpowder were spared to the city of Gloucester for £60. On December 30th, 1643, Bristol lent to Somerset county, on bond, £1,000, and in 1644, on November 23rd, £400. Also on January 16th, 1644, the city lent the county of Gloucester £1,000. In March, 1643, plate to the amount of £600, at 4*s.* 4*d.* per ounce was lent to Parliament. In March, 1644, 45 tuns of beer cost the corporation £81. On August 16th, 1645, there was paid for burying of the dead people about the line to Peter Spurrier £1 6*s.* In 1645 Prince Charles was at the Great House on February 1st. The corporation presented him with a hogshead of Canary wine at £14, *i.e.*, without excise duty about 4*s.* 5¼*d.* per gallon; also three hogsheads of Gascony wine, £16 10*s.*, about 1*s.* 9*d.* per gallon free of duty. The excise on the above was paid by the corporation being £5, coopering 2*s.* Total, £34 12*s.*

END OF VOLUME I.

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